

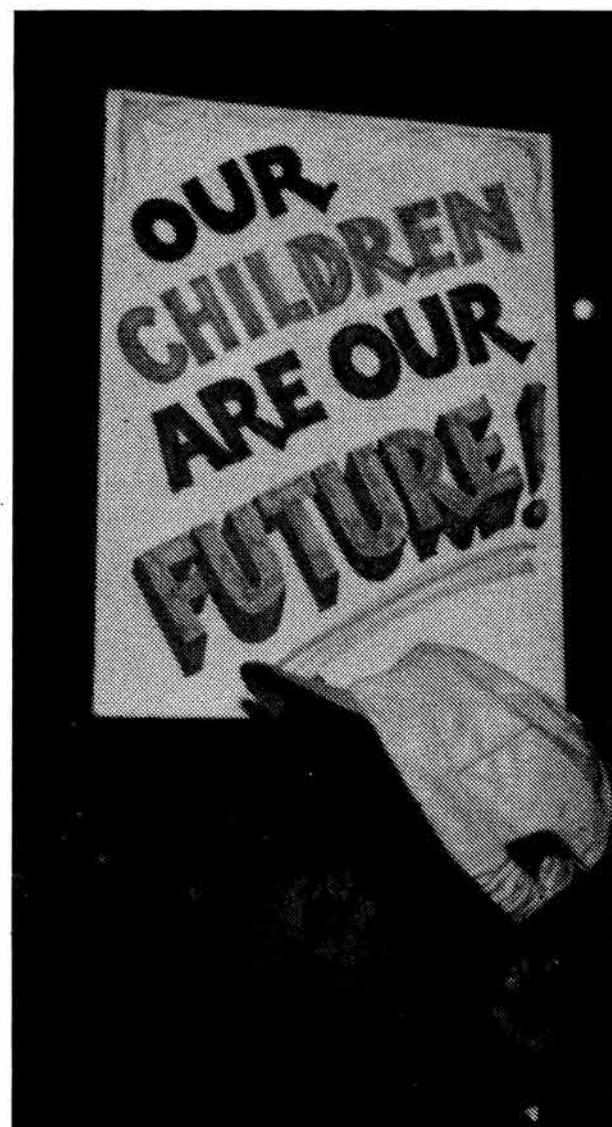
THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

STOP RACIST TERROR IN ATLANTA

End cop-FBI cover-up

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Perspectiva Mundial/Anibal Yáñez

Women demand abortion rights



Militant/Lou Howort

NEW YORK, May 16. Two thousand march for safe, legal abortion. See page 15. In Italy, voters reject effort to restrict abortion by two-to-one margin. See page 2.

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spy on you if
it doesn't like
your ideas?

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N.Y. bombing & terrorism scare

The explosion of a bomb at Kennedy International Airport April 16, and the subsequent discovery of four other explosive devices in New York City, has set off an intensive campaign in the media. A headline in the May 19 New York *Daily News* was typical: "Terror Grips City."

The explosion killed a twenty-year-old airport worker. The other bombs—two at the airport, and one each at the Honduran consulate and the U.S. mission to the United Nations—were disarmed.

According to police, a group called Puerto Rican Armed Resistance claimed responsibility for planting the five bombs. The PRAR is said to describe itself as fighting against Washington's colonial occupation and domination of Puerto Rico.

Police asserted that a communique, purportedly by the PRAR, had been found that implied the bombs at the consulate and mission had been planted to protest aid by the U.S., Guatemalan, and Honduran governments to the Salvadoran junta.

According to police, hundreds of false bomb threats were called in on May 18. Saturation news coverage of these events was calculated to spread an atmosphere of fear.

Mayor Edward Koch called for executing those who planted the bombs, continuing his efforts to drum up support for re-institution of the death penalty in New York state.

He cynically used the events to try to undercut expressions of solidarity with Britain's political prisoners in Northern Ireland, denouncing groups "such as the IRA (Irish Republican Army) and the FALN." The FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation), which advocates Puerto Rican independence, has claimed responsibility for some bombings in the past.

Koch's statement fits into an effort spurred by the Reagan administration to convince working people that the main problem facing us is the occurrence of individual acts of terrorism like bombings—and not unemployment, social service cutbacks, the threat of war, spreading poverty, and declining health and education.

Their answer: give the cops a freer hand against those who disagree with government policy—all of whom are to be treated by the police, FBI, and CIA as suspected "terrorists."

Today, ten Puerto Ricans are serving barbaric sentences of fifty-five to ninety years in prison on charges of having been FALN

members, although none had admitted this and none was shown to have participated in any bombings. Their real crime in the eyes of the government was opposition to Washington's rule over Puerto Rico.

According to the May 19 *New York Times*, the ten are now on a hunger strike at the Pontiac Correctional Center. They are protesting the isolation of Alfredo Mendez, another Puerto Rican prisoner, who is thought to be undergoing intensive interrogation.

The witch-hunt against supporters of Puerto Rican independence—with its gross violation of democratic rights and its chilling effect on the Puerto Rican community—has proceeded under the banner of fighting terrorism.

There are indications that the cops would like to use the latest bombings to cast their net even wider, to include supporters of the rights of Irish political prisoners and opponents of U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

The "terrorism" propaganda campaign throws a smokescreen around the oppression and exploitation that are the real cause of violence in capitalist society. For instance, the fact that Washington has forcibly occupied Puerto Rico for eighty years, condemning its people to poverty and racist discrimination, doesn't rate a mention in the torrent of copy about the bombs.

The media and politicians who yell about terrorism are like burglars who shout, "Stop, thief!" to divert attention while they get away with the loot.

The field day that Koch and company are having with these incidents shows how wrong those are who believe such actions contribute to the struggle for liberation.

The road to eliminating imperialist oppression is not through the planting of bombs by small groups.

The struggle for Puerto Rican independence needs the mobilization of the masses of Puerto Ricans to fight for their own interests. It means winning support from American workers whose direct interests will be advanced by the liberation of the island.

The task is to help the masses of people—Americans as well as Puerto Ricans—to understand the injustice and criminality of imperialism, isolating the ruling class politically.

Actions like the New York bombings, by contrast, are used by the rulers to make it appear that violent, antisocial actions come from the national liberation groups and the revolutionary left, rather than from the ruling class. They help shift the blame away from the capitalist rulers of this country.

As long as there has been injustice and

exploitation, there have been those who sought to express their legitimate outrage at oppression by methods like those attributed to the Puerto Rican Armed Resistance.

But the liberation of Puerto Rico, like the liberation of all working people, will be achieved when the masses themselves are directly involved in revolutionary economic, political, and social struggles.

Abortion victory

Supporters of women's rights won a stirring victory on May 18 with the more than 2-to-1 defeat of an anti-abortion referendum in Italy.

According to a report in the *New York Times*, "Demonstrators poured into the streets of Rome as soon as the early returns were recognized as irreversible. Mostly young people, both men and women, they criss-crossed the city center singing and carrying banners proclaiming victory."

Even in districts in southern Italy, where the anti-abortion vote was expected to be the largest, big majorities voted against repealing Italy's liberal abortion laws.

The referendum, sponsored by the misnamed Movement for Life, would have limited abortions to cases where the mother was in mortal danger.

The Radical Party, formerly a pioneer of the struggle for liberalized abortion laws, sponsored another abortion referendum that was defeated.

While claiming to be pro-abortion, it would have permitted public health facilities to refuse to perform abortions. And it would have made it more difficult for teenagers to obtain abortions.

The overwhelming rejection of the repeal referendum comes as a big blow to the reactionary Catholic Church hierarchy, which had thrown considerable resources into the campaign against abortion.

Pope John Paul II had urged Roman Catholics to join the "holy cause" against legalized abortion.

Ignoring the fact that women die when abortion is illegal and hard to obtain, the pope hypocritically proclaimed, "It is the task, the duty of the church to reaffirm that procured abortion is death."

The vote also was a blow to the anti-working class austerity drive of the ruling Christian Democratic Party, which was the major party supporting repeal of the abortion laws.

This victory is an inspiration to all of us in this country who are organizing against the attacks on abortion by the Democrats and Republicans (see page 14).

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Hands off Grenada!

Protests have hit CBS-TV for its slanderous 'investigative' series on Grenada, designed to show the island has become a 'police state' under its new revolutionary leadership. Nelson González examines the CBS 'evidence' and reports how Grenadians are responding. **Page 9.**

The Militant

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Behind Israeli war threats in Middle East

By William Gottlieb

War is on the verge of breaking out between Israel and Syria. And as is always the case with war in this strategic Middle East region, there exists the possibility of a U.S.-Soviet confrontation that could endanger the survival of humanity.

The government of Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin is massing forces along the Lebanese and Syrian borders. Begin is demanding that Syria remove anti-aircraft missiles that were moved into Lebanon after two Syrian helicopters were shot down by Israeli jets on April 28. Israel insists that it must have the right to bomb Lebanon at will.

The Reagan administration is trying to strike the image of an impartial mediator interested only in preventing the outbreak of a major new Middle Eastern war. Washington has sent U.S. diplomat Philip Habib to the Middle East to supposedly "mediate" the dispute.

Bashir Gemayal, leader of the armed bands of ultra-right, pro-Israel Phalangist Party of Lebanon, will soon visit Washington to meet with high Reagan administration officials. And the Pentagon is moving the aircraft carrier USS *Forrestal* to a position off the coast of Lebanon, and moving a second aircraft carrier, USS *Independence*, into the Mediterranean Ocean. There are now some thirty U.S. warships in the Mediterranean, along with Marine combat forces.

Israel has over the last fifteen years bombed Palestinian refugee camps and Lebanese farming villages. In southern Lebanon, it has actively fostered



Lebanese village after 1978 Israeli invasion. Begin demands right to bomb with impunity.

and directed right-wing bands. The Israeli rulers have killed thousands of civilians, created hundreds of thousands of refugees, and laid waste to areas of the countryside. Israeli policies are aimed at winning a dominant position in Lebanon and driving out the Palestinians.

Realizing that Israeli success would represent a deadly threat to its own independence, the Syrian government has given some support to the Palestinians and to Lebanese forces that are fighting against Israel and the Phalangists.

The current crisis is actually a continuation of the war that Israel has been waging against the Arab and especially the Palestinian people since its

foundation. The imperialist powers, U.S. imperialism above all, have always used the Zionist movement as a club against the peoples of the Middle East.

The state of Israel was established in 1948 by forcing hundreds of thousands of Palestinians out of their own country. On April 9, 1948, the ultra-right Zionist terror gang known as the Irgun Zvai Leumi massacred 250 Arabs, including one hundred women and children, in the Arab village of Deir Yassin.

"The legend of Deir Yassin helped us . . ." wrote Menachem Begin, chief of the Irgun. "All the Jewish forces proceeded to advance through Haifa like a knife through butter. The Arabs

began fleeing in panic, shouting 'Deir Yassin' . . . Arabs throughout the country . . . were seized with limitless panic and started to flee for their lives. This mass flight soon developed into a maddened uncontrollable stampede."

Since then, there have been many Deir Yassins. In 1956, Israel joined Britain and France in invading Egypt when Egyptian President Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal.

In 1967, it occupied the West Bank of the Jordan, the Golan heights, and other areas—placing hundreds of thousands of Palestinians under direct military rule. Israel was prepared to intervene in Jordan in September 1970 to aid King Hussein in crushing the Palestinian freedom fighters in Jordan.

Nor have Israel's counterrevolutionary activities been limited to the Middle East. Besides helping to train the secret police of the shah of Iran in methods of torture, the Zionist regime supplied arms to former dictator Somoza of Nicaragua. It is now arming the dictatorships of El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala.

Since the Iranian revolution swept away the tyranny of the shah, Washington has come to depend on the Israeli regime even more to police the oil-rich Middle East. This is especially true in light of the shakiness of the Saudi monarchy and the Sadat regime in Egypt.

But in Israel itself, growing numbers of working people are getting tired of the endless war against the Arab people. On May 16 in Tel Aviv, thousands of Israelis protested Begin's handling of the Lebanese crisis.

Secret police guidelines target antiwar groups

By Fred Feldman

The Reagan administration is openly talking about unleashing its secret police against opponents of U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The move came less than two weeks after the May 3 demonstration in Washington, D.C., where 100,000 marched and rallied in the biggest and most important antiwar action in almost a decade.

On May 13, the White House submitted, for the information of Congress, the draft of a proposed executive order setting guidelines for U.S. intelligence agencies.

The May 14 *New York Times* reported that the draft permits such agencies to engage in "special activities" such as "the infiltration or disruption of a political group consisting mainly of Americans but that is led by foreign nationals, or of groups suspected of being an 'agent' of a foreign power."

The *Times* report explained, "This could include groups promoting 'solidarity' with or sympathy for such foreign movements as left-wing guerrillas in El Salvador."

The new executive order sheds light on the purpose of an article that appeared in the April 26 issue of *Human Events*, a right-wing newspaper with

close ties to Reagan administration circles. The article falsely asserted that the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) had been initiated by the brother of Salvadoran Communist Party leader Shafik Handal in cooperation with the American Communist Party.

Thousands of Americans, including many from campuses, Black and Latino communities, and the unions have participated in CISPES activities.

CISPES has held speaking tours and has helped to initiate and organize numerous legal, peaceful rallies, teach-ins, and picket lines—May 3 being one example.

The proposed executive order aims to legitimize disruption, infiltration, and harassment of all organizations and individuals who don't go along with Reagan on El Salvador.

Unions like the International Association of Machinists and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union—which have spoken out against U.S. intervention—could be targets. As could the dozens of union locals that have heard Salvadoran unionists describe the brutal repression imposed on their homeland by the junta.

Catholic, Protestant, and Evangelical

churches that have criticized Washington, as well as civil rights groups like the NAACP and Black United Front, may appear on the new "enemies list."

Not to mention the scores of other organizations—including virtually every left group—that supported the May 3 protest.

Washington has often used the phony pretext of a group "led by foreign nationals" or "suspected of being an 'agent' of a foreign power" in order to use police-state tactics against opponents of war. But even former CIA director William Colby recently conceded that the movement against the Vietnam War "was an indigenous movement, not dependent on foreign support."

The new guidelines have nothing to do with fending off supposedly sinister foreign influences. They are part of Reagan's drive to junk the guarantees in the Bill of Rights in attempting to silence opponents of the inhuman slaughter Washington is fostering in El Salvador.

But millions of Americans are not willing to be intimidated. That is why the Socialist Workers Party suit, which is challenging the very government crimes that Reagan's guidelines seek



Militant/Lou Howort

Part of May 3 rally against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Participants in this rally would be among targets of new executive order.

to codify, is winning such broad support.

And that is why outspoken opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador, spurred on by actions like the May 3 march, is continuing to spread and intensify.

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15,000 celebrate Malcolm X birthday

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A youthful outpouring of the Black community here May 17 celebrated the birthday of Malcolm X.

A crowd of more than 15,000, made up overwhelmingly of teenagers, participated in festivities during the annual Malcolm X Day Celebration sponsored by the Malcolm X Cultural and Education Center. The center has organized the event for ten consecutive years.

Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm, was a guest of honor

during the six-hour program, which included music and an array of local and national speakers.

Speakers included Rev. Ben Chavis, leader of the National Black Independent Political Party; Walter Fauntroy, D.C. non-voting delegate to Congress; and Omari Musa, co-chair of the Virginia NBIPP.

Chavis, Musa, and other speakers urged everyone to participate in the national rally scheduled here May 25 to protest the Atlanta murders.



MALCOLM X

New blow to Chicago desegregation fight

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—Opposed by all five Black members, the Chicago school board submitted desegregation "principles" to federal district judge Milton Shadur on April 29. The "principles" virtually eliminate any mandatory busing, leave the big majority of all Black schools untouched, preserve a massive white majority in the city's segregated schools, and propose minimum voluntary busing for Black students into such areas.

The school board's action was blasted by Operation PUSH as a concession to "politicians who have engaged in forced segregation."

The NAACP termed it a "continuation of a tradition to maintain segregation."

Shadur is expected to rule on the guidelines sometime in July.

On April 15, the school board had voted to eliminate busing provisions of a desegregation

program submitted to them by planners earlier this year.

That same day the NAACP filed suit in federal district court, opening a new legal front in the battle to desegregate Chicago's public school system.

Charles Carter, the civil rights organization's assistant general counsel, says Chicago has "the single most segregated public school system in America."

The chief bigot attempting to scuttle desegregation is Chicago Democratic Mayor Jane Byrne, backed by Illinois Republican Gov. James Thompson.

As it became clear that Judge Shadur would soon rule on a desegregation plan, Byrne and Thompson were emphatic in claiming there was no money available for busing.

In February, Byrne beefed up the racist majority on the school board by refusing to renominate two Blacks and replacing them with two antibusing whites.

Tyler conviction upheld

Gary Tyler, a young Black man from Louisiana, has been fighting a murder conviction for six years. On April 27 the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld his conviction.

In 1974, when Tyler was sixteen, his high school was the scene of racist violence. On October 7 he was riding in a bus with other Black students from Destrehan High School when it was surrounded by a mob of brick-and-bottle-throwing whites. As the bus pulled away, shots were fired and a white student was killed.

In an atmosphere of racist hysteria, Tyler was pulled from

the bus, beaten by cops, and later accused of the murder. In 1975 an all-white jury found him guilty. He was sentenced to die in the electric chair. Later the sentence was changed to life imprisonment without parole for twenty years.

Since the original trial, the only witness against Tyler has recanted her testimony, and the murder weapon has been "lost."

The decision of the appeals court came in a rehearing after the conviction was ruled unconstitutional last year.

United Mine Workers backs D.C. rally for Atlanta children

The following statement was released by the United Mine Workers of America on May 11.

Sam Church, Jr., president of the United Mine Workers of America, today endorsed the May 25 "Rendezvous for Life's Sake" that is sponsored by the Committee to Stop the Children's murders and is being held to protest the Atlanta murders and increasing violence against children nationwide.

Church called the planned rally "a noble effort to mobilize public opinion and concern for fighting continuing attacks on the lives and well-being of this nation's children."

"The members of the United Mine Workers are all too familiar with bloodshed," Church said. "Each year thousands of coal miners are disabled in the nation's mines, and thousands more die from injuries and black lung disease."

"Needless death is no stranger to us, so it's not hard for our members to sympathize with the parents and friends of the victims of the senseless killings in Atlanta," Church added.

The committee sponsoring the May 25 rally at the Lincoln Memorial here in the nation's capital is chaired by Camille



'Members of UMW are all too familiar with bloodshed.'

Bell, the mother of one of the victims in the string of killings in Atlanta, nine-year-old Yusef Bell.

"I have a great respect for Mrs. Bell for trying to do something about these terrible crimes," Church said. "I also have the deepest sympathy for her and all the other relatives and friends of the victims of

these irrational murders."

The union leader added that on the day of the rally, a wreath would be placed at the union's international headquarters here in memory of Atlanta's murdered children, a measure usually taken only in memory of union brothers and sisters killed in the nation's mines.

Congress opens assault on affirmative-action programs

By Bill Gottlieb

Rep. Robert Walker (R-Pa.) has introduced legislation that would ban the use of numerical quotas to increase school enrollment or hiring of Blacks, Latinos, or women. Walker indicated that the bill has the approval of President Ronald Reagan.

The May 7 *New York Times* reported that the Walker bill, "if adopted, would bar the Equal Opportunity Commission from requiring goals and timetables for hiring women and members of minority groups. It would also prohibit the Office of Federal Contract and Compliance Practices from making such numerical goals a condition of eligibility for Federal contracts."

The Senate Judiciary Committee's subcommittee for the Constitution is also getting in on the act. The subcommittee's chairman, Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), has introduced a pro-

posed constitutional amendment that would forbid federal and state governments from making "distinctions on account of race, color or national origin."

The subcommittee held hearings in early May on affirmative action. While Hatch called affirmative action "an assault on America," Martin Kilson, a Harvard professor and the only Black witness to be called, explained that from the days of slavery to the 1960s, something "rather like [affirmative action] had gone to whites."

The affirmative action programs and quotas won in the 1960s and 1970s were a means to overcome centuries of discrimination. They marked a victory not only for women and Blacks, but for the whole labor movement.

Reagan, Walker, Hatch, and the employers are going after these gains with a vengeance, just like they're trying to get

busing and abortion rights. It's the cutting edge of their assault on working people as a whole. That's why every working person should demand retention and extension of affirmative action.



ORRIN HATCH

New York meeting demands U.S. Navy get out of Vieques

By Bill Gretter

NEW YORK—A "Cultural Evening in Support of Vieques" held here May 16 drew 175 people. More than \$550 was raised to support the struggle of the people of that small island off the coast of Puerto Rico. The meeting featured performances by Puerto Rican musicians, poets, and dancers. It was sponsored by the New York Committee in Support of Vieques.

The people of Vieques are

struggling to get the U.S. Navy off their land.

U.S. Navy bases occupy three-fourths of the Puerto Rican island. The Navy carries out practice bombing and amphibious assault exercises on the eastern side. The western side is used for weapons storage. Agriculture has been almost eliminated there, and the fishing industry is now being destroyed.

The base in Vieques is part of a network of U.S. military bases

in Puerto Rico, in Panama, and in Guantánamo, Cuba, through which U.S. imperialism seeks to maintain its domination of Latin America. The struggle against the Navy's presence continues under the leadership of the Vieques fishermen's association.

For more information, contact: National Vieques Support Network, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012.

Why won't Atlanta cops find racist killers?

By Maceo Dixon

ATLANTA—A heinous crime is being perpetrated against the black community in Atlanta.

Twenty-seven young Blacks have been murdered and there have been no arrests. There are no clues. No suspects. And no end in sight to the kidnappings and killings.

Many questions

Many questions need to be answered by Atlanta's police, city hall, the FBI, and the Reagan administration.

Why, after one year and nine months since the first child was murdered, are there no clues and no suspects?

What does the police department, FBI, and city government have to hide?

Why is the public kept in the dark?

Why haven't the major news media in Atlanta or nationwide asked these questions?

Simple. There is a racist cover-up by the city, state, and federal governments.

Worse than that, they are attempting to blame the slain victims for their own deaths.

A brief summary of the facts shows this:

The FBI, cops, and city officials have refused to inform the public of the progress or details of the investigation.

The capitalist media have featured articles about how the slain youth had been out "selling their bodies," "hustling," or "running drugs." And how the parents "weren't looking out for them." And how they "came from broken homes."

These racist slanders have been echoed by the cops, city hall, and the FBI. In fact, this has been their consistent policy in conducting the investigation.

Cops refused to respond to a call for help from Patrick Baltazar, who telephoned to report that a white man had tried to lure him into a car.

The Black youth was found dead shortly afterwards.

A Black man was arrested for firing at a car that had tried to pick up another Black youth. Yet the white driver was not arrested or even considered a suspect.

Nor did the cops investigate published reports that a man in a police car, with a police uniform in the back seat, has repeatedly tried to pick up Black youths.

Many Blacks have suspected a cop may be involved. Yet there have been no questions asked by the special police task force.

Klan in local police

City officials and the FBI have not even asked their agents in the Klan to turn over information about the activities of this racist group—which has training camps in Alabama to prepare for "race war," and seeks to recruit white police in Atlanta. One Klan leader has bragged on national TV that the KKK already has several members in the city's police force.

The cops have not asked any questions of the Nazis or of the National States' Rights Party, headed by racist J. B. Stoner, whose headquarters is right outside Atlanta.

Instead of seriously investigating the killings and taking adequate steps to protect the Black community, these local and federal officials have been investigating and accusing the mothers and those trying to protect the children.

They even denounced the formation of several community patrols, consisting of residents volunteering to watch out for neighborhood children.

Camille Bell, mother of slain Yusef Bell, has correctly described the official attitude as "a smokescreen" being used to cover something up, "to keep me from knowing."

Another aspect of this smokescreen is the lie spread by the media and Atlanta officials that the killings are not racist—just a reflection of violence in American society today.

No conspiracy?

Police Commissioner Lee Brown pro-



Demonstrations like this one of 10,000 in Harlem are needed in Atlanta and across the country to force the government to stop the racist murders in Atlanta.

claimed that "It is difficult for local people to separate what is happening in Atlanta from the killings of Blacks in Buffalo, the Vernon Jordan shooting and other incidents. There is a temptation to believe there is a major conspiracy against Blacks, but I certainly don't buy that."

Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson was even more blunt. Speaking to a news conference on March 17, two days after 1,500 people marched there to protest the killings, Jackson told residents to "lower their voices" and "stop trying to pin the blame" for the murders on "any racial group."

Millions of Blacks and other working people may not know the "racial group" of the killer or killers, but that's not the point.

The issue is still racism.

We know the color of the victims is Black—the same color as the victims in Buffalo, the man lynched in Mobile, Alabama, and the joggers shot in Salt Lake City.

If the victims had been white, the national guard and the army would have been sent immediately to Atlanta to find the killers. They would be patrolling the banks of the Chattahoochee River, where several bodies have been found.

Working people—Black and white—across the country recognize that this is racism. That's why there has been a massive outpouring of solidarity with Atlanta. Demonstrations have occurred in Harlem, Newark, Jersey City, Atlanta, and on the West Coast.

The attempt of the cops, the city officials, the FBI, and the federal government to deny the racist character of these killings—like their attempts to blame the mothers and slander the victims—is part of a campaign to demobilize and confuse Atlanta's Black community. It's part of a cover-up to get the heat off the Reagan and Jackson administrations for their failure to conduct a serious investigation, and to catch the killer or killers.

They fear that when the murderer's identity is disclosed, the Black community may explode in a rebellion like Miami—especially if the cops are involved.

Maynard Jackson admitted this.

"You would string us up," he said, "if we told you all we knew," the March 28 *Pittsburgh Courier* reported.

This is also why the Jackson adminis-

tration is attempting to divert attention from the issue of racism.

Clamp down on community

How? Clamp down on the Black community just as any good capitalist may-or would do.

The city has instituted a curfew, requiring youths fifteen years and under to be off the streets by 7 p.m. under penalty of jail or fines.

The state legislature is trying to pass new bills on the death penalty.

Instead of solving the crimes, emphasis has been placed on beefing up the police force. That's where our federal tax dollars have gone. Police patrols have increased in the city by 33 percent. Mayor Jackson is campaigning to hire 400 additional police. Yet at the same time, he wants to take cops off the murder investigation to spend more attention on "normal crime."

But Jackson has some additional worries. The killings have put his pro-capitalist administration in a bind.

The murders come in the context of the racist, antilabor offensive coming from the White House and being carried out by every city administration in the country—including Jackson's which is primarily Black.

Like a Black foreman or supervisor who administers a plant or a department for a white boss, Jackson administers the city for the entire boss class—the owners of the corporations and banks—who profit from discrimination against Blacks.

The last thing these rulers of Atlanta want is a Black rebellion, and Jackson knows that.

And, like a good foreman, he certainly doesn't want to "lead a strike" by mobilizing the Black community to demand an end to the racist attacks.

The Jackson administration needs to keep the illusion alive that Black Democrats and Republicans in office are different than whites—and that Atlanta is, in fact, the "Black Mecca."

That's why you have not seen the same outpouring of support for the Black community by unions and civil rights groups in Atlanta.

Racists emboldened

But, by demobilizing the Black community to save their own hides and do the rulers bidding, the Jackson administration is actually emboldening the racists in Atlanta and across the country.

That's why mobilizations of the Black community and its supporters are crucial.

More demonstrations like the May 25 rally in Washington, D.C., are needed around the country—including in Atlanta.

The green ribbon campaign, a constant reminder that the eyes of America are on Atlanta, is also critical.

Such actions are the only way to force the Reagan administration and Atlanta officials to find the killer or killers.

The support of several national unions in this effort is particularly important.

Miners' support

The United Mine Workers, currently on strike and in the forefront of the fight against the employers offensive, is conducting a special wreath-laying ceremony on May 25—to help focus national attention on the murders in Atlanta and to show their solidarity. (See article on page 4.)

On May 14, District 65 of the United Auto Workers in New York City held a special membership meeting of 2,000 to 3,000 people to show solidarity with Atlanta.

The Philadelphia and New York Transit Workers, and other unions, have given green ribbons to their members.

Such a movement of the Black community and the unions, as well as other supporters, can demand a public investigation—an end to all secrecy. It can call for opening up the files of the cops and FBI, and making public all details of the investigation.

In addition, the racist cover-up in Atlanta necessitates the formation of an independent Black commission of inquiry—led by the mothers of the victims, labor, and civil rights leaders—to investigate for itself, and to take the steps it feels necessary to end the murders and find the killer or killers.

In this way, the national outrage over these racist killings can be organized into a force that can put an end to these attacks.

Reading on the Fight Against Racism

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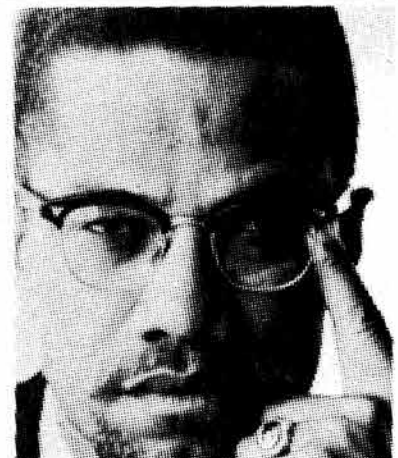
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FBI witnesses knock hole in gov't case

By Michael Baumann
and Harry Ring

NEW YORK—Pursuing its trial against the federal government, the Socialist Workers Party called FBI agent Charles Mandigo back to the witness stand May 14, followed by FBI burglar Arthur Greene.

Their testimony left a hole the size of a Mack truck in the government's defense.

The socialists have put the FBI, CIA, and Immigration and Naturalization Service on trial for more than four decades of investigation, harassment, wiretaps, burglaries, and disruption programs directed against them solely because of their political beliefs. They are demanding a halt to such operations, along with payment of \$40 million in damages.

In its defense, the government has claimed that this attention from its political police agencies was warranted by the suspicion that the socialists have or will commit serious crimes.

Taken together, the testimony of Mandigo and Greene delivered one of the most serious blows yet to the government's case. It clearly established:

- the FBI claims of possible SWP and YSA violations of the Voorhis ("foreign affiliation") Act were nothing but a pretext for investigation;
- the SWP and YSA have never violated a single criminal statute;
- the SWP and YSA were being investigated, by illegal means, solely because they were "not on the side of the government."

A few typos

Mandigo testified first. He is the author of an affidavit—a portion of which the FBI has insisted must remain secret—that was supposed to establish that leaders of the SWP committed, or planned to commit, crimes, thereby justifying forty years' surveillance of the party.

In his initial testimony April 13, Mandigo was so unresponsive to questions about possible SWP "criminal" acts that presiding Judge Thomas Griesa almost ordered him off the stand.

Following that initial testimony the socialists called as a witness George Breitman, a veteran leader of the SWP who demonstrated that the public portion of Mandigo's affidavit was riddled with factual errors. (See Breitman's testimony in last week's *Militant*.)

By the time Mandigo left the stand the second time, the credibility of his charges was reduced to utter shreds.

Questioned by SWP attorney Margaret Winter, Mandigo admitted his affidavit contained "a few typographical errors, and a few oversights."

There was indeed a multiplicity of errors, typographical and otherwise.

Not only were quotations, dates, and names of individuals and organiza-

tions hopelessly scrambled. But when Judge Griesa forced the FBI to produce the "classified" documents on which Mandigo's assertions of "seditious" utterances by party leaders were based, they turned out to be worthless informer reports.

One such document was produced to back up the charge that SWP leader "James P. Cannon said that Russia wants war now," and in event of such a war "the SWP will support Russia against imperialist America." This turned out to be a report of a report of the SWP's 1950 national convention.

Griesa posed the question: "How many hearsays have we got there? You have got the informant telling the FBI that someone reported on the national convention that Cannon believes..."

Little wonder the FBI wanted to keep such documents "secret."

Soon Mandigo was in even deeper trouble. He was pressed by Winter as to whether FBI documents contained any information about Cannon of criminal activity, actual or potential.

No, Mandigo responded, only "associational conduct" with the Fourth International. This, he said, "might" violate the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the Internal Security Act, or the Voorhis Act.

(The SWP was forced to formally disaffiliate from the Fourth International in 1940, following passage of the reactionary Voorhis Act.)

Get concrete

Judge Griesa took over the questioning.

"Let's put aside those things about the relationship," he said, "and let's talk about something that has to do with more physical acts, like sabotage or violence or robbery..."

Mandigo responded: "I do not have any such information, your honor."

After a few more questions, Griesa again posed the issue. "The government," he observed, "keeps asserting this proposition about the possible violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act and the Voorhis Act."

"Now... nobody would even contend that you have to have a forty-year-long surveillance of the SWP and the YSA in order to determine whether they violated the Voorhis Act or the Foreign Agents Registration Act."

"And it is quite clear that the FBI didn't have the slightest interest in those subjects. They never prosecuted anybody for it. I don't even know why we keep talking about the Voorhis Act as far as this possible criminal activity."

He continued, "I would like to have somebody from the FBI to get up on the stand and tell me that the reason they hired all these informants and engaged in all these Cointelpro activities and had all these millions of sheets of paper developed, and spent all this money was to determine



FBI agent Charles Mandigo, recalled to witness stand by socialists.

whether anybody should be prosecuted for violation of the Voorhis Act.

"You know perfectly well that that wasn't the case."

FBI burglar

Griesa deepened this line of questioning with the next witness, Arthur Greene.

A retired thirty-year FBI man, Greene was assigned by the New York office to oversee the investigation of the Young Socialist Alliance from 1957 (when formation of the youth group was still in the discussion stage) to 1966.

In this capacity he participated in "between seventy-five and ninety" burglaries of YSA and SWP offices in New York.

Enough on Voorhis Act!

Greene first claimed that one of the FBI's "highest objectives" in the break-ins was to determine whether the YSA and SWP were violating the "original Voorhis Act or subsequent federal statutes."

"Did the FBI come to any conclusion as to whether the Voorhis Act was violated or not?" Griesa asked.

When Greene replied that he could not "recall," Griesa reminded him that the socialists had in fact "never been prosecuted for violation of the Voorhis Act."

Griesa added that after "endless investigations... one would sort of

think that maybe the FBI got enough information on that subject." So were there any other laws the socialists were suspected of breaking?

When government attorney Edward Williams suggested the Smith "internal security" act, Griesa responded by asking when the socialists had last been prosecuted under it.

"I believe in 1941," Williams said. "1941. We are now in 1981," Griesa said. "What did you decide about the Smith Act violations, since 1941?"

When Williams declined to answer, Griesa returned to Greene.

"The federal government must have statutes prohibiting things like bombings and assassinations and kidnappings and sabotage," he said. "I never hear anything about that in this case. We hear all about the Voorhis Act."

No evidence of any crime

Griesa continued questioning Greene.

"Did you ever discover a firearm" during the entries into the socialists' headquarters?

"During the entries, no."

"Did you ever discover a bomb?"

"No, I did not."

"Or a hand grenade?"

"No, but that was one of our objectives..."

"Did you ever discover any reason to believe you would find one?"

"No."

"Did you ever discover anything



At the trial...

Tom Pontolillo is the chairman of Division 501 of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. His local works in the New York-New Jersey area.

Pontolillo has attended the Socialist Workers Party trial twice and plans to go again. Why?

"It's an education in how the American justice system works. I'd encourage other people to go to the trial also."

Will the trial accomplish anything?

"It's very timely. The FBI is

trying to roll back changes made since the '60s and '70s. This is a challenge to them.

"They're after everything. Even the voting rights act is threatened."

How is the case relevant to the unions?

"The situation we have with Conrail and Amtrak is completely political. If the government can get away with cracking down on the SWP, it can get away with cracking down on railway labor. Because we're in a political fight with the government too."

about a plan to commit bombings?"

"No."

"An assassination?"

"No."

Griesa said he had trouble putting what he was being told "together with what I have learned as a judge about the requirements of search warrants. . . ."

He asked Greene if he had ever received any instructions by the FBI about what were proper and improper methods of conducting an investigation.

"Just anything you can recall,"

Griesa said. "You take all the time you want and tell me all the training you got on that."

Criminals have rights

Greene answered: "We were instructed in regard to criminal matters that search warrants were required."

"How about domestic security investigation? . . . Do you remember at any time getting any training, having any literature given to you, anything of that line about what is proper and what is improper on entering premises for security investigations?"

"No, I do not," Greene answered.

What he did recall was the basis on which the FBI had been authorized to investigate the SWP.

Authorization came from a presidential "edict," issued by Roosevelt "back in the late 1930s," making the FBI "responsible for internal security."

"It was our responsibility," he said, "to ascertain the very internal security threats on an organizational and an individual basis."

"Should something happen, we would want to know who is on the side of this government and who is not." (Emphasis added.)

PRDF: funds urgently needed

By Harry Ring

Jules Feiffer is pitching in on the project. How about you?

Feiffer, the noted cartoonist, has designed a special button which will be used by the Political Rights Defense Fund in its current drive to raise \$125,000.

PRDF is backing the Socialist Workers Party suit against the federal government and the money is urgently needed by the time the trial ends.

Progress is being made in raising the money, says PRDF spokesperson Holbrook Mahn. But, he adds, a good deal more effort is needed to ensure success.

So far more than \$33,000 has been received by the committee. There is another \$37,000 that has been pledged at PRDF rallies in various parts of the country. Assuming all the pledges are met, \$55,000 remains to be raised.

An encouraging step in that direction was made in Los Angeles. There, an array of notables shared the platform at a May 16 PRDF meeting. Participants in the meeting contributed and pledged more than \$3,000 for the fund.

Funds and political support for the case are being gathered in more modest, but equally important, ways as well. In Indianapolis, a group of PRDF supporters held a barbecue. A number of industrial workers participated, as

well as other supporters of political rights. Elizabeth Stone, a member of the SWP National Committee, addressed the gathering. There was good food, discussion, and more than \$100 raised for PRDF.

In Philadelphia, supporters are conducting a raffle for the cause.

A series of rallies across the country will be held in June. All will help in completing the fund effort.

The money is urgently needed. Emphasizing this, Mahn ticked off a number of substantial costs the committee must meet.

A special eight-page tabloid with the most recent developments in the case is being published in a run of 100,000.

In addition, the committee's brochure giving the basic facts of the case and indicating the scope of committee support has been exhausted. A new edition of 35,000 is slated.

Printing and mailing these two items alone will cost more than \$12,000.

Court costs are substantial.

Before the trial is over, Mahn estimates, just buying the daily transcripts of the trial proceedings will cost more than \$20,000.

Travel expenses for witnesses will run around \$7,000.

Reproducing necessary legal documents and other material has already



New button designed for PRDF by cartoonist Jules Feiffer.

cost more than \$10,000.

And during the peak period of the trial, the phone company is sending bills that run to \$1,500 a month.

Just adding up that incomplete list of expenses should make clear how urgently the committee needs the \$125,000.

Finally, about that Feiffer button. Everyone who contributes \$10 or more gets a complimentary one. So send in a contribution today, get the Feiffer eye-catcher by return mail, and use it to help spread the word about this fight for everyone's civil liberties.

DAY BY DAY

WHAT HAPPENED IN COURT

During the trial of the Socialist suit the 'Militant' will run capsule day-by-day summaries of court proceedings.

DAY 25: THURSDAY, MAY 14

FBI agent Charles Mandigo, recalled to stand by socialists, is unable to substantiate any charge whatsoever of criminal activity by YSA and SWP leaders. Acknowledges profusion of errors in FBI affidavit on this topic previously submitted.

Deposition of former U.S. Army employee John O'Brien introduced. O'Brien says he helped carry out army program in Chicago to use ultrarightist Legion of Justice to disrupt SWP, YSA, and anti-war movement.

DAY 26: FRIDAY MAY 15

FBI agent Arthur Greene, who broke into socialists' offices between "seventy-five and ninety" times, says aim was to establish "who is on the side of this government and who is not."

Laura Miller, former member of YSA and SWP, testifies about Legion of Justice attack on YSA member's home, Chicago party headquarters.

Army attorney claims no records exist on such a program. Judge Griesa orders another search, with special attention to seeing if they are somewhere else than in "regular files."

DAY 27: MONDAY, MAY 18

Government admits error in claiming existence of 'International Operational Center of Fourth International,' a term chosen for its military connotations.

FBI files on Timothy Redfearn, an informer in Denver YSA, introduced. Documents show FBI accepted documents he stole.

Captain Kevin Flannigan says worldwide search for documents on army disruption of SWP turned up nothing.

DAY 28: TUESDAY, MAY 19

SWP member Priscilla Schenk testifies on burglaries carried out by FBI informer Redfearn.

Judge Griesa orders government to determine whether phone of former SWP member Hedda Garza was illegally wiretapped, as she believes.

Deposition of Mary Lawton, former attorney with Justice Department, introduced. Lawton says that although FBI repeatedly requested explicit written instructions on SWP and YSA after official termination of investigation in 1976, only informal, verbal response was given.

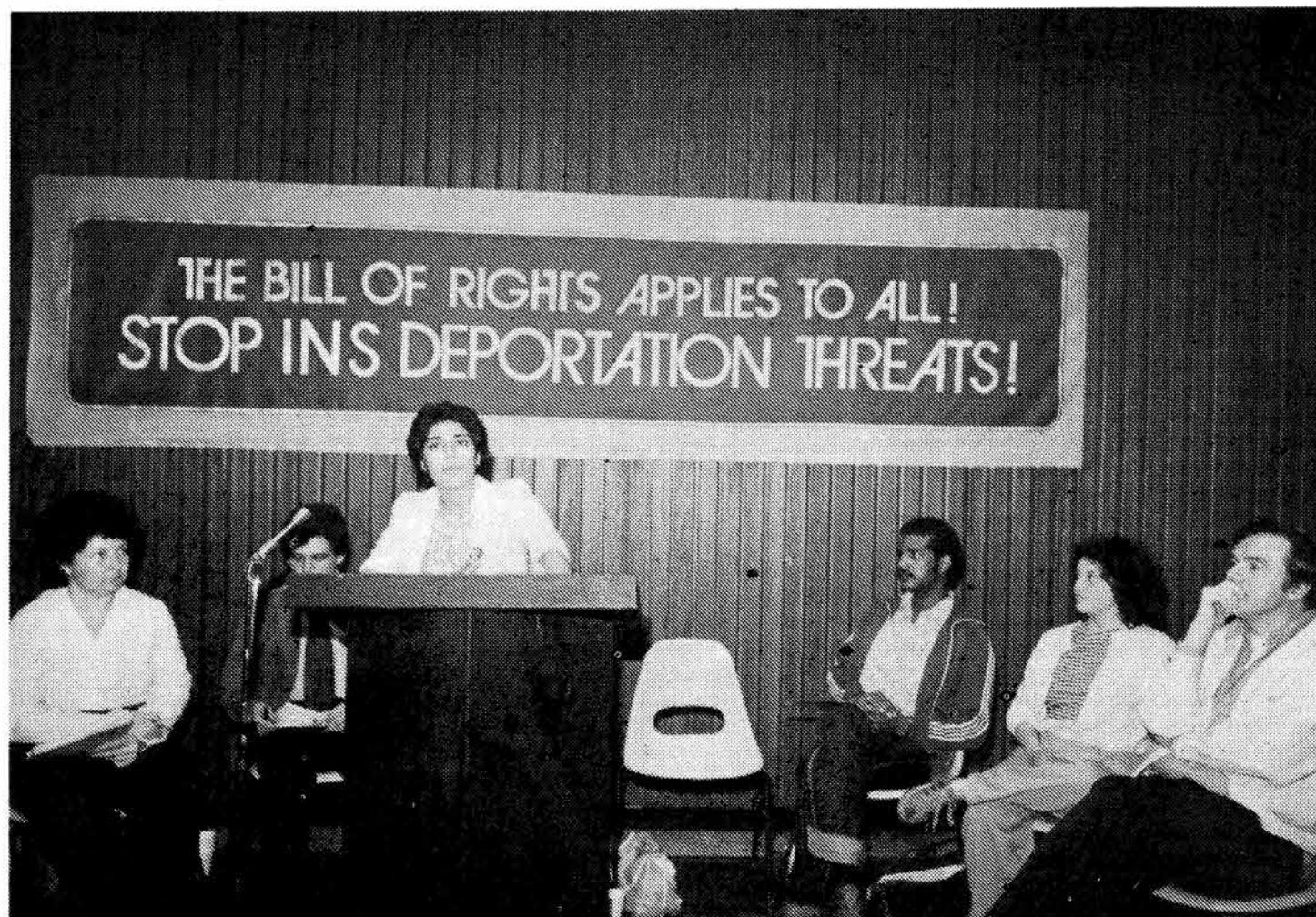
SWP leader José Pérez, a native of Cuba, testifies on numerous FBI visits, political harassment by INS.

Files introduced showing CIA fabricated documents, falsely attributed them to Trotskyists, and had them published in Latin America.

DAY 29: WEDNESDAY, MAY 20

Psychologist Hannah Levin, an expert witness, testifies on damaging effects of FBI's spying and disruption program.

SWP member and rail worker Steve Wattenmaker, an army draftee in 1971, testifies about harassment by military officials because of his socialist politics and opposition to Vietnam War.



Militant/Lou Howort

More than 100 turned out for Political Rights Defense Fund rally in Brooklyn May 15, protesting threat to deport foreign-born socialists and political activists. Speakers, from left, Barbara Bowman, Political Rights Defense Fund; Héctor Marroquin, member of Socialist Workers Party under order of deportation to Mexico; Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, member of Young Socialist Alliance under threat of deportation to Iran; Johnny McCalla, Association of Haitian Workers; Donna Cooper, Mobilization for Survival; Father Don Kenna, New York H-Block/Armagh Committee.

Marcus Garvey—victim of deportation

By Michael Baumann

The use of immigration laws to give the boot to "subversives" has a long history.

One chapter, little known today, is how the "land of the free" first used deportation as a weapon against the Black movement.

The year was 1927. The victim was Marcus Garvey, founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA).

Since his deportation Garvey has been so thoroughly written out of the history books that a few facts about his life and organization are in order.

Garvey was born in Jamaica in 1887, the youngest of eleven children of a poor farming family descended from escaped African slaves.

Apprenticed to a printer at age fourteen, he became a foreman at eighteen and unemployed two years later for helping lead a strike.

Over the next several years Garvey traveled widely, observing and protesting the conditions of Black laborers from the Panama Canal to the plantations and mines of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador.

Returning to Jamaica in 1914, he founded the first branch of what was to become the most powerful organization of Blacks the world had seen.

The UNIA was the first effort to organize poor and working-class Blacks. It stressed the common interests of all people of African descent, wherever they might happen to live. Its aim, in Garvey's words, was to unite "all the Negro peoples of the world."

The UNIA taught pride in being Black. It stressed the rich history of Africa before white colonization, the need to end colonial rule, and the need to win social, economic, and political rights for Blacks everywhere.

Garvey came to the United States in 1916. He toured much of the country, lecturing on the aims of the UNIA. He organized a branch in New York; within a few months more than a thousand members had been enrolled in Harlem.

Over the next few years the UNIA exploded into an organization of more



Garvey, left, on ship deck in New Orleans, 1927, as he was about to be deported. Above, crowd gathered to protest his expulsion from country.

than a million members worldwide, taking its call for Black unity to forty countries on four continents.

In the United States, its most important base, the UNIA published a weekly newspaper, the *Negro World*. Containing sections in French and Spanish for distribution in the colonial world, the *World* became the mobilizing voice of the struggle for independence in Africa and Black rights in the imperialist centers.

Conditions made the United States ripe for Garvey's movement. It drew its strength from the convergence of three potent social forces: migrants from the South confronting the cold blast of unemployment and job discrimination in the North; small shopkeepers ruined by the postwar economic crisis; and Uncle Sam's Black soldiers, 200,000 of whom returned to racial discrimination in the United States after fighting in Europe to "make the world safe for democracy."

By 1919 Garvey had formed thirty chapters in different U.S. cities.

The aims of the UNIA were concretized in a massive convention in New

York in 1920, attended by thousands of delegates from all over the U.S., Central America, and the Caribbean. Preceded by a march through Harlem, the opening session drew a crowd of 25,000 to hear Garvey's revolutionary message:

"We are the descendants of a suffering people; we are the descendants of a people determined to suffer no longer. . . . We shall organize the

400,000,000 Negroes of the world into a vast organization to plant the banner of freedom on the great continent of Africa. . . . If Europe is for the Europeans, then Africa is for the black peoples of the world."

A declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World was adopted by the convention. Protesting discrimination Blacks suffered, it demanded basic political, social, and economic rights. The colors chosen for the banner of the Garvey movement were the origin of today's familiar red, black, and green.

A movement of this size and scope among America's most oppressed did not escape government attention. When ridicule failed, the Garvey movement was hounded by libel suits, tax claims, court cases, and "sedition" investigations.

Eventually Garvey himself was railroaded to prison on a spurious charge of mail fraud. When protests forced his early release, he was deported in 1927, as a "convicted felon."

America's white rulers deported Garvey, a contemporary Black newspaper explained, because he "made black people proud of their race. In a world where black is despised, he taught them that black is beautiful. He taught them to admire and praise black things and black people. . . . he heard and responded to the heart beat of his race."

This was the crime of the first Black man in American history to be deported for his ideas.

COME TO THE TRIAL

Show your support.

Daily from 10 a.m. at the Federal Courthouse,

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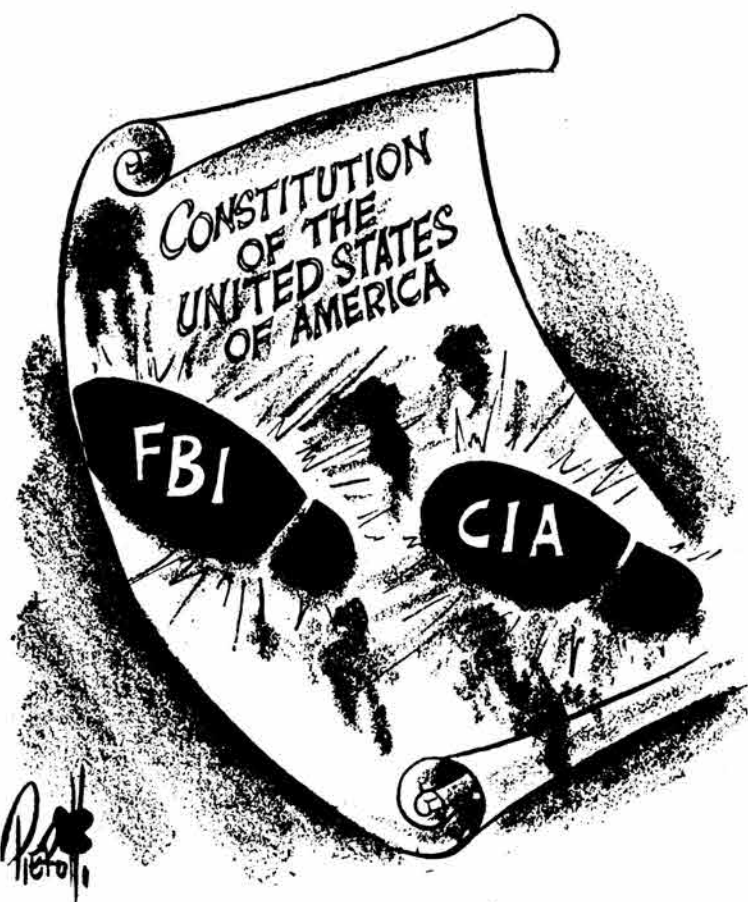
335 Atlantic Ave., 3-5 p.m.

Political Rights Defense Fund rallies planned

Supporters of the Political Rights Defense Fund are planning rallies across the country during May and June. Up-to-the-minute trial news on the Socialist Workers Party \$40 million lawsuit against the government will be a main attraction.

Victims of the government's political police—trade unionists, Black rights activists, participants in the women's movement, and others—will be featured speakers. For more information on the rally nearest you, call the numbers listed below.

May 30	Schenectady (518) 374-1494	June 10	Miami (305) 769-3478	June 19	Houston (713) 524-8761
May 30	Salt Lake City (801) 355-1124	June 12	Oakland (415) 763-3792	June 27	Newark (201) 643-3341
May 30	Twin Cities (612) 644-6325	June 13	Seattle (206) 723-5330	June 20	Atlanta (404) 872-7229
May 30	Charleston, W.V. (304) 345-3040	June 13	Piedmont (919) 723-3419	June 20	Birmingham (205) 323-3079
May 31	Detroit (313) 875-5322	June 13	Dallas (214) 826-4711	June 20	San Antonio (512) 222-8398
June 6	Pittsburgh (412) 488-7000	June 13	Chicago (312) 939-0737	June 21	Cincinnati (513) 751-2636
June 6	San Diego (714) 234-4630	June 13	Cleveland (216) 579-9369	June 27	Iron Range (218) 749-6327
June 6	New York (212) 533-2902	June 13	St. Louis (314) 725-1570	June 27	Tidewater (804) 380-0133
June 6	Philadelphia (215) 927-4747	June 13	San Francisco (415) 824-1992	June 27	Morgantown (304) 296-0055
June 6	Gary (219) 884-9509	June 14	Portland (503) 222-7225	June 28	Kansas City (816) 753-0404
June 7	Baltimore (301) 235-0013	June 14	San Jose (408) 998-4007	July 11	Washington, D.C. (202) 797-7699
June 7	Indianapolis (317) 283-6149	June 14	Louisville (502) 587-8418	July 11	Boston (617) 262-4621



Grenadian revolution comes under attack

By Nelson González

Washington has stepped up its attack on the Grenadian revolution.

It comes in the guise of a three-part series of investigative reports on Grenada, titled "Prisoner in the Police State." The series was conducted by Dave Marash and aired by CBS the week of May 14.

The pretext for this slander campaign was the Grenadian government's arrest of Clem Langdon, a Grenadian and former resident of Brooklyn.

The "evidence" that Grenada is a police state was concocted by CBS through selective interviews, "artist conception" sketches, and crude innuendoes. These portrayed Langdon's case as that of an individual unjustly arrested, beaten, tortured, shot, yet to be charged with any crime, and not expected to be tried.

Clem Langdon, known as the "Yank" by other detainees, was admittedly an opponent of the Grenadian revolution. He was put under preventive detention by Grenadian authorities on suspicion of counterrevolutionary activities two months after a terrorist bombing killed and injured a large number of people.

His case is being used by CBS as a smokescreen to hide the tremendous advances of the Grenadian revolution.

The CBS broadcast coincides with—and was undoubtedly influenced by—current State Department policy. It is aimed at turning the American people—especially Blacks in New York City where the broadcasts were mainly heard—against the Grenadian revolution. Further it's aimed at intimidating American workers from visiting Grenada, in an attempt to strangle the central aspect of the Grenadian economy: tourism.

Propaganda of this sort also helps create an atmosphere that favors recruitment in the United States (whose Grenadian population exceeds that of Grenada itself) of individuals hostile to the revolution. The example of Cuba shows such individuals are often used to conduct terrorist activities against the revolution.

Since the overthrow of the dictatorial Gairy regime in March 1979, the Grenadian people have come under intensi-



Rev. Herbert Daughtry addresses demonstrators protesting anti-Grenada slanders at CBS building in New York.

nadian people have come under intensified attacks on several fronts.

On June 19, 1980, during a massive rally at the Grenadian capital of St. Georges, Gairyite terrorists planted a bomb aimed at the leadership of the New Jewel Movement, Grenada's governing party. Maurice Bishop, the prime minister, was not harmed, but two youths were killed, and thirty-eight other people were hospitalized. Twenty-one people have been detained in connection with the bombing and will face trial soon.

On the economic front, Washington has been on a campaign to sabotage the Grenadian economy. The most recent move involved using diplomatic pressure to persuade European and other nations not to contribute to Grenada's airport project, vitally necessary

to the island's tourist industry.

This coordinated attempt at intimidation, harassment, and economic strangulation has now been escalated with the airing of the CBS series.

Grenada's Attorney General and Minister of Legal Affairs Kendrick Radix immediately flew to the United States to confront CBS's charges. On a WLIR radio talk show, Radix answered Marash's charges that Grenada was a police state.

He took up Marash's "concern" for political prisoners, urging him instead to "focus on Atlanta—we're not killing nobody down in Grenada."

"Nobody is being teargassed in our country as used to happen in the past," Radix explained. "These are the signs and the symbols of the new democracy... people are getting employment,

that is democratic; free health care, that is democratic; free education, that is democratic.

"We could not be building a police state in our country and support our brothers and sisters in South Africa and in Namibia for their liberation... because our foreign policy is an extension of our domestic policy."

Several days after the broadcasts, close to eighty people picketed the CBS building in New York City. Representing organizations such as the Black United Front, Dominica-Liberation Movement, and Caribbean Peoples Alliance, they chanted, "CBS, USA, Hands Off Grenada."

In addition, the Grenadian Mission is planning a May 23 rally at the Mahalia Jackson High School at 790 East New York in Brooklyn.

2,000 protesters greet 'The Gipper'

By Jon Hillson

SOUTH BEND, Ind.—In his first speech outside Washington in two months, Ronald Reagan was met by more than 2,000 demonstrators here at Notre Dame University's commencement on May 17.

The protest, called by the Chicago Religious Task Force on El Salvador, drew foes of Reagan's foreign and domestic policies from across the central Midwest, some traveling from as far as St. Louis.

"Money for Jobs, Not for War; U.S. Out of El Salvador!" was the main chant.

Wearing his cap and gown, Notre Dame Prof. Peter Walshe blasted the university administration's decision to give Reagan an honorary degree. He called the move contrary to "all that Notre Dame claims to stand for."

Several university alumni attended the march and rally outside the commencement center, while inside, scores of students wore white armbands to protest Reagan's presence. Two weeks earlier, 800 students had demonstrated here to oppose the invitation to Reagan.

Greetings were read to the rally from International Association of Machinists President William Winpisinger and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union President James Herman. In his message, Herman called the ILWU's decision not to

load military cargo to El Salvador the "only reasonable and humane alternative" to Reagan's support to the junta and the "reign of terror imposed on the people of El Salvador by their government."

Secundino Ramirez, of the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador, urged the crowd to keep up its antiwar efforts, to help "us write the real history of El Salvador, not the history imposed by the State Department of the United States, but the history written by the workers, the peasants, the students, the teachers, the people of El Salvador. And we can write it together with the North American people."

Also participating were Black hospital workers from Local 1199 in Gary; automobile workers from South Bend; members of the Indianapolis National Organization for Women; high school activists from the Detroit Committee Against Registration and the Draft; and senior citizens from Chicago.

Demonstrators carried antiwar signs as well as placards in defense of abortion rights and the Equal Rights Amendment; in solidarity with Atlanta's Black community; against nuclear power; and for Britain to get out of Ireland.

The overwhelming majority of the marchers were young. Many were fresh from the giant Washington an-

tiwar rally on May 3.

The size and spirit of the demonstrators demoralized a group of twenty-five flag-waving right wingers carrying signs saying, "Welcome, Gipper." This was a reference to Notre Dame football legend George Gipp, played by Reagan in the 1940 movie "Knute Rockne: All-American."

Utahns protest MX missile

By Ed Berger

SALT LAKE CITY—"Stop MX—Stop U.S. nuclear terrorism." "Fry chicken, not people."

These were some of the signs at the May 2 demonstration here against construction and deployment of the MX missile in Utah and Nevada. Estimates of the crowd ranged as high as 2,500.

Demonstrators heard a diverse list of speakers at rallies before and after the action. The threat to Native American land rights was discussed by Celeste Devin of Southern Utah State College and John O'Connell, an attorney for the Western Shoshone Sacred Lands Association.

Preston Truman of Citizens Call documented the huge increases in leukemia and cancer deaths from

nuclear testing in the 1950s and 1960s.

Bill Hoyle, chairman of the Utah Socialist Workers Party, declared: "The MX should not be put on railroads, not on submarines, not in silos, or on space shuttles. It should not be built at all!"

Gloria Firmage, past Utah Mother of the Year and now with Utahns United Against MX, spoke. So did rancher Cecil Garland and State Sen. Frances Farley.

Rev. Steven Sidorik, chairman of the Rocky Mountain Conference for the United Methodist Church, told the crowd: "To say that adding more nuclear missiles will improve our chances at avoiding nuclear war is 'theologically speaking' bullshit."

National Picket Line



The 'Militant' is starting the 'National Picket Line' column again. It will appear regularly with brief news items concerning the labor movement.

The 'National Picket Line' first appeared in the 'Militant' during World War II. It was edited by Marvel Scholl. She had written a similar column for the Teamsters' 'Northwest Organizer' in 1937.

In addition to this column, the 'Militant' will continue to run 'Union Talk.' That column features articles by union members concerning developments in their unions, or discussions with other workers.

We hope resuming the 'National Picket Line' will help keep 'Militant' readers better informed of labor news from around the country.

Let us know what's happening in your area—strike news, union resolutions, local press clippings, whatever—drop us a line at the 'Militant,' 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Mazzocchi campaigns in N.Y.

Supporters of Tony Mazzocchi, who is running for president of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union, held a fund-raising reception for his campaign in New York City May 13. More than one hundred people attended the gathering, which was sponsored by OCAW Local 8-149, Mazzocchi's home local.

Among those speaking in support of Mazzocchi were Sam Meyers, president of UAW Local 259, and Henry Foner, president of the Fur, Leather, and Machine Workers Joint Board, New York City.

Mazzocchi explained why he thought the labor movement needed a new orientation and a more democratic leadership to deal with stepped-up attacks. The strategy of supporting the Democratic Party, he said, was "no longer viable." He urged a "vigorous discussion of the possibility of forming a labor party."

In 1979, he ran for president of the union and lost by less than 1 percent of the vote.

News flash for the foreman

We've all seen it happen. Fayette Nale, a member of United Auto Workers Local 400 in Utica, Michigan, was fired by Ford Motor Company in 1974 after rejecting her foreman's sexual advances.

Nale decided to sue. On February 2, 1981, the courts—in a landmark decision—ordered Ford to pay Nale \$187,023.36 in damages, clear her employment record, and give back her seniority.

This case, and an article about sexual harassment on the job, are featured in the March issue of the UAW paper, *Solidarity*.

Teamster head dies

Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the two-million-member Teamsters Union, died May 6 of lung cancer.

A sixty-six-year-old vice-president, Roy Williams, was named interim president. He will run for president at the union's international convention, which opens June 1 in Las Vegas.

Teamsters for a Democratic Union has announced plans to run a candidate, Pete Camarata, in that election. TDU, a national group opposed to the present union officialdom, claims 8,000 members in forty chapters across the country.



... and the union members?

In case you were worried about Lee Iacocca, the chairman of Chrysler who voluntarily cut his pay to \$1 in 1979...

According to a recent stockholders report, Iacocca got a raise in 1980. He was paid \$116,321 for the last quarter of the year.

The Chrysler Board also managed to scrape together a \$500,000 bonus payment for him.

—Vivian Sahner

3,000 in N.Y. protest murder of Francis Hughes



Militant/Marc Lichtman

NEW YORK—Supporters of the Irish freedom struggle turned out for two actions May 16 to protest British occupation and murder of hunger striker Francis Hughes. Above, part of crowd of 3,000 at demonstration called by Irish Northern Aid. Earlier, 2-300 picketed British ship Queen Elizabeth II. Victor Gottbaum, executive director of District Council 37 of American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, spoke at press conference announcing this action. Sponsoring groups included H-Block/Armagh Committee and National Association for Irish Freedom.

Closing down Consol...

By Ginny Hildebrand

UPPER ST. CLAIR, Pa. — On the fifty-third and fifty-fourth days of the coal strike, Consolidation Coal Company operations were shut down tight. Not just their mine sites, but their corporate headquarters as well.

For two days, nearly 300 United Mine Workers members spanned the two entrances to the offices here, just outside of Pittsburgh.

The UMWA mobilization was provoked when a Consol employee driving a pickup truck struck a UMWA picketer May 15. Small groups of pickets have been maintaining a daily vigil at the corporate headquarters.

Hundreds of miners turned out at 6 a.m. the following Monday morning in response to the attack on the miner.

When local police moved to arrest a miner, they were convinced to back off. Dozens of strikers stepped forward to say that to arrest one, cops would have to arrest all.

A handful of employees, some in three-piece suits, defied the picket line to staff the Consol offices. Others were convinced by the pickets to take the day off.

Many passers-by in this affluent Pittsburgh suburb seemed chilled by the sight of hundreds of UMWA picketers. In contrast, school bus drivers, truckers, and construction workers honked, gave the clenched fist salute, and rolled down their windows to convey such messages as, "You people deserve everything you can get from these damn oil companies."

On the second day again only a few employees reached their offices. But at about noon, word arrived that the sheriff was on his way with a temporary restraining order limiting pickets to three at each gate.

Pickets then dispersed and regrouped several miles down the road.

Spirits were generally high at the end of the two days. For many it was their first opportunity since the strike began to demonstrate their anger. The arrogant BCOA negotiators, led by Consol head B.R. Brown, have been stonewalling the contract negotiations.

The large picket lines showed the company that at any time, on short notice, union members are prepared to mobilize, and that miners will not tolerate any violence against a single union member.

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How rail workers can fight the cutbacks

The following is a slightly abridged version of the talk given by Tom Pontolillo, chairman of Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Division 501, to the May 15 Militant Labor Forum in Newark, New Jersey.

Brothers and sisters:

As I join you tonight in this discussion, we find ourselves in the midst of perhaps the most serious predicament each of us may ever face. We find ourselves caught in a whirlwind of events which appear to change our situation on an almost daily basis. My hope is to be able to move all of us for just a few moments into the eye of the storm in order that we may calmly see



TOM PONTOLILLO

Militant Stu Singer

what is happening around us and, as a result, see what must be done in order to avoid the suffering which Reagan and company would gleefully force upon us.

Wednesday, April 29, produced for rail labor its greatest achievement in decades. Well over 30,000 of our brothers and sisters—nearly 25,000 in Washington alone—loudly and militantly voiced their outrage over the application of Reaganomics to the rail transportation industry in the Northeast. In our fight we have had the amazingly strong support of rail workers from other railroads as well as that of workers in other industries.

It is clear that we dropped a bombshell on Washington by our actions. And the bombshell is that the health of both the local leadership and the rank and file is better than even the optimists had felt.

An indication of our success, and the extent to which Washington was shaken up, was the timing of the sellout agreement, which occurred a mere five days after the march. In an attempt to stem the rising tide of consciousness and militancy on the part of the rank and file, Conrail and the government pulled out all the stops. Just imagine the pressure which must have been put on the RLEA [Railway Labor Executives' Association] in order to have achieved capitulation by a majority of our so-called leaders in so short a time. But now is not the time to sit around and bemoan our predicament. Our most important tasks lie in the immediate future.

Political solution

The solution to the Conrail/Amtrak situation is strictly political in nature. We have realized this for some time, and the RLEA is just beginning to admit to this fact. Even Washington now publicly states that this is so.

Our problem is that we have no political power in Washington any more, if indeed we ever did. Some of the political Rip van Winkles in our leadership trace our lack of influence to the fact that Ronald Reagan defeated Jimmy Carter last November. Naive attitudes like these are not only most dangerous, they are patently false.

The fact is that Carter had the same intentions as Reagan, although perhaps Carter's timetable for the destruction of our contracts was slightly more drawn out.

Our political impotence can be cured in only one way. And that way is definitely not to grovel before the existing political powers for a few crumbs from their banquet table. This type of behavior is the primary cause for our fight today for our very survival.

The time has come for the real leadership in the labor movement on all levels to coalesce and construct the

only organization which will secure for the workers of America the political power which will serve the workers as its sole interest—an American labor party.

Reagan's program

When one views the Reagan economic program as a whole, and considers the other statements which are coming out of Washington, two points become crystal clear.

One, that Reaganomics will drastically alter both the philosophy and the direction of this country.

And, two, that in the process a dastardly attempt is being made to radically change the relationship between individual freedom and constitutional rights on one hand, and the so-called property rights of faceless multinational conglomerates and the alleged national security concerns of government police agencies on the

Continued on next page

Rail workers at Newark forum

NEWARK—The May 15 Militant Labor Forum here was a chance for rail workers and others to get together and discuss the company and government attacks on the railroads.

It reflected some of the intensive discussions resulting from the Reagan budget cuts, the April 29 union-organized demonstrations, and the sweeping concessions made less than a week later by top union officials.

The forum was chaired by United Transportation Union member Beverly Andalora. The speakers were Sam Maffei, chairman of Machinists Local 1944; Richard Hagstrom from UTU Local 800; and Tom Pontolillo, chairman of Brotherhood of Locomotive

Engineers Division 501.

Maffei sketched an interesting picture of the decline of the railroads. He described how billions of tax dollars were used to build and modernize railroads for the profit of the owners.

Maffei's call for rail workers to unite in a single union brought shouts of agreement. The century-old issue is gaining new relevance for rail workers today.

In the discussion period, other rail workers—members of clerks, firemen, and engineers unions—spoke.

Richard Hagstrom and Tom Pontolillo had some suggestions along those lines. Excerpts from their talks appear on this and the following page.

Why Conrail, Amtrak should be nationalized

The following are excerpts from the text of a talk given by rail worker Richard Hagstrom to the May 15 Militant Labor Forum in Newark, New Jersey. Hagstrom is a recently laid-off fireman and a member of the United Transportation Union Local 800.

Two weeks ago today sixty-five firemen were laid off in Conrail's Atlantic region. The layoffs were blamed on the coal strike.

I don't believe that's the reason. It's an excuse for the company to do what they wanted to do in the first place. It's called speed-up, and it started hitting all the crafts long before the coal strike.

I don't blame the miners for striking. I support them. As individuals and union members, we should give them whatever support they need. We should also try to learn from them because they know how to conduct a strike. We want them on our side when we need help. That's the meaning of solidarity.

Solidarity is especially important on the railroad because the work force is divided up by craft, by union, by railroad, and by region.

Eugene V. Debs addressed this problem at the end of the 19th century when he organized the American Railroad Union. He said: "An injury to one should be an injury to all. It's wrong to be separate. The corporations do not take this view of it."

"When a road becomes involved in a strike, the other roads, the newspapers, the banks, and all the rest come to the rescue. I wish that labor might follow the example set by capital."

Recently it looks like the rail unions have begun learning from Poland

about solidarity. For once they acted together when they issued a united call for the April 29 demonstration in Washington, D.C. Many banners and speeches emphasized the theme of solidarity.

With this solidarity it seemed that we could go into the fight to save Conrail and Amtrak with every chance of success.

But less than a week after the demonstration, Fred Kroll, chairman of the Railway Labor Executives' Association—the same Fred Kroll who issued the call for the April 29 demonstration, the Fred Kroll who gave a militant speech at the Washington rally—gave the concept of solidarity a knife in the back.

He agreed to let Conrail workers lag behind the rest of the industry in wage increases for the next three years.

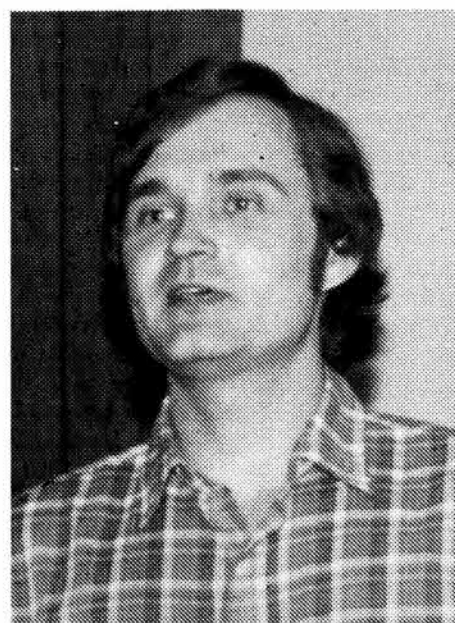
What do we get in return? A chance to have a union official on Conrail's board of directors, just like Fraser now sits on the Chrysler board.

Settlements like this pave the way for more defeats like the Milwaukee Road, Rock Island, and Railway Express, and ultimately for the breaking of the union as happened on the Florida East Coast.

The Florida East Coast is the model of what railroad owners and managers would like to see. It may have a criminal record with respect to safety and service, but it has an excellent record with respect to profits.

The government, the media, the railroad bosses are all in agreement that the only good railroad is a profitable railroad.

This attitude is wrong. Railroads should operate as a public service. Should we insist that fire departments



RICHARD HAGSTROM

Militant Stu Singer

turn a profit? Railroads are in the same category.

The loss of freight and passenger service would totally disrupt the economy, not to mention the highways, of the northeast.

The government complains about a \$200 million annual subsidy for Conrail and Amtrak. This doesn't mean it has anything against subsidies to banks and other giant corporations. On January 15 the Department of Transportation took \$2.11 billion from the U.S. Treasury and gave it to Penn Central, which went into bankruptcy years ago and no longer operates a single railroad.

It's a question of who benefits. Conrail and Amtrak should be subsidized.

And since they run on federal money, they should be nationalized. Right

now they are both privately-owned corporations that operate for private profit. They are shielded from public scrutiny and control.

But nothing could be further from the government's mind than nationalization. Now that billions of tax dollars have been pumped into Conrail, Washington thinks it's ripe for the next set of profiteers.

Conrail doesn't show a profit. But profits are still being made from Conrail, which has its own bondholders and financial entanglements. How many swindles must be concealed in the books! All the facts should be brought out for public inspection.

It is urgent that the railroads, and especially the bankrupt railroads, be nationalized and run in the public interest. Every other industrial country has done this.

In order to make sure that the railroads really are run in the public interest, they should be administered by a publicly elected board, whose meetings would be open to the public.

One of the things we need to do is to get management off our backs on a day-to-day basis so that railroads can be run safely and efficiently.

A leaflet put out last month by the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks showed that Conrail's annual deficit is about equal to Conrail management's total annual salaries. I think railroad workers should be responsible for normal operations. Let the managers work for a living, along with the bankers and all the other parasites that have profited from the business of wrecking railroads and ruining people's lives.

As they say on the railroad, "They just aren't qualified on our territory."

...BLE leader

Continued from preceding page

other. The prospects of the entire package are frightening, as all are threatened.

Reagan, the autocrat, intends to turn the clock back on everyone at least thirty years, in short order. And our "elected representatives" are both unable and unwilling, by their career-long history of prostitution to big business, to even try to stop Reagan.

Reagan's alleged mandate lies in the fact that both major political parties have strayed so far from the people they purport to serve that the best talent they could come up with for last year's presidential election consisted of an over-the-hill "B" movie actor and a "good ole boy" with squinty eyes, a flashy smile, and not a hell of a lot between the ears.

When Reagan can raise \$270,000 from his buddies—the oil company execs—to redo "Nancy's White House," you know damn well where we fit into anyone's plans.

And since the late, great Democratic Party has gone belly-up on us, after decades of inching away, we will have to do it ourselves.

We need a national program to provide decent, safe jobs which pay at least a liveable wage for all Americans. We need to insure adequate housing, food, transportation, education, and equal rights for all Americans. We will never realize this as long as the people who now run the country are able to continue to shut us out.

Labor party

A labor party geared toward rank and file labor, the unemployed, and the small farmer will, by the size of that constituency alone, provide us with the political power to accomplish all this and more.

But the establishment and widespread acceptance of a labor party is, in relation to the present fight, a long-term goal. We must now review what must be implemented in the short-term.

At the present time it is known that two unions have refused to sign the sellout agreement. They are the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Signalmen's union. I haven't heard of any public statements by the Signalmen, but the indications from the BLE are that it's most likely that no decision will be reached until the budget has been settled. But of course, we workers all know that budgets are made to be broken.

Another hopeful note is the fact that some of the unions, including at least BRAC and the Maintenance of Way workers, have ratification procedures. This means that some of the signatures will mean nothing unless and until the sellout package is ratified.

And here is where we come in. Each and every rail worker in the U.S., whether he is working, off sick, furloughed, or retired, has a vested interest in seeing this sellout proposal go down to a resounding defeat. Mass layoffs on Conrail and Amtrak would obliterate all retirement, unemployment, and sickness monies for all rail workers, past, present, or future.

And a combination wage/benefit/work rules freeze and/or giveback would have the same harmful rippling effect on the industry that the UAW-Chrysler givebacks are now having on Ford and GM auto workers. What happens here will affect every rail worker. And we here, through hard work and determination, can turn this into a resounding victory for the entire labor movement.

I firmly believe that we can win only by all pursuing one common goal as a course of action. And I would like to outline for you the steps I feel must be concurrently undertaken to achieve that goal.

Agreement can be fought

As the BLE and the Signalmen have not yet signed us away to three years of nothing, their rank and file must immediately exert all the pressure they can summon to keep the signatures of their

international leaders off that damnable agreement.

This pressure can best be placed by means of letters, mailgrams, and even telephone calls to all levels of leadership. We must make clear to those internationalists the strength and depth of the rank and file's commitment to the common goal.

Likewise, we must impress upon our brothers and sisters from BRAC, Maintenance of Way, and all other unions having ratification the importance of a defeat of landslide proportions for the proposed agreement.

The workers who have no ratification, such as UTU members, should immediately and continuously express their outrage at the capitulation.

This will require an enormous educational and informational undertaking at all levels to impress upon everyone the potentially disastrous national effects of a sellout. We must convince all rail workers in the country, and as much of their leadership as is possible, that the following is the proper and only viable position we can take:

That, because of the catastrophic industry-wide effects resulting from the policies advocated thus far, unless Amtrak and Conrail are allocated sufficient funds to maintain at least the level of service now being provided and sufficient funds to keep the wages and conditions of Conrail and Amtrak workers abreast of those in the rest of the industry, we may have no alternative but a national strike to insure our survival.

If this position is adopted and carried out, we will have attained our goal.

We must display our unshakeable determination and solidarity to the internationalists, the carriers, and Washington. I would like to point out one most important area in which this may be accomplished.

Back the unemployed

Since the demonstration, both Conrail and Amtrak have furloughed a sizeable number of our brothers and sisters. Some of them are here with us tonight. Amtrak blamed it on budget cuts which haven't taken effect yet, and Conrail blamed our brothers and sisters in the coal mines. But their lies were immediately exposed, and recognized as such by the rank and file, when overtime costs went through the roof.

What they had hoped to accomplish was a rift in the rank and file and a general shaking up of the troops. *This has not happened!* If anything, the troops are more determined than ever before to beat these amoral bastards back. And it will be very simple to do this.

The furloughed must not be thrown out by us as they were by the carriers. We must organize to keep them active in the unions by guaranteeing them continuing participation. We must insure that they fully understand the full range of benefits to which they are entitled and help them obtain those benefits. And, if necessary, we must dig into our own pockets to keep them from going under until the victory is ours. They did not ask to be tossed out on the street. They are today, and will always remain, our brothers and sisters. We must tell everyone: "You will not scare us with the threat of more layoffs; we will not let these people suffer."

Let this serve as a public measure of our strength and determination.

We have one hell of a job ahead of us. But I guarantee you that, if we win, this will be the sweetest victory many of us will ever taste. And by the same token, if we lose, it will be the most painful defeat many of us will ever suffer. Not one single person will be unaffected if we go down. Therefore, no one can lie back or give it anything less than his or her all.

We must all work together, and if we do we can win; and I think we will win. If we don't hang together we sure as hell will hang separately. We all know what we have to do—now let's do it.

Thank you.

'Militant' reprint of contract spurs sales to rail workers

By Nancy Rosenstock

Supporters of the *Militant* are on a special campaign this week to widely circulate the issue of the *Militant* that prints the text of the agreement between Conrail and the rail unions.

Reports after only a few days of sales indicate that Conrail workers are anxious to read it. Many rail workers who are not employed by Conrail also see the importance of following the developments.

At the Thirtieth Street Conrail yard in Philadelphia, workers were greeted the morning of May 19 with leaflets headlined "Read the text of the Conrail Rail Union Pact in the *Militant*." The leaflet explained that sales people would be back during the lunch break.

The results: eighteen single copies of the *Militant* were sold, plus one subscription and a copy of the book *American Railroads: the Case for Nationalization* by Dick Roberts.

In New York, at least forty-four rail workers have already bought copies of this issue of the *Militant*. Twenty of these were sold at the Sunnyside rail yard in Queens and twenty-four at

Grand Central Station in Manhattan.

Near Pittsburgh, workers at the large Conrail yard in Conway grabbed up twenty copies of the *Militant* in less than a half hour.

AMERICAN RAILROADS



American Railroads: The Case for Nationalization. By Dick Roberts.

Get this book free with purchase of subscription to the *Militant*. \$5 for 3 months. 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Youth tour to Cuba: go see for yourself

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—Maureen Coletta is particularly enthusiastic about the low-cost youth tour to Cuba being organized by the Young Socialist Alliance for August 9-16. The New York chairperson of the YSA, Coletta visited Cuba recently on a *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* tour.

In an interview, she said the tour provided a wonderful opportunity "to find out for yourself" what's really happening in Cuba.

She said the tours have two aspects that are equally important. One part is the organized, guided visits to a variety of places and institutions. The other is the time that's made available to go out on your own and meet and talk with people.

The guided tours are essential, to get an idea of how Cuba functions. On her tour, they visited a school in the countryside, a Pioneer youth camp, an agricultural community, a polyclinic, and more.

The effect of the new society, Coletta continued, is particularly apparent among teenagers and preteens.

"I talked to a young Black fellow. He was fifteen and interested in rock and jazz. He said he had one friend who left Cuba and went to Miami. But not him. He said he loves his country, feels good about it. Plus, he emphasized, in Cuba there's no racism."

Coletta was particularly impressed by the schools in the countryside program

which is for urban as well as rural students. There, she said, they combine study, recreation, and useful work. She felt this adds to the political awareness among young people, being treated as whole individuals from an early age. "They learn to think, to take responsibility," she observed.

In addition, they belong to organizations like the Young Pioneers and the Communist Youth. "These are the exact opposite of 'brain-washing' organizations," she said. "They give youth the opportunity to discuss problems in an organized way, to take responsibility for their lives and contribute to society."

"It's most striking with children. They're treated as thinking, productive developing human beings. So it's not surprising when you find they can discuss what's happening with the murder of Black children in Atlanta, or the revolution in El Salvador. Or how the Soviet people have helped Cuba survive."

Coletta said the YSA is working for a very large turnout for its tour. She noted the low price, \$425 for a week, and only \$325 for high schoolers. "It's still a lot of money for young people," she observed. "But it's substantially less than the regular prices and it should make it more possible for young people to go."

"On the basis of my experience," she said, "I can guarantee that everyone who goes will come back incredibly excited—with an idea of how society can be."

Visit Cuba with the 'Young Socialist' August 9-16

Since the founding of the Young Socialist Alliance over two decades ago, the YSA has defended and supported the Cuban Revolution. Cuba has set an example for youth the world over—that it is possible to change society to benefit the majority. Come with us to Cuba and see first-hand what's possible when working people, not big corporations, are in charge.

To be eligible for this tour, you must be twenty-nine years old or under and have a valid passport. This tour will cost \$425 from Miami, \$325 for those 18 and under.

For more information write the Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003, attention: Youth Tour.

District 31 steel candidates debate issues

By Jon Hillson

ST. JOHN, Indiana—Jim Balanoff and Jack Parton squared off against each other for forty-five minutes on May 7, while television cameras taped the debate between the two candidates for director of United Steelworkers District 31.

The clash between incumbent Balanoff, a leader of dissident forces in the 1.2 million-member union, and Jack Parton, president of Local 1014 and candidate of the international union's hierarchy, pitted different views of what the USWA should be.

The two were questioned by reporters from the Hammond, Indiana, *Times*, the Gary *Post-Tribune* and South Chicago's *Daily Calumet*.

"The issue is what kind of union the membership wants," Balanoff said, "from the bottom up, or from Pittsburgh [the union's international headquarters] down."

"It's no secret that I don't go to bed with the companies," he said, "I never have, never will."

"I always believe in negotiating from a position of strength," Balanoff said. That means "talking to the membership. Discussion, hammering out

that [contract], taking it to the employer," and bringing it back to the membership for a vote.

Parton, head of the largest USWA local at U.S. Steel Gary Works, has sought to portray Balanoff as a "confrontationist" and strike-happy—against his challenger's cooler judgment and soft-spoken diplomacy.

"Only confrontation will come last," Parton said. "I think it takes a very foolish person to say that they will never strike. But it takes equally a fool to strike when they don't have to."

Quoting from a recent article in *Craine's Business Weekly*, a Chicago magazine for corporate executives, Balanoff said, "a victory by Mr. Parton would result in a softer attitude towards management." That's what the companies are saying. They know a pal when they see one."

The two candidates took opposite positions on the international officialdom's proposals for steel industry modernization, fashioned by a tripartite committee of corporate bigwigs, government officials and the Lloyd McBride leadership of the USWA.

Parton said the "most important" aspect of this plan was "faster, not

greater tax write-offs for [steel] companies," the maintenance of the "trigger price mechanism" on imported steel, and "extension of [Environmental Protection Agency's pollution] guidelines," all with the aim to spur industry investment in steel.

Balanoff blasted the steel industry for mismanagement, profiteering, and refusing to modernize in the past, which allowed mills and plants to become obsolete.

"The only way we're going to start to get our country back on track is to start to change priorities," he said.

Balanoff said he favored a modernization program tied to maintaining steelworker jobs.

Balanoff and Parton also clashed over whether the union should sponsor an international department for women.

The creation of such a department Balanoff argued, would "make the union stronger."

Parton said a women's department was "divisive" and an act of "separatism," since there was no "men's department."

"That's garbage," Balanoff retorted.

"I heard this argument when we tried to set up a civil rights department."

Yet, for all the sharp division and heated exchange, the Parton campaign has adapted to some of the stands that Balanoff is noted for, particularly in the area of union democracy.

While praising the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) and its no-strike pledge, Parton promised a district referendum on the ENA if he was elected. He said he believed membership ratification of contracts—a right basic steelworkers are denied by the McBride leadership—is needed to "increase [union] bargaining power" and "local participation of steelworkers" in the union. And he agreed that the District 31 women's conferences launched under Balanoff "have helped" the union.

Balanoff welcomed Parton's pledge of an ENA referendum.

The debate was big news in northwestern Indiana and South Chicago papers, which were laden with a pro-Parton bias.

But what the reporters wrote wasn't what steelworkers saw a week later when the debate was televised.

...steel elections

Continued from back page

posed this basic right.

Samargia, Balanoff, Wilson, and Patterson are known for their support to the rights of women steelworkers. Wilson supported the first women's advisory committee in the USWA. Balanoff favors the establishment of an international women's affairs department.

In contrast, Balanoff's opponent, Jack Parton, refuses to allow a women's committee to be established in his local. Samargia's opponent, Eldon Kirsch, is even worse. In a debate he said: "If I'm elected district director, there will be no women's conferences. . . . I'm against women's harassment, but men get harassed too."

Patterson supports the national rights of the Quebec people. Balanoff favors a strong civil rights department and affirmative-action programs. Parton gives lip-service to this issue and Patterson's opponent has said nothing about the rights of Quebec workers.

Weisen helped organize a picket line at U.S. Steel's annual stockholders meeting May 4 to protest high profits while steelworkers are out of work. Paul Lewis, the incumbent, has attacked Weisen for going to Youngstown to support steelworkers fighting plant shutdowns. Weinstock, who was a longtime union leader in Youngstown, helped organize the fight to save steel jobs there. The McBride leadership never even criticized the steel industry for wiping out thousands of jobs in Youngstown.

In other words, the reform candidates are for militant unionism while the McBride team favors labor "statesmanship."

Fightback mood

The opposition candidates are more in tune with the needs of the membership. They reflect more of the fightback mood of growing layers of steelworkers who are tired of the takeaways of the steel bosses and the Reagan government.

Socialist steelworkers and many others are backing these candidates against the McBride team.

Although the program of the reform candidates falls far short of the objective needs of USWA members, their victory will mean a stronger, more fighting union. It will inspire steelworkers to press the international leadership to better represent their interests. Their victory will shake up the union.

Pressure from the ranks has forced the McBride leadership to take positive positions on social issues like the

RIGHT TO RATIFY : DON'T BE CONFUSED

Kirsch and Gravedoni have tried to confuse the RIGHT TO RATIFY. They are trying to make a simple issue so complicated that the Rank and File fears the right to vote on their own contracts.

SAMARGIA'S PROPOSAL FOR RATIFICATION IS TWO-FOLD.

FIRST: After the Int'l. Union negotiates the basic package which includes: wages, pensions, vacations, S.U.B., contracting out and insurance benefits, which are the same throughout the Industry, the Presidents return to their local unions, and explain the tentative settlement to the membership. The union membership, which covers the 9 steel and 7 iron ore companies would vote on a "one member one vote" basis. When these votes are counted, the entire Industry (325,00 members) has either accepted or rejected the offer, just like the coal miners.

IN MARCH, THE COAL MINERS REJECTED A PROPOSAL THAT WAS RECOMMENDED BY THEIR INT'L OFFICERS BY A 2 TO 1 MARGIN. THAT SHOWS THAT THE "RANK AND FILE" MINERS SAW SOMETHING IN THE CONTRACT THAT WOULD HURT THEM, AND WHO WOULD KNOW BETTER?

SECOND: Each local union would negotiate particular problems that it has with in its own plant. The membership of that local, and only that local membership would accept or reject their local issue package.

KIRSCH & GRAVEDONI WITH THEIR TACTICS ARE TRYING TO CONFUSE AND DIVIDE THE MEMBERSHIP ON THE RATIFICATION ISSUE. THEY DON'T THINK THE MEMBERSHIP IS INTELLIGENT ENOUGH TO DETERMINE ITS OWN FATE.

SAMARGIA KNOWS WE HAVE TO WORK UNDER THE CONTRACT . . .

WE SHOULD DECIDE IF WE WANT IT

VOTE FOR A UNITED DISTRICT

This leaflet from Joe Samargia's campaign is being distributed on Iron Range.

Equal Rights Amendment, affirmative action, and against racist terror. A big victory for the opposition can accelerate this process.

Ultimately, of course, the USWA needs a radical shift in its priorities. This can only happen once steelworkers do what coal miners in the UMWA did a decade ago: they threw out the entrenched antidemocratic bureaucracy.

The question is how to get to where the miners are? How to build a stronger union, with a class struggle leadership?

Management's views

The steel bosses are taking sides in the election.

For good reason. It was only a year and a half ago that the steel bosses were threatening to "liquidate" the steel industry if their profits didn't increase.

In the January 1980 American Iron and Steel Institute report, called *Steel at the Crossroads*, the bosses said unless the government came to their rescue, foreign imports would push the American steel industry out of business. They argued for better tax rates, weaker environmental controls, import restrictions, and higher productivity by steelworkers.

The McBride leadership—like union officials in auto, rail, and other unions—joined the company bandwagon for relief.

What about the health and safety of steelworkers? What about the layoffs? No comment.

The union tops' main concern was companies' profits.

They aimed their fire at the government and let the big steel companies off the hook. They cried: "Save U.S. Steel to save jobs" or "Higher steel profits means jobs."

After the majority of local presidents voted for the basic steel contract last spring, International Vice-president Joseph Odorcich was quoted in the industry magazine *Iron Age*: "We didn't push for what we thought we were entitled to. . . . To have a union you have to have a company. And that company has to make bucks."

What about the membership?

According to *Fortune* magazine, U.S. Steel's President William Roesch explains that, "U.S. Steel will continue to abandon markets wherever labor content is high and capital investment low." In plain English: more plant closings.

In 1979 fifteen plants of U.S. Steel were shut down; 12,500 jobs were permanently lost.

Bethlehem Steel's "modernization" plan two years earlier had a similar impact.

The union's international leadership said little and did nothing—except to dissolve the one district that was fighting back. Youngstown's District 26 was abolished. The workers had big support in the community against the shutdowns. One local union president, Ed Mann, began an independent campaign for Congress. Marvin Weinstock was gearing up to win the position of district director.

Higher profits for U.S. Steel resulted from the shutdowns and "modernization" programs. However, higher profits do not create jobs. Today there are fewer basic steel jobs than a year ago. (And we are supposedly in an upturn!)

The failure of the McBride leadership to fight the companies and defend the workers' interests is why opponents of his administration are getting a good hearing.

McBride's strategy of blaming the government for Big Steel's problems but not the corporations is getting steelworkers nowhere fast.

The elections May 28 are an opportunity for the membership to send a message to McBride. The membership needs a new leadership.

As James Balanoff explained at an April 27 press conference in Chicago: "This movement will continue no matter how we do in the election, because it is shared principles that draw us [the reform candidates] together."

We agree.

Discussions should continue after May 28 on the many ideas raised on the type of leadership and program steelworkers need to advance their interests.

The union needs leaders like Balanoff and Samargia who speak out against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Leaders like Wilson and Weisen who actively supported the coal miners in 1977-78 and support them today.

Balanoff led an anti-nuclear power march in Indiana recently. While union President McBride was on the government commission covering up the Three Mile Island accident.

Discussions should also continue on ideas raised by socialist steelworkers for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to fight unemployment; nationalization of the steel industry under public ownership; for a labor party based on the unions; for stronger affirmative-action programs; for women's rights; and for a strong health and safety program.

A victory for the reform candidates will be an important step in changing the USWA and opening it up to the young workers who will be its future leadership.

Will support to military & d:

By Suzanne Haig

In a friend of the court brief filed with the Supreme Court, the leadership of the National Organization for Women (NOW) argues that the exclusion of women from the draft undermines Washington's ability to build an effective military force and hurts women's fight for equality.

The Supreme Court is currently hearing arguments on a government appeal from a district court decision last July. The decision declared draft registration unconstitutional because it excludes women. A ruling is expected by June.

The NOW brief declares, "Compulsory universal military service is central to the concept of citizenship in a democracy."

This stand on the drafting of women is not considered a side issue by the NOW leadership who wrote and submitted the brief. It is a central part of their strategy for winning women's rights. As the brief states, "NOW believes that this case poses an issue of critical importance to the achievement of full equality between the sexes."

Why has the national leadership taken this stance without any discussion or vote in NOW, when NOW has a long-standing position of opposing the draft?

The leadership's latest move comes at a time when women's rights are under increasing attack. The June 1982 deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is rapidly approaching, and the chances for passage look dim.

The Reagan administration, continuing where Carter left off, has launched a new assault on abortion rights. Budget cuts threaten to take away many programs that benefit women.

Attempt to ease blows

The NOW leadership's position reflects a desperate attempt to ease the government's blows against women's rights. Under pressure, they have slipped into thinking they have to prove to the government that women deserve equal rights by helping Reagan sell the draft.

This strategy is not in women's interests, and in fact puts the entire women's movement in jeopardy. It threatens to lead NOW into an alliance with the very forces that are the worst enemies of women's rights—the worst enemies of working people all over the world.

As the attacks on women's rights have escalated, the leadership's position on the draft has gone from bad to worse.

Last February, President Carter, hoping to lure the women's movement into supporting his unpopular registration plan in the name of "equality," announced his support for signing up women along with men.

The NOW leadership responded by publishing a position paper in the March 1980 *National NOW Times* advocating the registration and drafting of women, if these were imposed on men. At the same time, however, they professed opposition to the draft.

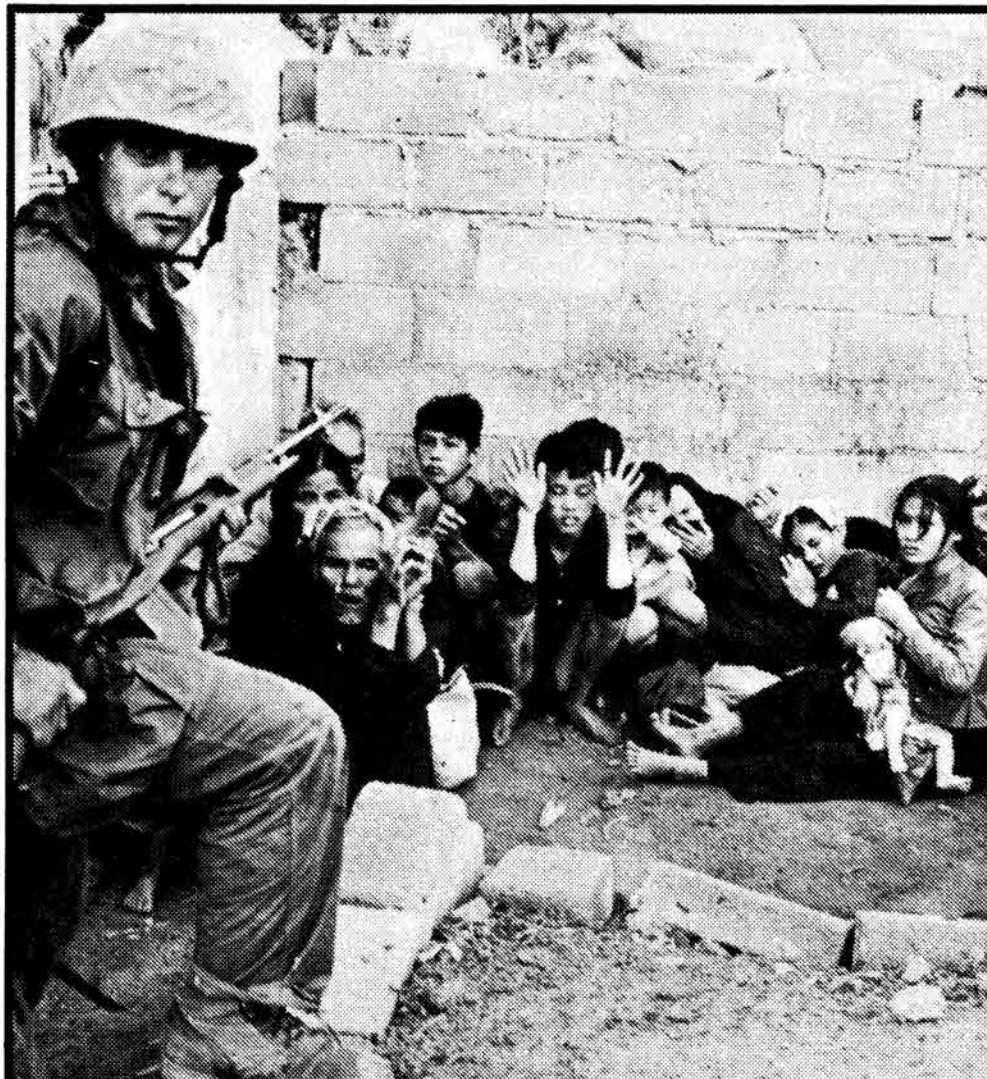
In the brief, they have resolved the contradiction—by giving unequivocal support to the draft for both sexes.

"Indeed, the responsibility to bear arms in a time of national peril is 'the ultimate duty of American citizenship,'" declares the brief.

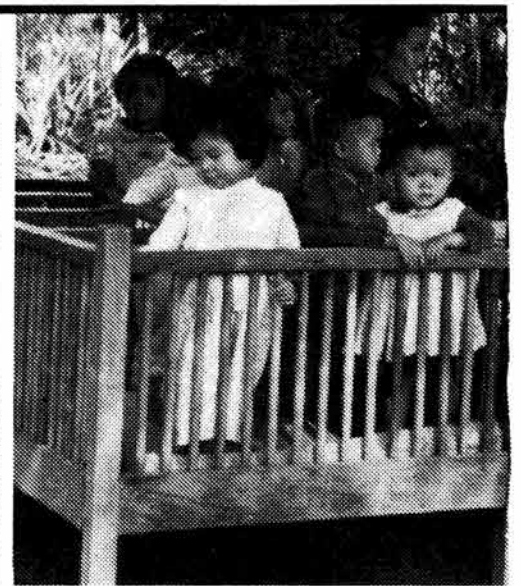
Brief sells draft

It approvingly quotes Senator Nancy Kassebaum, who asserts that "women should not be excluded from participating in a process which represents commitment to our Nation and its principles. . . . Registration instills a sense of responsibility. . . ."

"It refers to the negative 'psychological and political repercussions [from excluding] women from the compulsory involvement in the community's survival. . . ."



Left, GI guards prisoners in Vietnam. Would it be any better if soldier were female? American youth were wounded and killed fighting in that war, waged by Washington to prevent Vietnamese from controlling their country. In top photo doctors treat child-



In addition to selling the draft, the NOW leadership is trying to show Reagan that they know how to expand the military arsenal—inexpensively.

"Naturally," a front page article in the April 1981 *National NOW Times* asserts presumptuously, "Americans want a defense system adequate to meet security needs. . . . Are we forced to make a choice between human needs and the military?"

According to the article—no. It defers to a group of defense analysts, led by retired Air Force Colonel John Boyd, who "believe the U.S. could have a much stronger defense, without big increases in spending, by developing a new strategy of defeating an enemy by 'agile attacks at its weak points. . . .'"

But what are the "security needs" of the government? And at whom would these "agile attacks" be directed?

Killing machine for big oil

Contrary to the brief, the role of the U.S. military is not to fight for "community's survival." The U.S. military machine is a killing machine whose function is to protect the property and profits of big oil and the other corporate giants. It is used against working people and oppressed nations around the world.

Washington's ability to use this killing machine was dealt a stunning blow by the powerful, organized opposition to the Vietnam War. But today the Reagan administration, following in Carter's footsteps, is striving to reverse the anti-war sentiments of the American people.

Washington needs to reinstitute the draft and beef up the war machine so it can be used to take on the challenges to big business from the oppressed people of Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia.

"Community survival?"

Rosabel Sibrian, a Salvadoran peasant, told David Blundy of the London *Sunday Times* about her experiences in a country where Washington has sent arms and military advisers to prop up an unpopular government; a country where U.S. draftees might someday be

sent if U.S. intervention continues to escalate.

Children of subversion

"Some soldiers and ORDEN people [a terror squad aiding the dictatorship, organized in the mid-1960s with aid of CIA] gathered children and babies together," said Sibrian.

"I saw them throw children into the air and then slash them with long machetes. They cut their heads off and slit their bodies in two." One soldier told the mother of a child: "We are killing the children of subversion."

Reagan would like to be able to use the military to roll back the gains of women and all working people in Nicaragua; or in Grenada, the first free Black country in the world; or in Cuba, where the socialist revolution has eliminated poverty, illiteracy, and oppression by throwing out the profit-hungry U.S. corporations.

The women's movement—which is fighting these same corporations for equal pay and opportunities, and fighting the government for passage of the ERA and continued abortion rights—has no interest in building up their army. *Being drafted has nothing to do with equal rights.* No man or woman should be forced to give up some of the best years of their life or be killed or maimed to protect the interests of a rich few.

By dressing up the military machine in their brief, the NOW leadership is helping the warmakers to sell another Vietnam to the American people and to cut billions from social programs to strengthen the military.

They are making conscription and the U.S. Army look progressive by linking them to the idea of women's equality.

Isolates NOW from majority

This position will isolate NOW from the majority of the American people—from working people, the oppressed nationalities, from youth who will be the victims of conscription—who oppose the draft, the budget cuts, and military

intervention in El Salvador.

The NOW leadership's strategy will only embolden the government and the employers to step up their attacks on women. They have advocated this position for one year. Has this mitigated the assault on women's rights? No. The attacks have escalated.

In fact, the opponents of ERA used the argument that the ERA means drafting women to engineer the amendment's defeat last year in Missouri, Illinois, and Virginia. The NOW leaders' position on the draft has harmed the fight for the ERA.

NOW President Eleanor Smeal told the *New York Times* that the "argument of entitlement" was a factor in persuading her that exclusion from the draft hurts women's interests.

When lobbying state legislatures for ERA, she said, male legislators often tell her, "When you women fight in a war, then we'll talk about equal rights."

That women need to prove they deserve their rights is a major part of the brief. Participating in the draft, it claims, entitles people to lead the society and "to derive from it the full rights and privileges of citizenship."

"The sex-role stereotypes and the endorsement of behavior consistent with them," it states, "is perpetuated by the male-only draft." This permits other kinds of job discrimination "by placing a ceiling on opportunity."

Why are women oppressed?

Even rape and violence against women are partially explained in the brief by the fact that women are seen as weak and vulnerable because they are not in the army.

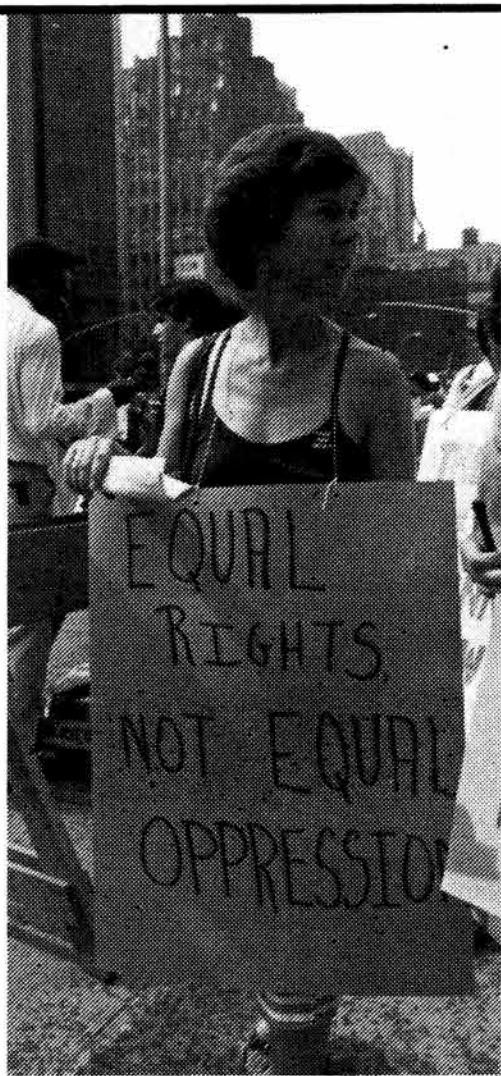
This is wrong.

Women's inferior position in society flows from our economic dependence, not our exclusion from the draft. Laws enforce this status and corporations benefit from it, reaping added profits by paying us less, hiring and firing us at will, and putting us in the worst jobs.

Sexist stereotyping, like racism, is used to justify this exploitation and to

cating conscription

after win women equal rights?



Militant/Keith Jones

men in a cooperative in Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Vietnamese were fighting to attain many of the goals the women's movement stands for. Opposing a draft and U.S. military objectives will help women win those goals.



these politicians, once elected, sabotaged the ERA. Smeal's latest concession will not be more successful.

These are all deadly traps designed to derail, demobilize, and divert the women's movement into following bipartisan pied pipers and acquiescing to their policies that are against our interests, rather than joining with our allies in independent political action and fighting back.

Today, sections of the labor movement are beginning to come into motion as a powerful force fighting back against the same bipartisan policies that are threatening women's rights.

This is the direction in which the women's movement must start looking to stem these attacks.

The support for women's equality is high among working people. Millions of women are angry about the stalling on the ERA and the attacks on abortion and affirmative action.

And all working people, women and men, Blacks and Latinos, are fighting mad at the economic and political blows being leveled at them by the Reagan administration.

Coal miners demonstrated in Washington, D.C., March 9 against the proposed cuts in black lung benefits. Now they are on strike to defend their union and the gains they have made.

More than 20,000 rail workers demonstrated in Washington, April 29, against the cutbacks in rail transportation.

A march against the killings of Atlanta Blacks is called for May 25 in Washington.

A victory for the unions and the Black community is a victory for the women's movement. Their fight is our fight.

To beat back the attacks on women's rights, it will take a united effort of the unions and civil rights organizations with the women's movement.

More and bigger actions like that in North Carolina on May 2 of nearly 4,000 people and the May 10 march called by NOW in Chicago last year—with its contingents of trade unionists and women's rights activists—must be part of the strategy of uniting with our allies against our common enemies to demand women's equality.

create divisions among working people. Violence against women, like the murdering of Blacks, is the horrible outgrowth of such a system.

Coming back in body bags from another Vietnam will not help end violence against women.

Blacks and Latinos served on the front lines in Vietnam and died in disproportionate numbers. Did they win quality?

Today, Blacks make up a large percentage of the volunteer army. Has that

prevented the racist violence in Atlanta, or encouraged Washington to do everything possible to protect the community and find the killers?

No. In fact, Reagan is trying to roll back school desegregation, take food out of the mouths of poor children, gut job training and bilingual education, and similar programs.

What is at issue is not a question of whether women can fight. Of course we can; the role of women in—for example—the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran

revolutions attest to that.

The NOW leaders' disastrous position on the military is the product of looking to Democratic and Republican party politicians to grant women our rights. As Smeal admits, the legislators dictated to her the terms on which "we'll talk about equal rights."

For years, NOW has devoted substantial effort to lobbying and trying to elect Republican and Democratic legislators in hopes of being rewarded with equal rights. We've seen again and again how

2,000 march for abortion rights in N.Y.

by Margaret Jayko

NEW YORK—More than 2,000 women and men marched into Union Square on May 16 to demand abortion rights for all women and to say no to Reagan's budget cuts.

This was the first major abortion rights action since Reagan's election.

Women in New York won a victory May 12 when the state legislature voted not to take away Medicaid funds for abortion. This means New York will continue to be one of a handful of states that still finances abortions for poor women.

The protest was called as part of an International Day of Action for Reproductive Rights. Called by the European-based International Contraceptive, Abortion, and Sterilization Abuse Campaign, actions took place in several other U.S. cities and in more than ten countries.

The march included contingents from the National Organization for Women-New York Chapter (NOW-NY); Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse; Coalition of Labor Union Women; Lesbian Feminist Liberation; Local 1930 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; women health care workers; People's Antiwar Mobilization; Demo-

cratic Socialist Organizing Committee; and the Socialist Workers Party.

The march and rally were organized by the New York Coalition for Reproductive Rights, which includes more than forty organizations.

The protesters aimed much of their fire at the federal Human Life Amendment and Human Life Bill, which would outlaw abortion. The rally opened with the crowd singing "A woman's life is a human life; Stop the HLA."

The participants saw the attacks on abortion as part of a broader offensive against women, Blacks, Latinos, and working people by the Reagan administration.

The high point of the rally was the appeal by two mothers of children murdered in Atlanta for everyone to turn out on May 25 in Washington, D.C., to protest the killings there.

As Willie Mae Mathis got up to speak, the crowd, many with green ribbons, burst into applause. Once she began, you could hear a pin drop. She explained that the previous day two more Black children were missing.

"If you want to show you care, I'm asking you to meet me in Washington, D.C., on Memorial Day at the Lincoln Memorial at 11 o'clock."

Then Venus Taylor spoke. "I'm the

mother of Angela Lanier, who was murdered March 10, 1980."

She also urged everyone to turn out for May 25, explaining that the budget cuts would destroy children's lives.

Reagan's war drive was also on the minds of this crowd. Carolina Castillo, from the General Association of Salvadoran University Students, talked about the suffering of women under the U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador. She explained how women are participating in the liberation movement, including in the armed struggle.

Denise Fuge, the president of NOW-NY, announced that there would be a

June 30 rally for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) on the steps of the Forty-second Street library from noon to 2 pm.

June 30 marks the beginning of the one-year countdown before the deadline for passage of the ERA.

She led the crowd in chants of "What do we want? ERA! When do we want it? Now!"

Other speakers at the rally included Peggy Billings, United Methodist Church; Ruth Messenger, Councilwoman; Carmen Vasquez, Bronx Coalition Against Sterilization Abuse; and Emogene Walker, Coalition of Labor Union Women.

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SEXISM & SCIENCE



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District 17 miners rally to protest nonunion coal

By Marian Bustin

CHARLESTON, W.Va.—Three hundred miners and their families participated in a rally May 14 south of here, at Orgas in Boone County. The rally was organized by United Mine Workers District 17 as a show of unity in the fight for a decent contract and opposition to nonunion mining operations.

Bob Phalen, a District 17 executive board member, chaired the rally. He said, "A lot of people are asking, are the spirits of our people down?"

"No!" shouted the crowd.

Entertainment was provided by Musicians Union Local 136. The most popular request was for "Coal Miner's Daughter."

The District 17 UMWA Auxiliary passed out a leaflet advertising a Gospel Sing for Saturday, May 16, with proceeds going to the UMWA Relief Fund.

A quarter-mile down the road from the rally, the nonunion Elk Run Coal Company was operating. Elk Run is a subsidiary of A. T. Massey, a major coal operator in the area. One of Massey's other subsidiaries in Mingo County, Marrowbone Development, has had their mine shut down by union pickets.

Elk Run Coal has been at the center of controversy for the last year. It employs non-UMWA construction workers. When union pickets halted the operations a few weeks after the strike began, the company got a restraining order against District 17 and several locals to stop the picketing.

The May 14 rally was the first big response to that order.

Marian Bustin is a member of United Mine Workers Local 2095.



Militant/Stu Singer

Local Sheriff Vernon Harlass was introduced to the rally. "You have my support in anything you do," he said. "I don't care if the newspapers hear me... I'm under a lot of pressure so I need you all behind me. Without your support I wouldn't be here."

The major speaker at the rally was District 17 Vice-President Cecil Roberts. "Organized labor is in trouble," he said. "Organized labor is being attacked. It's not just the UMWA. Until organized labor stands together, we have some problems."

"There is a misconception when people always ask what they are going

to give us. That's erroneous. You only get what you take.

"The union is bigger than anyone in it. You people make the union. You are as strong as you want to be."

Roberts reviewed the successes of UMWA picketing in shutting down the approximately twenty non-union mines in Mingo County, West Virginia, as well as mines in eastern Kentucky. He made a special plea for more miners to join the picket lines.

Roberts then led a spirited march to the Elk Run Coal Company down the road. Miners chanted, "Go home scabs," and "shut it down."

District 17 leadership called for a mass action of 10,000 miners at the Consol headquarters in Pittsburgh April 30. They wanted to force the companies back to the bargaining table and to win the miners' demands.

Within a few days, every district in Appalachia had endorsed the action and Church had agreed to speak. But the character of the demonstration changed.

It was moved from the Consol headquarters, a natural target, to a park. Building for the rally stopped. Most miners were unsure of what it was about.

Nevertheless, it was a significant action—2,500 miners participated. There was a broad range of speakers including official representatives of the Machinists, Steelworkers, Clothing and Textile workers and maritime unions.

A few days later, negotiations reopened.

Government help

The operators may be waiting for a Supreme Court decision that will back them up on the royalties issue, like on the contracting and leasing. The Reagan administration is moving to cut off food stamps to strikers. They are holding an investigation over Church's head of improper acts involving the National Bank of Washington, which is owned by the union.

A propaganda campaign is also being geared up against the miners. Layoffs on the railroads and in steel mill coke ovens are being blamed on the strike. In West Virginia, Governor John D. Rockefeller IV is cutting the whole state budget and blaming the strike. School children and teachers have to suffer because of greedy miners, says the heir of the murderer of Ludlow.

When mass picketing has succeeded in shutting down nonunion operations, the courts have intervened on the side of the companies. For example, in southern West Virginia and at a Mississippi River coal loading dock in St. Louis, the union was slapped with court orders to stop mass picketing.

Newspapers are starting to run articles claiming that wild, drunken mobs of miners are rioting and terrorizing whole counties in West Virginia.

In Virginia and Kentucky, the governors have called out state cops to protect nonunion coal.

While the Kentucky State Police use airplanes to track UMWA pickets, Church invited the Governor of Kentucky to the negotiations to get things moving.

Right-wing columnist Victor Riesel is starting to red-bait the union militants as Maoists.

The companies and the federal, state, and local governments, the courts and the cops, the press and TV, are all lined up against the miners.

But there is massive support for the miners. And it needs to be organized. It will take a massive solidarity campaign to counter the attacks against the UMWA.

As of now, the kind of support work organized by the national Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC) in the 1977-78 strike hasn't been done. But many of the districts have set up committees to reach out and tell the miners' story, win support, and raise funds. Some individual locals are also doing this.

For example, two leaders of District 29 in southern West Virginia have just begun a tour of California to raise funds.

District 29 Organizer Fred Decker and Executive Board Member Charles Ashley were quoted in an article in the

Reagan bars shipment of food aid to Vietnam

Washington and its allies are seeking to starve Vietnam into submission. Their goal is to force Hanoi to accede to the imposition of a government favored by Washington in Kampuchea (Washington currently backs the army of ousted dictator Pol Pot).

Six major typhoons last year reportedly destroyed 40 percent of north Vietnam's rice crop. As a result, officials of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization warn that 6 million Vietnamese face malnutrition unless 380,000 tons of food are provided as emergency aid.

Yet the U.S. government has rejected a request by a Mennonite Church group to ship 250 tons of wheat from Kansas to Vietnam. Mennonite representatives say this is the first time that such a request has been rejected in recent years.

In a letter to the Mennonite Central Committee, the State Department declared that the Vietnamese government could alleviate the suffering of its people by "ending its diversion of resources from economic development to military conquest."

State Department officials also noted that the European Economic Community has turned down a request by Vietnam for food aid, Daniel Southerland reported in the May 13 *Christian Science Monitor*.

The following day Southerland provided additional details on the U.S. campaign against Vietnam. The World Bank ended its aid program to Vietnam in 1979 in response to U.S. pressure.

Charleston *Gazette* as saying they were "going to California to tell them why we voted the contract down. We got the go-ahead from the International to do this on our own."

Support the miners!

Everything possible should be done now to help the miners.

Representatives of the UMWA should be invited to speak at union meetings, before farmers, women's groups, chapters of the National Black Independent Political Party, anti-nuclear, antiwar and other groups.

Broad press conferences can be organized where the miners get out what the real stakes are in this strike.

Big public support rallies should be held. They could feature representatives from the union movement and people from women's, Black, farmers' and other organizations.

In some areas car caravans can be set up to bring needed food to the miners.

Everyone should be approached to help the strike, because everyone has a stake in it.

The companies and the government are out to break the spirit and backbone of the United Mine Workers. Gathering support for the miners can help give them the power to win.

If they win, we all win.

Labor history and its lessons for today

Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO by Art Preis. 538 pp., paper \$7.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

... miners

Continued from back page

They overwhelmingly rejected the proposed contract when they voted March 31. It lost by two-to-one nationally. Four districts rejected it by over 80 percent.

The miners made clear they wanted a contract with no takebacks at all; one that moved them forward, even if only slightly.

This is in the context of the general ruling class offensive. Workers in the auto, rubber, rail, and steel industries—as well as public workers—have been forced to give back wages and working conditions won in the past. They have had to accept layoffs and plant shutdowns with no opposition from their unions.

The miners are saying no to this. Their example has the potential to inspire others.

Leadership

The contract rejection vote was a big blow to the Church leadership. Church himself disappeared for a while after the vote.

Then, on April 9 and 10, the union's international executive board and the bargaining council unanimously passed resolutions to show unity and call for negotiating a better contract.

But unfortunately the international leadership did nothing to mobilize the membership. They turned down speaking engagements and opportunities to raise funds or do support work in general. This went along with the determination of the bosses to wear down the miners.

But the pressure was building up in the ranks to get things moving.

Solidarity

In mid-April, the Charleston-based

The following interview was conducted May 14 with three women miners in Pennsylvania: Daisy Niehaus, a member of United Mine Workers of America Local 1190 at Bethlehem Steel's Ellsworth mine; Ronnie Zuhlke, a member of UMWA Local 2874 at Bethlehem's Marianna mine; and Bert Yinger, a member of UMWA Local 3506 at Republic Steel's Russellton mine. The interviewer was Ginny Hildebrand, a member of UMWA Local 3506.

Why did you go to work in a mine?

Daisy: Because my husband was real sick and I had to support two children. I was working in a sewing factory, not making any money—\$4.37 an hour in 1975-76.

Bert: Money was primarily the reason. And I wanted to do a job where you didn't take it home with you, you just walked away from it. Before that I'd been a teacher.

Ronnie: I'd been working in a steel mill, getting laid off every couple of months. At that time, I thought a job in a mine would be more secure.

Did it take you a long time to get hired?

Bert: It took me six months. Before I got hired, there was a two or three year span since the last woman had been hired. I just kept hounding them about my application. The company kept saying, "Well, we're hiring in September." They did, but it was men. They hired again in October—men. Then, finally, they got around to me and another woman in January. That was in 1979. It was a long six months.

Bottom of the list

Daisy: I had my name in for fourteen months. They had a list of women and they were hiring whoever came up in order, according to when they applied. Two weeks before my application ran out, I went into the Bethlehem office to renew it and they said, "Oh, but your application expired. You'll have to put in another one." "But if I do," I said, "I'll have to go to the bottom of the list." He said, "Yeah."

I said, "Well, you explain to me how my application has expired when I have two more weeks before my six months are up." (Applications are active for six months.) So he got mad and just stamped the application "Renewed."

I put an application in at Consol before I put one in with Bethlehem. When I went in for my interview, this guy took one look at me and said, "How many of you are there?" I told him, "Well, there's only one of me."

After I took the test they told me they'd let me know if I passed the test.

Then I heard from a friend that some men had been hired. So I went to EEOC. They got me hired at Consol a week after I got hired at Bethlehem. I got a settlement out of Consol for back wages.

You've probably heard the line that women don't belong in the mines, that we can't do the work. These are also often the same people who call affirmative action "reverse discrimination." What do you think about this?

Bert: I think they'd like us to believe there is reverse discrimination, but I don't think there is. The women are such a low percentage. There's only seven of us at my mine out of a workforce of over 200.

Ronnie: I think the whole idea of "reverse discrimination" is a way of trying to split the men and women.

Bert: Definitely. I've done lots of different jobs: laying railroad track, mason work, loading and unloading supplies, helper on the miner and bolter machines, and now I'm a mechanic trainee. I'll admit, there are some jobs that women cannot do. But, by the same token, there are some men who will sit back and let another man or woman do their job. So it's not fair

Interview with women miners

'Support the union—our jobs depend on it'



to say that it's women who can't do their job. We shouldn't be classified because we're women.

Daisy: Not everybody has the same physical ability. I can put up a stopping (a cinder-block wall that directs the air circulation) and do a good job of it. I'm 5'2" and may not be able to do it as fast as somebody 6'2". Does that mean that I shouldn't be allowed to work on the job even though I'm capable of doing it?

'We won't be there'

Now Reagan wants to get rid of affirmative action. You know how it's going to affect us. We just ain't going to be there. The young women who are looking for jobs are going to have to settle for sewing factories, being nurses, barmaids, waitresses—general female work. Let's face it, the businesses don't want us in these mine or mill jobs. They feel that women aren't capable, until they really need us, like during World War II.

Have you gotten any sexual harassment on the job?

Daisy: I've seen the harassment toward Blacks, and other minorities too. If I'd had to put up with that I don't know if I could have done it.

As a woman, there's been a lot of aggravation. The foremen are the ones who make it hard for you to get onto the equipment.

Mine wouldn't let me run the buggy even though I had more seniority than the guy he was putting on that machine.

So finally I told him to "Get the hell out of here, you're making me nervous." You can't do your job if you've got somebody harassing you. So the next day he came back and apologized.

Bert: I felt accepted right away by the other miners. Of course, two women were already working there and they had sort of laid the groundwork. I've never really had a problem with the company.

Is the union going to bat for women facing discrimination?

Daisy: I'd like to see them just admit

that discrimination takes place against women in the mine.

Ronnie: I guess every local is different. Because when there was a case of discrimination against a Black woman in my mine, the safety committee went around and talked to every new woman to find out if we were having any problems with the company training program. It was a good way to bring the union to the women.

Bert: I think our local would be open to supporting women's rights issues in the mine, like the Equal Rights Amendment. I think it's also open to women becoming more involved in the union if we want to be.

Daisy: I was on that ERA march in Virginia (in January 1980). It was the first march I'd ever been on. And I think we need a lot more of them. Especially with this affirmative action stuff the government wants to drop. We need something.

'Support keeps me going'

Do you feel the women's rights movement has had any impact on you?

Daisy: I'm a coal miner. I wouldn't have been one without it. It's made the government realize that women have to have jobs that pay decently and it's forced companies into hiring women. If it hadn't been for women saying, "Hey, we've got to move on, we've got to get somewhere," well . . .

Bert: If it hadn't been for the women's movement, I don't think I would have had the gumption to go for a "non-woman's" job. Though I'm not directly involved with the movement, that support, just knowing it's out there, keeps me going.

All of our locals overwhelmingly voted down the first contract offer. In mine, we felt we had to vote that way to defend the union.

Ronnie: Mine too. We couldn't stand for all those provisions that have to do with weakening the union.

What's so different about the UMW from other unions is that the membership is more informed, involved, and can exert its will better.

We get to read the whole contract, not just a summary. And vote on it. So we voted it down.

Jobs tied up with union

Daisy: When I was at the sewing factory, in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, we didn't even get to see a summary of the contract.

Bert: That's insane. Everybody should see what they're voting on.

Daisy: But the membership doesn't always act like it cares about the union. How many show up at meetings regularly?

Ronnie: I think the vote showed miners really do care about our union.

Daisy: Yes, this contract would have destroyed the union if it had passed. Let's face it, our jobs are tied up with the union.

Do you think the general public understands the issues of the strike and why they're so important to us?

Ronnie: Around the black lung issue, we got 8,000 miners together in just a few days, and we really made our issue known. More of that kind of organizing would really help get the word out.

Pro-company media

Daisy: Our local went down to the black lung march. It was fantastic. It made the government stop and think a little bit. At least they know that we're not going to just sit back.

Bert: I think it's a shame how pro-company the media has been. It took days after we voted the contract down before they finally started verbalizing some of the real issues, like about the royalties. I don't know if the media will give us equal time. Who is the media backing? Maybe we should start our own media campaign.



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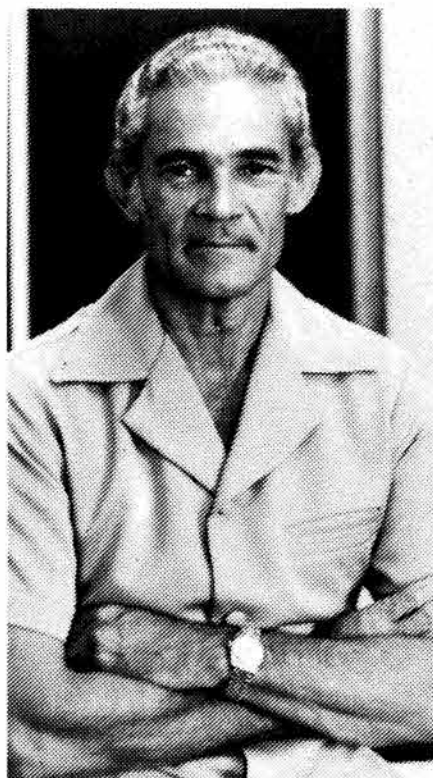
Jamaica's struggle against U.S. domination—Part 2

This is part two of Ernest Harsch's article on Jamaica, reprinted from the April 27 'Intercontinental Press.'

In part one, Harsch reviewed the history of the anticolonial struggle in Jamaica, and the origins of the Jamaica Labor Party and People's National Party. He traced the increasing economic role of U.S. imperialism on the island, especially from the 1940s on.

Part one concluded with the strikes and Black Power protests of the 1960s. The Jamaica Labor Party, then in power, attempted unsuccessfully to suppress the growing rebellion. In 1972, the People's National Party, headed by Michael Manley, was swept into office by the masses in the hopes of basic social change.

Part two of the article describes the PNP in power, and how it dealt with the conflicting demands of the Jamaican working class and the U.S. corporations. This installment concludes with Washington's retaliation against the Manley regime for its reforms and friendly stance toward Cuba.



Garth Morgan

Michael Manley, left, leader of People's National Party. Right, wall in Kingston. U.S. government launched destabilization campaign when PNP began carrying out reforms and opposing imperialist moves.



By Ernest Harsch

In 1972, responding to the widespread demands and expectations for social change, the newly elected PNP government soon instituted programs to create jobs, build low-cost housing, and make education and health care more widely available.

Given the wretched conditions of the masses of Jamaicans, and the extent of imperialist domination over the island, the reforms initiated under the Manley government were quite significant. Although they were often more sweeping on paper than in practice, they did improve the daily lives of many of the poorest workers and farmers.

Unemployed workers were hired by the government for public works projects, such as urban sanitation, reforestation, and swamp draining.

Low-income housing projects were begun, and a National Housing Trust was set up to provide mortgages and home improvement loans.

In 1972, charges for visits to public health clinics and hospitals were eliminated for those with the lowest incomes. Costs for basic food staples were subsidized, and in 1973 a free lunch program for elementary school children was instituted.

Free secondary and university education was introduced in 1973, although the number of openings to public schools were limited. An adult literacy program, carried out by volunteers, was launched. By 1975 some 100,000 Jamaicans had passed through the program.

In 1973, the government began to rent large tracts of unused land, which it subdivided and leased to some 14,000 farmers. Some government-owned cooperative farms were also set up. The land used for these programs was either already government-owned, or was acquired from the sugar and aluminum companies.

In contrast to the slavishly pro-American foreign policy of the previous JLP regime, the Manley government began to adopt independent

positions on some international questions. None irked the imperialists more than its decision to establish close ties with neighboring Cuba.

Relations with Cuba

When the PNP came to power, Cuba was still relatively isolated in the Caribbean region as a result of the U.S.-inspired diplomatic and economic blockade. But in August 1972, Jamaican officials accepted an invitation from Havana to inspect Cuban dairy and livestock facilities. Three months later, the Jamaican government joined with several other Caribbean governments to establish diplomatic relations with Cuba.

The following year, Manley went to Algiers for a conference of the Non-aligned movement, traveling in the same plane as Fidel Castro, with whom he had extensive discussions. At the conference, Manley called for stepped-up aid to the Zimbabwean liberation movements.

The reforms initiated by the Manley regime during its first two years in office were widely welcomed, but they only scratched the surface of Jamaica's tremendous economic and social problems.

The subsidized housing introduced by the government was still beyond the financial means of many, and Kingston's vast shantytowns continued to grow. Tens of thousands acquired jobs through the public works projects, but that only made a dent in Jamaica's overall unemployment level. Despite the adult literacy program, more than a quarter of Jamaica's population still could not read or write. The limited land reform did not touch the holdings of the big Jamaican landlords, nor did it attempt to do anything for the country's numerous squatters and landless peasants.

But the masses did not hesitate to take matters into their own hands.

In 1972-73, unemployed youths in a number of areas led landless peasants

in the seizure of unused land held by big landowners.

The PNP had promised in 1972 to support the establishment of cooperatives by sugar field workers to manage the sugar estates. But when it failed to implement that promise, the sugar workers organized themselves and won wide support. They were successful in overcoming the resistance of the large sugar cane farmers and the government bureaucracy, winning recognition for the Sugar Workers Cooperative Council in late 1973.

Urban workers, including members of the PNP-affiliated National Workers Union (NWU), continued to go out on strike.

'Democratic socialism'

These pressures from below impelled the PNP to go further than it had initially intended.

At a PNP congress in September 1974, the party for the first time officially adopted a program of "democratic socialism," although it already had been in the Socialist International for more than twenty years. It called for an increase in welfare programs, a greater government role in regulating the economy, and the nationalization of some key enterprises.

At the same time, Manley pointed out, private business was to retain an important and permanent place in the economy, on the stipulation that it "must be responsive to and subject to overall national needs and interests."

"The days of capitalism are over," Manley claimed the following month. "Socialism is running the country now."

But to clarify just what the PNP meant by "democratic socialism," a government brochure issued the same year listed "some examples of nations with democratic socialist governments"—Britain, West Germany, Israel, and Singapore.

During this period the PNP also took on a greater role within the Socialist

International. Manley, who was chosen a vice-president of the Socialist International in 1978, urged the organization to pay more attention to the semicolonial countries.

The same year that the PNP adopted its program of "democratic socialism," it took its first steps toward trying to gain greater control over the key bauxite industry.

Until then, the North American aluminum companies had been able to get away with paying only minimal taxes on their operations. But in mid-1974, the government imposed a new production levy on all bauxite either exported or processed within the country. Government revenues from the bauxite industry rose by nearly five times.

The government next opened negotiations with the companies to acquire a majority stake in their holdings. After considerable resistance from the firms, it was finally successful in winning their agreement to sell the government 51 percent of their mining operations.

Manley also helped initiate the International Bauxite Association, which sought to coordinate the pricing and production policies of the major bauxite-exporting countries in an effort to obtain greater leverage in the world market.

National minimum wage

The PNP government also carried out other reforms. It took over a number of public utilities and services. It adopted laws setting a national minimum wage. It recognized the principle of equal pay for equal work for men and women.

Despite threats from Washington to cut off aid to Jamaica in retaliation for its Cuba ties, Manley visited Cuba in July 1975. Several hundred Cuban construction workers, education experts, doctors, and technicians were sent to Jamaica, and the Cubans provided training programs in Cuba for Jamaican youths studying construction techniques. Manley publicly sup-

ported the Cuban decision to send combat troops to Angola in 1975 to help defend that country from a U.S.-backed South African invasion.

At the same time, however, Manley made it clear that he was against a revolutionary transformation of Jamaican society as had occurred in Cuba. In a major speech in 1976, he accused the Cubans of practicing "authoritarianism" and declared that "the Cuban system cannot work in Jamaica. We have a different tradition."

What this "different tradition" meant, however, was that the Jamaican workers and peasants—unlike those in Cuba—were left with no real decision-making powers. They could pressure the government into enacting reforms, but they did not control it. The government, army, police, and civil service remained under the domination of the capitalists. Nor did working people have their own independent political organizations to fight in defense of their interests.

The government, while it promoted some desperately needed reforms, likewise attempted to contain popular initiatives from the workers and peasants. It did this partly through the PNP's political domination over the NWU, which it counseled to avoid strike action. It imposed wage "guidelines" at a time of rampant inflation. It adopted the Labour Relations and Industrial Disputes Act, which gave the government the power to bar job action in any "essential" industry.

This approach inevitably weakened the government's own reform measures, and made it much easier for Jamaica's ruling class to resist or get around them.

Basically, the PNP's reform program was aimed at developing Jamaica's capitalist economy and bringing some social gains to the workers and farmers, while at the same time avoiding a sharpening of the class struggle and a direct confrontation with imperialism.

But despite the PNP leadership's aims, it was unable to keep the class struggle in check.

Pressure from the masses

The 1970s witnessed a widespread radicalization. The new ideas put forward by the student militants and Black Power groups of the 1960s had begun to spread to broader layers of the population. The discussion of socialist ideas became more common, a discussion that was legitimized to an extent by the regime's own claimed adherence to socialism. The greater contact between Jamaicans and Cubans had a similar effect, and some Jamaicans began to look to the example of the Cuban revolution.

Faced with factory closings and steep inflation, workers often went out on strike, including workers belonging to the NWU. In some cases the workers occupied their factories. When the sugar estate managers continued to resist the takeover of the estates by the workers' cooperatives, the workers refused to cut the cane until they won their demand.

Among landless peasants, the seizures of unused land continued, and won widespread popular support.

Left-wing groups

Numerous left-wing groups emerged out of the Black Power movement and student radicalization of the 1960s and early 1970s. The most influential was the Workers Liberation League, which was established in 1974. It later changed its name to the Workers Party of Jamaica (WPJ). Initially based at the University of the West Indies, the organization grew. By 1978, WPJ members had been elected to leadership positions in more than 800 Jamaican youth clubs.

The WPJ openly called itself communist. Although it credited the Manley regime with enacting genuine reforms, it also criticized the PNP and government for going only "half-way" toward socialism.

WPJ leader Trevor Munroe accused the government of being "too soft" on "capitalists who are closing down businesses and laying off workers," on "colonialist elements inside the police force and inside the army," and on government ministers who were "friending up with the capitalists and who forget that it is the people and not the capitalists who put them into power."

Similar positions were echoed within the PNP, whose left wing grew in influence and popularity. One of the left wing's strongest bases was in the PNP Youth Organisation. In 1977, for example, the youth group criticized some of the regime's policies and called for the takeover of land, banks, and insurance companies and for a united struggle against capitalism and imperialism by the workers, poor farmers, unemployed, and students.

Jamaican women began to organize themselves and to fight for their rights. Numerous women's groups were established.

Big business pressure

For the imperialists and their allies within Jamaica, things had gone too far. Their stranglehold over the island was being increasingly challenged. The Jamaican people were moving to assert their national independence—and that was something the imperialists would not tolerate.

By 1975, Washington had begun to significantly step up the pressures against the Manley regime, and to encourage the local right-wing forces to act against the PNP.

The aluminum companies led the way. In 1975, they began to cut back production in retaliation for the imposition of the bauxite levy. This sabotaged government revenues and threw workers out of their jobs. The firms also provoked a series of strikes that further disrupted the economy.

Tourism—Jamaica's second largest foreign exchange earner—was seriously hurt by a vicious press campaign within the United States, which spread scare stories about alleged hostility and violence against American tourists visiting Jamaica.

During the same year, the U.S. Agency for International Development turned down a Jamaican request for a \$2.5 million food grant, and made it clear that it would lend no further funds to the Manley government unless it changed its political stance.

The Jamaican capitalists rallied to Washington's side. The PNP had won some support from sectors of the capitalist class during the 1972 elections—primarily from those industrialists who expected that higher taxes on the aluminum companies would lead to greater financing for their own ventures. But under the threat of the deepening radicalization within the

country, most of them quickly turned against the PNP.

Kissinger ultimatum

The Jamaican bourgeoisie went on strike. Many slowed their rate of investment, cut back production, or even shut down their operations entirely. Thousands of workers were thrown onto the streets. Emboldened by the imperialist hostility to the Manley regime, the ruling class dug in its heels against the government's reform measures while sectors of the state bureaucracy and police actively sabotaged them. Wealthy families refused to observe import restrictions and smuggled large amounts of money out of the country. Organizations like the Jamaican Chamber of Commerce became more and more critical of the government's policies.

In December 1975, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, accompanied by an entourage of seventy advisers, arrived in Jamaica on a "vacation." While he was there he presented Manley with an ultimatum: The Jamaican government would have to end its support for the Cuban role in Angola—or else. Manley rejected this crude attempt at blackmail.

In response, Washington gave the green light to a greatly escalated destabilization campaign designed to drive Manley from power.

The CIA went into action. Money and large amounts of sophisticated weaponry were smuggled into the country. The Jamaica Labour Party—which by then had become more closely tied to the most proimperialist sectors of the Jamaican ruling class—organized gangs of armed thugs to attack PNP supporters and working class activists.

During the fighting, which spread through the shantytowns of Kingston and other cities, at least 300 persons were killed. Manley was the target of several abortive assassination plots. A number of Cuban targets were bombed.

The violence had become so great that by June Manley was forced to declare a state of emergency. A number of JLP members were arrested for involvement with a CIA-inspired paramilitary group called "Werewolf." In September, Phillip Agee, a former CIA agent, publicly exposed a team of CIA operatives working out of the U.S. embassy in Kingston.

Despite the intensity of this destabilization campaign, the Jamaican people were not intimidated. In December 1976 they went to the polls in greater numbers than in previous elections, and returned the PNP to power with an even wider margin of popular support and parliamentary representation.

The elections, however, solved nothing. The Jamaican people continued to be the victims of a merciless imperialist drive to bring them to heel.

With Washington's plan to remove the PNP in favor of the JLP temporarily scuttled by the election results, the new Carter administration adopted an alternative course of using economic pressure against Jamaica.

The bauxite companies' decision to reduce production within Jamaica, combined with the rise in world oil prices, gutted Jamaica's foreign exchange reserves. Unable to pay for imports of industrial equipment, manufacturing was disrupted and key consumer items became increasingly scarce. On top of this, earnings from the tourist industry plummeted as a result of the politically motivated campaign by the U.S. government and press to scare away tourists. Jamaica's gross domestic product declined. Inflation drastically cut into the living standards of the Jamaican workers and farmers.

Jamaica desperately needed international financial assistance to help it ride out the crisis. Yet the Manley regime found it impossible to secure the kind of loans it needed—unless it agreed to pay a political price.

Faced with this dilemma, the PNP leadership vacillated.

Discussion on crisis

For a brief period in early 1977, the PNP, fresh from its sweeping electoral victory, attempted to mobilize popular support and opened up a big national discussion on ways to overcome the economic crisis. The National Planning Agency invited the public to help develop a "people's plan." Thousands of Jamaicans sent in suggestions for various steps to better utilize Jamaica's own resources. Socialists—both within the PNP left wing and outside the party—were able to present their own ideas.

In March, the government announced plans to take over the British-owned Barclays Bank.

This approach, however, soon ran into stiff opposition from sectors of the government and PNP leadership itself.

Although the PNP had evolved considerably since the beginning of the decade, those changes were least reflected in the PNP's parliamentary caucus and the government. Out of the forty-seven PNP members of parliament, only seven identified with the party's left wing; the parliamentary caucus was heavily weighted toward professionals and businessmen. The representation of the left wing was even weaker within the cabinet.

Fearing the mass radicalization under way in the country, those sectors of the PNP leadership who favored compromise with imperialism took advantage of Jamaica's extreme economic crisis to press for a change in course.

(To be continued)

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There was, for example, an in-depth article by IP staff writer Fred Murphy on Reagan's moves to arm the terrorist regime of General Romeo Lucas Garcia in Guatemala. Fernando Torres wrote on the stepped-up repression in Colombia, and on that regime's role in the U.S. government's campaign against Cuba. From Italy, Anna Libera wrote an analysis of the new attacks on abortion rights there. In short, there was a lot of international news and analysis that we at the *Militant*, frankly, didn't have room to print. And this week there'll be more. Subscribe now to *Intercontinental Press*.

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FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN WORLD WAR II

Testimony of George Breitman

George Breitman, a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, testified April 30 and May 1 at the trial of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying.

The first part of his testimony, printed last week, further discredited the 'Mandigo affidavit' on alleged crimes of six current and former SWP leaders. The affidavit was prepared by FBI Special Agent Charles Mandigo.

Breitman documented the large-scale errors, lies, and distortions in the public section of the Mandigo affidavit. This served to discredit another part of the affidavit—secret to all but the government lawyers and Judge Thomas Griesa—which Mandigo has sworn he was just 'as thorough and careful in drafting' as the public part.

In the second part of his testimony, printed below, Breitman discusses the early history of the Fourth International and the role played in it by the SWP.

Judge Griesa: As a matter of curiosity, this 1929 issue of the 'Militant'—did the 'Militant' start after the split with the Communist Party?

Breitman: Yes. This was around the fifth or sixth issue.

Griesa: So this was a new publication?

Breitman: It was a new publication without an office.

Griesa: And it represented the Trotsky side of the controversy?

Breitman: Right.

Griesa: OK.

Winter: Your Honor, I have one other line of questioning that I would like to go through with this witness on the Fourth International.

Griesa: OK.

Founding of SWP

Q: Mr. Breitman, were you present at the founding convention of the SWP in early 1938?

A: Yes.

Q: And you were a delegate to that convention?

A: I was a delegate. I was a member of the credentials committee and on some other commission.

Q: Have you written anything on the founding convention?

A: I prepared a book called *The Founding of the Socialist Workers Party*, which is going to be published this year. It contains documents, minutes, and reports of the Socialist Workers Party's first and second conventions, and meetings of the national committee in between.

Griesa: When was the opening convention?

Breitman: It began the last day of 1937 and ended on January 3, 1938.

Q: Was the Fourth International in existence at the time of the founding convention of the SWP?

A: No, this convention was in January, 1938, and the Fourth International was not founded until September of that year. But there was a forerunner organization called the Movement for the Fourth International.

Q: Did the new SWP support the Movement for the Fourth International?

A: At this founding convention of the SWP, a report was adopted to affiliate with the Movement for the Fourth International, and to help work toward the creation of the Fourth International.

Q: What else was decided at the

founding convention of the SWP—besides support for the Fourth International that was about to come into being?

A: Well, there were several resolutions on current questions of that period—one on the Soviet Union, another one on Spain. There were resolutions on trade union work and unemployed work.

There was the adoption of a constitution. There was a debate over the name of the new organization, and there was adoption of a declaration of principles.

Declaration of principles

Q: I am handing you Plaintiffs' Exhibit 253 for identification. Will you state what that document is?

A: This is the pamphlet which was issued a few weeks after the convention, containing the declaration of principles adopted at the founding convention and the constitution of the organization that was adopted at the founding convention.

Q: Did the founding convention take any position on the relative merits of multiparty political system as opposed to a one-party political system under socialism?

A: Yes, in the declaration of principles, it was very plainly stated that the party stands for freedom of speech, press, assembly, and the right of opposition parties within American society, after the establishment of a workers state—

Griesa: Where are these statements?

Breitman: On page 8 there is a section called "The Workers State." The last paragraph in it says, "While the workers state will necessarily reserve to itself the indispensable right to take all requisite measures to deal with violence and armed attacks against the revolutionary regime, it will, at the same time, assure adequate civil rights to opposition individuals, groups and political parties and will guarantee the opportunity for the expression of opposition through the allotment of press, radio and assembly facilities in accordance with the real strength among the people of the opposition groups or parties."

Q: What role, if any, did Leon Trotsky personally play in the founding convention of the SWP?

A: Well, he was not in the United States, of course, and he was not permitted to visit the United States, even for health consultations. But he participated in the form of articles that he wrote, which were printed in the discussion bulletin preceding the convention, and in letters that he wrote to the leaders of the new party.

Q: Have these writings been published by the Socialist Workers Party, that is, published for public sale?

A: Yes, all of his articles on this question, and his many letters of advice on problems facing the new party, have all been printed in the series of books called *Writings of Leon Trotsky*, which is a fourteen-volume set. These will be found in the volume that is devoted to that year, 1937-1938.

Fourth International

Q: You testified a little earlier that the founding congress of the Fourth International was in September, 1938, I believe?

A: Yes.

Q: Did the SWP participate in that founding congress?

A: Yes.

Q: Did the SWP send delegates to that congress?

A: It did.

Griesa: And that was when?

Breitman: September, 1938.

Griesa: It was the founding congress of the Fourth International?

Breitman: Right.

Griesa: Where was that?

Breitman: In France. I think in one of the suburbs of Paris, or it might have been in Paris itself.

Q: Did the SWP send delegates?

A: Yes, it did.

Q: How many?

A: Well, there were three Americans who were delegates. Two were leaders of the Socialist Workers Party—James P. Cannon and Max Schachtman—who had both been founders of the so-called Trotskyist Tendency in the United States.

The third person was a man named Nathan Gould, who was the leader of the youth organization that was affiliated with the Socialist Workers Party. These three went to the founding congress as delegates.

Q: Was the fact of their participation at this founding congress publicized at the time by the SWP?

A: No.

Q: And why not?

Leaders assassinated

A: Well, this was more or less an illegal congress because Stalin and the Soviet secret police had decided to kill as many leaders of this Fourth Internationalist movement as possible. In the year preceding the congress, in September, they did succeed in killing several people who were unquestionably international leaders of this movement. These included Trotsky's son, who was assassinated in a Paris hospital in February, 1938, and Rudolph Klement, the administrative secretary of the Fourth International, who was kidnapped and whose headless body was found in the Seine River a few days before the congress opened.

So there was considerable concern about the safety of people who were known to be going to the congress, and it was not publicized.

We knew about it inside the party because of the great difficulty we had in raising money to send these delegates to the congress. They were elected in April, and in June they were supposed to leave. But there wasn't enough money for two of them to go, so only one went in June—Cannon. We had to carry on a big fund drive for about six weeks before money was raised to send Schachtman. And in the end we had to take a bank loan in order to be able to put him on a ship.

Q: At what time, if ever, did the SWP make public the fact that these three Americans had participated in the founding congress?

A: Well, in 1973 we published a book called *Documents of the Fourth International, the Formative Years, 1933-1940*.

This book reported who the delegates were and included minutes, as well as all of the resolutions that had been adopted by the congress.

We got those minutes only in 1972, and we published them in the first book thereafter. Reading those minutes it is clear who the three Americans were. They are identified by their own names.

Griesa: When did you first make it public that the SWP had participated?

Breitman: This was not about the SWP's participation, but the identification of the three delegates, that was made public in this book.

Griesa: I guess I didn't understand your answer. When did you

first make it public that the SWP had participated in the Fourth International?

Breitman: Less than a month after the congress. We had a special issue of our newspaper containing resolutions and articles about the congress, and the fact that the SWP had participated in it.

Q: Then it was not until 1973 that there was a publication identifying Mr. Schachtman and Mr. Gould as the participating Americans?

A: Yes.

Election of IEC

Q: Were any SWP members elected to leadership bodies of the Fourth International at the founding world congress?

A: Yes.

Q: Who were they?

A: There were three Americans elected to the International Executive Committee: Cannon, Schachtman, and the congress asked the SWP to select a third member. I should add that the International Executive Committee consisted of fifteen members, one of whom was Trotsky and three of whom were Americans.

Griesa: What did the Fourth International request?

Breitman: It requested that the SWP select the third person rather than have him or her elected directly by the congress.

Griesa: And in response the SWP did what?

Breitman: In response the SWP in November, 1938, did select the third person.

Griesa: I thought you said fifteen people went.

Breitman: There was an International Executive Committee of fifteen people.

Griesa: All right.

Breitman: Three of whom were Americans.

Griesa: All right. Who was the third person?

Breitman: The third person was Carl Skoglund. He was not identified this way in the minutes where he was elected in November, 1938. It took me four years to find out his identity, but I think it is now quite well-established—that he was the third member.

Griesa: So the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International consisted of fifteen people, one of whom was Leon Trotsky?

Breitman: Right.

Griesa: Did he travel outside of Mexico at all?

Breitman: No. Once he reached Mexico he stayed there until his death.

Founding congress

Q: What was decided at the founding congress of the Fourth International?

A: Well, the main decisions revolved around the adoption of program and the decision to actually found the Fourth International at that point.

The program, which has become known popularly as the Transitional Program, was written in its first draft by Trotsky in Mexico. After being discussed for several months before the congress, it was discussed at the congress and adopted there.

In addition, as I have said, they decided to set up the International at that point, and they elected a leadership to guide the organization until the next congress.

This was the International Executive Committee of fifteen that I have referred to.

And, in addition to that, they decided that in the event of war, the center of the Fourth International should be transferred to the western hemisphere.

Q: How do you know what decisions were made at this founding convention?

A: Well, we have the documents. There are some 150 pages of documents about this congress in this book that I referred to, *Documents of the Fourth International*.

We also have had an opportunity to study the archives of Leon Trotsky at Harvard. Trotsky was in the habit of retaining, saving, documents that were sent to him—political documents sent to him—from throughout the world. He received minutes of different national groups, of international groups, and so on, and he put them away.

Before he died, his archives were sold to Harvard University, and they were delivered shortly after his death.

Until last year we had access to, I forget how many, six or seven thousand different documents. But last year, in accordance with a stipulation they made and that Harvard accepted, they opened up another portion—the final portion—of his archives to the public. There we found a great many additional documents about the internal life, development, and disputes of the Fourth International and its predecessor groups.

International center

Q: When war did break out in Europe, did the center of the Fourth International shift?

A: Yes. At the time that the war broke out, there was an American in Europe working with the International Executive Committee. That was Albert Goldman. When the war began, he left and returned to the United States. But before the war or before he returned, before he arrived in New York, there was a meeting in New York of six people, five of whom were members of the International Executive Committee. They decided that they should take action—did I say when this was, what date?

Q: You didn't give the precise date.

A: This was eleven days after the declaration of war, on September 12, 1939. This small body met and decided that with the approval of three other International Executive Committee members in the western hemisphere they would assume the functions of the International Executive Committee here.

A week or nine days later, Goldman arrived and confirmed what had happened in Europe was that all of the members of the Fourth International had either been arrested, or conscripted, or driven underground—declared illegal as an organization. The IEC that had existed there had ceased to function.

During this nine-day period, the three other members of the committee on this continent had been consulted and they approved of this decision.

So at this meeting, on the 21st of September, the decision was made final that this body would assume the functions of the International Executive Committee until further notice.

Q: Now, I think you said there were five IEC members who held the first meeting:

A: Yes.

Role of Americans

Q: How many of these were Americans?

A: Three of these were Americans: Cannon, Schachtman and Gould. Gould representing the International Youth Organization affiliated to the Fourth International. He was, I guess, what you would call a fraternal member or a sixteenth member.

Anyhow, he attended it. Those were the three North Americans who attended.

There were two other members of the IEC, one who hailed from the Caribbean and one who came from Brazil.

And the other significant action of

this meeting was that they elected as administrative secretary of the IEC an SWP member named Sam Gordon.

Q: Were you present at that IEC meeting?

A: No.

Q: Do you base your knowledge of this meeting on the same—

A: Last year we obtained the minutes of these two meetings from Harvard.

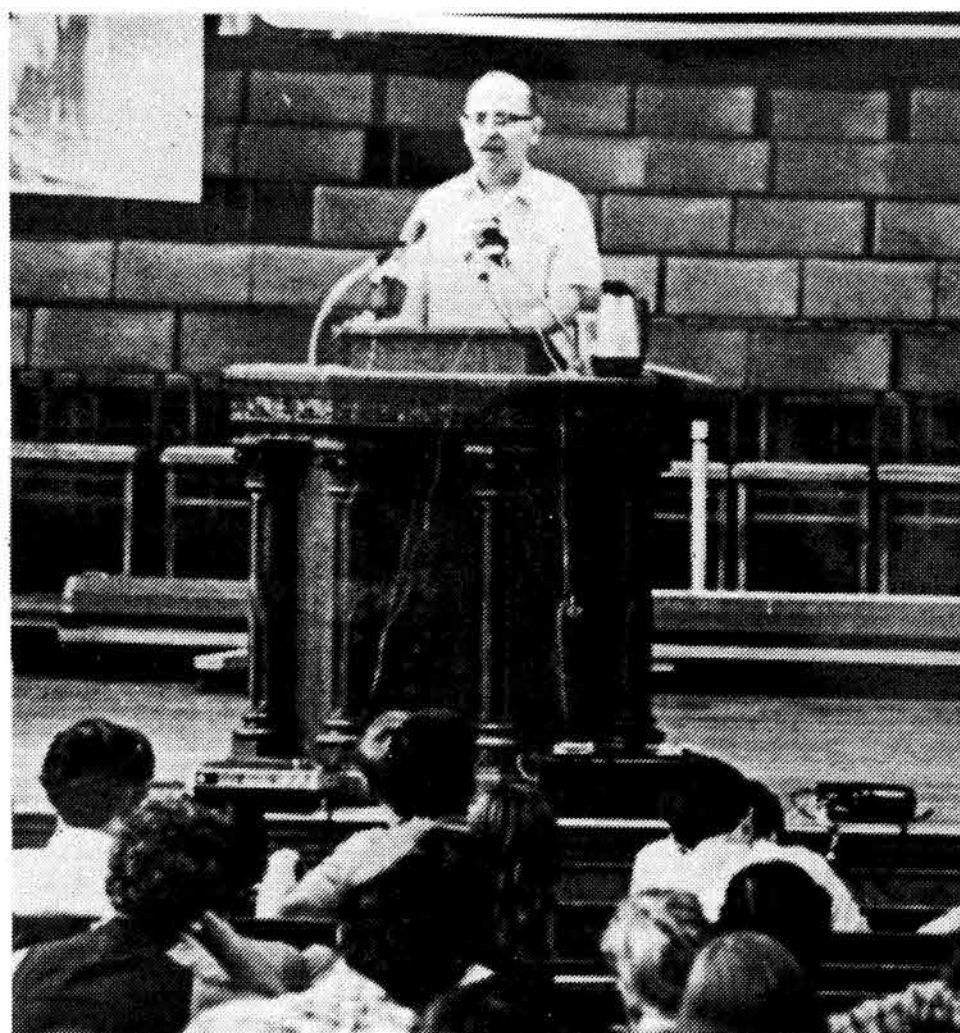
Q: That you described previously?

A: Yes. The names in it are all pseudonyms, and I think we have tracked down the real names of most of the people involved but there are one or two that still elude us.

Q: Was there an office for the Fourth International in New York?

A: No.

Q: What was the role of Trotsky in these IEC meetings, if any?



George Breitman addresses socialist educational conference.

A: Well, he was one of the three who was not in New York, and he sent his approval of the course that was proposed by the people in New York.

Q: That is, there were the five IEC members who met originally, and at the second meeting on September 21st you had the approval of three others, and he was one of the three?

A: Yes.

Griesa: So it was expanded to eight?

Breitman: It was expanded to eight, but it was understood that the other three would not be present at its meetings in New York.

Q: And those eight represented a majority of the fifteen-member IEC?

A: Yes.

Q: How long did this IEC function as a body?

A: Not very long. There was a factional dispute going on in the Socialist Workers Party at that time over the role of the Soviet Union in the war, and whether or not the SWP and the Fourth International should defend the Soviet Union in this war.

The IEC became paralyzed and ceased to function after November because they were unable to get a clear-cut majority for either point of view. So this executive committee existed nominally until May, 1940, when an emergency conference of the Fourth International was held—in order to resolve the political dispute that was going on and to elect a new IEC which could function.

Emergency conference

Q: Mr. Breitman, before the break you were talking about this center of

the Fourth International when it shifted to New York.

The last thing you had talked about with respect to the center in New York was an emergency conference in 1940. Could you briefly describe what this conference did?

A: It adopted a manifesto about the war which had been written by Trotsky in its first draft. It elected a new International Executive Committee.

Judge Griesa: Who was it that did these things?

Breitman: An emergency conference of the Fourth International.

Griesa: That was held in 1940?

Breitman: Yes. It was attended by delegates from North America, South America, Australia, and some mandated delegates from Europe—delegates who were mandated from Europe, rather.

gain contact with the different sections or parties of the International throughout the world.

It published occasional documents, declarations and manifestos on the major issues occurring in the war.

Q: For what period of time did the International operate in New York?

Griesa: For some reason I don't have complete clarity on this center.

You said there was an emergency conference in May 1940. I guess you better tell me again what was this center and when was it started.

Breitman: In September, 1939, the members of the International Executive Committee in New York, and in Mexico, and other parts of the continent decided to assume the functions of the International Executive Committee here in the United States—in accordance with a decision that had been made at the founding congress in September, 1938.

Griesa: Just a minute, I remember that.

Breitman: I have forgotten where I was. Was I in the middle of an answer?

Griesa: Yes, but I had forgotten that we had covered that, and my memory is now refreshed, so you go ahead with your question.

Q: The question I think we had before us was for what period of time did the International center operate in New York, in the United States?

A: This International center that emerged from the emergency conference operated from 1940 to 1945.

Q: Who participated in the work of the center?

A: Well, some leaders of the SWP, and some refugees from Europe, some delegates from Latin America.

Q: What kind of communication was there between the center and New York and Europe during the war?

A: It was very scanty and very limited, especially in the early years of the war.

As Hitler was driven back beginning in 1944, contact began to be made with all of France, and not just the part that was unoccupied—and with other countries that they had been unable to reach until then.

But up until around 1944 there was small contact, infrequent and irregular.

Disaffiliation

Q: Mr. Breitman: I believe you testified that you were present at the December, 1940, convention of the SWP.

A: I don't believe I did, but I was present.

Q: Were you a delegate?

A: Yes, I was a delegate.

Griesa: The date again?

Breitman: December, 1940. That was the Fourth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party. It was called a special convention.

Q: Was that convention the one at which the SWP voted to disaffiliate from the Fourth International because of the Voorhis Act?

A: Yes.

Q: Were there any other major decisions at this convention besides the decision to disaffiliate?

A: The other decision was to suspend the declaration of, or to revoke—I forget the exact word—the declaration of principles that had been adopted at the founding convention in January, 1938.

Q: Why was that decision made?

A: Because the position that the declaration of principles had taken on a number of questions was no longer up to date. The party, in the meantime in this three-year period, had changed its position on the labor party question, and had decided to support a referendum on war, where previously it had been opposed to it. A number of other parts of the declaration of principles had been outmoded.

So it was decided to withdraw the declaration of principles and instruct the national committee to prepare a new draft.

Q: And did the SWP make public

Continued on next page

POLITICAL POLICE ON TRIAL

Continued from preceding page
the major decisions of this convention?

A: Yes.

Q: I am handing you a copy of 'Socialist Appeal,' dated December 28, 1940. Are those decisions published in this issue of 'Socialist Appeal'?

A: Yes, on the bottom of the page—that is, on page 2 of this compilation—there is an article called "Special National Convention of SWP, Acts on International Relations."

And I think it contains the full resolution on both these questions that I have referred to in full.

Q: Is 'Socialist Appeal' the same newspaper as the 'Militant'?

A: Yes. At that time the *Militant* was called *Socialist Appeal*. The name was changed again in 1941.

Q: Changed to what?

A: To the *Militant*, and has remained that.

Q: Did the December, 1940, disaffiliation have any effect on SWP members' participation in the International center of the Fourth International in New York?

A: No, I don't think so, not in a political sense. We continued to be in solidarity with the Fourth International, and to cooperate with them wherever possible.

In an organizational sense we no longer were part of the Fourth International and, therefore, that changed our relationship somewhat. But essentially and politically there was no change.

European Secretariat

Q: Did you ever attend any meetings of the Fourth International?

A: Yes.

Q: When?

A: From 1944 to 1946.

Q: Where were these meetings?

A: These meetings were in France.

Q: What kind of meetings were they?

A: They were meetings of a group called the European Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Q: What was the European Secretariat?

A: The European Secretariat was an executive committee set up after the national parties in Europe had either been driven underground or had disappeared—with an attempt to, or attempting to, reconstruct parties where they had been destroyed and to coordinate their work on a Europe-wide scale.

Q: Was this after the center shifted to New York?

A: Yes, this secretariat, I believe, was created in 1943, but it might have been the end of 1942.

Q: How did you happen to be in France in 1944?

A: Well, I can thank the government for that too. I was in France because I had been drafted into the Army and shipped there. I was drafted in 1943 and arrived in France in June, 1944.

Q: How did you happen to attend meetings of the European Secretariat?

A: Well, the Socialist Workers Party was very anxious to get in touch with co-thinkers throughout the world. When I went overseas, they wanted me to try to regain contact with whoever was possible, and I did that. They invited me to attend meetings of the European Secretariat.

Q: Were these meetings held openly?

A: No, they were not held openly. Paris had just been liberated from the Nazis. Some of the members of the Secretariat had been either in concentration camps, from which they had escaped, or they had been tortured. There was, as a result of the conditions that existed there, an atmosphere of secrecy and avoidance of public notice.

Q: What was discussed at these meetings of the European Secretariat that you attended?

A: Much of it had to do with what was going on in France. But most of it dealt with political problems of that period when the war was drawing to an end—what the new circumstances were go-



French resistance fighters against Nazi occupation during World War II. Stationed in France with U.S. Army, Breitman helped maintain contact with European cothinkers who survived Nazi camps and occupation.

ing to be after the war. Attempts were also made to establish contact with more and more sections throughout Europe as the Nazi armies fell back.

Pre-World Conference

Q: Did you attend any other Fourth International meetings besides those of the European Secretariat between the 1944 and 1946 period?

A: Yes. In 1946 I attended a pre-World Conference of the Fourth International in Paris—March, 1946.

Q: Were you a delegate?

A: Yes, I was a delegate representing the Socialist Workers Party.

Q: Were there any other American delegates?

A: There were two other Americans there. I think only one of them was a delegate from the SWP.

Q: Who were they?

A: One was Sam Gordon and the other was a newspaperman named Sherry Mangan, who worked for *Time* or *Fortune*, one of those Luce publications. He had been there before the war, and had been seized by the Nazis when they occupied Paris. But then he had returned to the United States, where I first met him.

In fact, it was through him that I first made contact with the European Secretariat. He collaborated very closely with the Secretariat.

Q: In March, 1946, at the time of this pre-World Conference, had the center of the Fourth International shifted back to Europe yet?

A: Not yet.

Q: How did the shift occur?

A: Well, it occurred at this very conference. Prior to that there had been correspondence between the European Secretariat and the people in New York. An agreement had been reached that as soon as the war ended, and as soon thereafter as possible, the center should be returned to Europe. That was the major accomplishment of this conference which, in addition, had the task of preparing for another world congress which was eventually held in 1948.

Q: Could you briefly describe what was discussed at this pre-World Conference?

A: Yes. By this time the war had ended and the cold war was starting. There were resolutions adopted on a great many questions that the European sections in particular were concerned about.

Griesa: When was the World Congress? Are you talking about the

World Congress or the pre-World Congress?

Breitman: The pre-World.

Q: Were delegates elected to the IEC at this pre-World Conference?

A: Members of the IEC were elected at this conference because now the center was being shifted back. A new leadership body had to do the work of preparing for the full World Congress later on.

Q: Were any Americans elected to the IEC?

A: Yes, Cannon was elected and Gordon was elected—Sam Gordon. I am not absolutely sure whether there was another, but I also was elected.

Q: Were you present at the session when you were elected to the IEC?

A: No. On the third day of the conference the police invaded the hall and arrested everybody. The Americans were taken to the American Embassy. The others were put in jail, and the last session of the conference was held in jail that night. I was not present.

If I had been, I think I would have declined the honor of being a member of the IEC—which was about what it would amount to, as an honor, if I was not able to attend their meetings. And I would have told them that my plans were to return to the United States as quickly as possible, and never to leave it again.

Q: Have you ever attended any other Fourth International conferences since the one you just described?

A: No.

Winter: I have no further questions.

CROSS-EXAMINATION

Q: You reviewed a great many materials in connection with your preparation for your testimony today, as you testified.

Did you review any of the materials that were produced by the government in the course of this litigation?

A: I don't know what was produced by the government. I did not examine it.

Q: Did anyone assist you in preparing for your testimony today?

A: Yes. Attorney Winter discussed with me questions and I prepared my own testimony.

Q: Did anyone assist you in any of the research that you did in preparing for your testimony here?

A: I may have gotten one or two sheets of paper, but 99 percent of it I did

myself without any assistance.

Q: Did you ever ask anybody if you could see any of the materials that the government had produced in discovery in the litigation?

A: No, I did not.

Q: Did you know whether anybody ever showed you any materials and said to you, 'Here is a document which was produced'?

A: Yes. On Monday of this week Attorney Winter gave me copies of FBI reports about myself that had been produced in discovery. For the first time I learned that the Department of Justice had put me on some supersubversive list.

Q: But other—you say there were two documents. Other than those two documents, did anybody ever show you anything that was identified as material produced by the government in the course of this litigation?

A: No.

Q: In connection with your testimony you referred to a letter which Farrell Dobbs wrote, which was called 'To Dear Comrades' and that is Plaintiffs' Exhibit 255.

Do you know where that letter was obtained from?

A: Where it came from?

Q: Yes.

A: It came from Attorney Winter.

Q: Do you know where Miss Winter obtained that?

A: No, I am not sure.

Q: Do you have Exhibit 255 in front of you, Mr. Breitman?

A: Yes.

Q: Is that reproduction of the letter—does that appear to you to be from any kind of a file that you are familiar with?

A: No.

Q: Does it appear to be—

A: There seems to be a number on the bottom, D514, but I don't know what that means or where it comes from.

Pathfinder archives

Q: Do you know whether the SWP maintains any kind of an archive system other than the archives that you testified pertained to Mr. Cannon?

A: I am familiar with archives that are located at Pathfinder Press, because I work with them.

Q: Do those archives at Pathfinder Press contain copies of correspondence, such as the letter which is Exhibit 255?

A: No.

Q: What do the archives of Pathfinder contain?

A: Well, they contain material being used for books. I already stated that we are preparing a whole series of posthumous books by Cannon, and two of the books have been published. One will be published this summer, and the others are being prepared.

Q: Do those archives of Pathfinder contain materials that relate to the SWP, other than materials that relate specifically to Mr. Cannon?

A: It is very hard to separate Cannon from the SWP since they are so closely intertwined. It is not personal files. It is political files of Cannon.

Q: So it is possible then that the material contained in the Pathfinder Press archives contains material that relates to the SWP, even if it does not relate specifically to Mr. Cannon—either because it was in his possession at one time or because it mentions his name?

A: Yes, but it would not include this Dobbs letter.

Q: Why do you say that?

A: Because it does not contain material of that type—least of all in this format, which seems to be microfilm.

Q: Did anybody tell you where this Farrell Dobbs letter, which happens to be on microfilm, came from?

A: No.

Q: You were just handed a letter, is that it?

A: Yes.

Q: Have you looked at everything

which is contained in the Pathfinder Press archives?

A: I have looked at it up to a certain point. That is, I haven't looked at it—at the Cannon material—for more than a year I would say.

Q: So when you testified earlier that you had read extensively from Mr. Cannon's writings and speeches, both published and unpublished, were you referring to that period of a year ago when you had reviewed that material?

A: No, I reviewed that material over a period of several years beginning in the mid-70s. I stopped doing it a year ago.

Q: So you said you examined the archives up to a period. Do you mean that you examined what was contained in the archives say up to a particular year?

A: Up to last year.

Q: I am sorry, I mean to refer you to what is contained in the archives themselves. For example, is it your recollection of the archives that they contain materials that range over, say from 1935 up until Mr. Cannon's death?

A: I understand your question now. Yes, it ranges from the mid-20s up until the time of Cannon's death.

But I have been concerned principally with the period of the books which were published. So that the first book was published containing material for the years 1943 to 1945, I believe.

The second one is for the years—excuse me, the first one was 1940 to 1943, and the second one was 1945 to 1947.

The third one, which is now at the printer, I hope, covers the years 1928 to 1931.

Q: So you have not reviewed then all of the material contained in the archives that pertains to Mr. Cannon, only that which pertains to the period of time you just mentioned?

A: No, I had reviewed them but I haven't studied them. I haven't given the same attention to the material I looked at, say for 1970 to 1974, as I did for the books which were being published first.

Q: In addition to the material that is contained in the archives about Mr. Cannon, did you review any of the other material in preparation for your testimony here today?

A: No. I decided to testify last week when I was asked and I haven't been there since then.

Q: So you were in the archives last week?

A: No. I said I agreed to testify last week. I haven't been in the archives for quite some time.

Q: In addition to the archives of the Pathfinder Press, are there any other files of the SWP that contain microfilm correspondence such as that which is Plaintiffs' Exhibit 255?

A: Not to my knowledge.

Q: Do you know whether there are such materials for the 'Militant,' for example?

A: Militant files?

Q: Yes. Would the 'Militant' keep microfilm copies of correspondence?

A: No.

Q: So you have no idea where Exhibit 255 came from?

A: I have said that already.

Q: Did you review any of your personal files to prepare for your testimony today?

A: Yes.

Q: Can you state what you reviewed in connection with your testimony from your own personal files?

A: Yes.

Q: What was that?

A: Well, I reviewed the *Militant* first of all. I have all fifty-two years of the bound *Militant* in my home.

I reviewed the magazine which originally was called the *New Militant*, then being called the *Fourth International*, and then called the *International Socialist Review* since 1934.

I reviewed the internal bulletins of

the Socialist Workers Party. I reviewed notes that I made for the next book that I hope to produce.

Q: What would those notes pertain to, Mr. Breitman?

A: Those notes pertain to the history of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International in the 1930s, which is the period that I am most interested in from a scholarly point of view—and about which I have given talks, educational talks, which I hope to turn into print and into a book.

Q: Did you review any correspondence in your own personal files between yourself and any other members of the SWP?



Government attorney Cathy Silak cross-examined Breitman

A: No. I don't have much in the way of correspondence from that period.

Q: Do you have correspondence from any period, say from the late 1930s to the present time, between yourself and other members of the SWP?

A: Yes, private correspondence.

Q: Did you review that correspondence?

A: No, I had no occasion to.

Griesa: This isn't helpful. Let us take a recess. If you believe that he is fabricating about briefing himself with available material, you can pursue that and try to show it. It doesn't make any difference to me the exact nature of his briefing.

He appears to have had some personal involvement with the SWP and has considerable memory and other things he obviously has checked out with documents.

If you want to try to indicate that that impression which I have is wrong, okay. Otherwise, there is not much utility in this. You go over your cross and try to streamline it.

* * *

Mandigo's errors

Q: Mr. Breitman, you wrote an article published in the March 13, 1981, edition of the 'Militant' in which you detailed what you contended were the inaccuracies in the Mandigo affidavit, didn't you?

A: Yes, I did. And I may add that I wrote it by myself without consulting with Attorney Winter or anyone else.

Q: What documents did you review in connection with that?

Griesa: Really, what difference does it make unless you have information that his research is somehow flawed? Really, the thing is what documents did Mr. Mandigo review when he made his affidavit. It just does not get us anywhere.

I don't care what documents. Whether he looked at one document or another document does not make any difference.

If his analysis is flawed, if he is factually incorrect, then all—

Silak: Your Honor, the problem we have here is that many of the things that Mr. Breitman says he reviewed—for example, documents of the Fourth

testimony which we are interested in knowing the source of. He did not bring any of these documents with him. They were not introduced into evidence. The only real documentary evidence which counsel introduced in connection with Mr. Breitman's testimony was that which related to Mr. Mandigo's affidavit. So that we have.

But it is these other types of documents that the government is concerned about.

Griesa: The only thing is, I don't quite understand what the controversy would be. The last meeting that he described involving the Fourth International occurred in 1946, and the things that he described occurred before 1946. Is there any reason for the government to believe that this is substantially incorrect in any way that really affects this lawsuit?

Silak: Your Honor, going back to the Mandigo affidavit, if I could for a moment, it appears that Mr. Cannon's role in the Fourth International is something which Mr. Breitman's analysis of that affidavit attempts to call into question.

He says that Mr. Cannon was not the leader in 1940.

Now in the second phase of his testimony, we have extensive testimony from the witness about the early founding meetings of the Fourth International at which Mr. Cannon was present when he was elected a member of the IEC. I would just like to probe what these documents may show about Mr. Cannon's participation.

Griesa: You go ahead. I get the point.

International documents

Q: Mr. Breitman, did Mr. Cannon participate in the operations of the New York center in the 1940s?

A: Yes.

Q: In connection with your testimony about the early founding meetings of the Fourth International—ranging from say 1938 to the mid-1940s, say 1946—did you review any documents other than those which you say came from the Harvard University collection of Leon Trotsky?

A: And the sources that I mentioned before—internal bulletins, educational bulletins, the *Militant*, *Fourth International*, the magazine.

Q: Are those three things—the internal bulletins, the educational bulletins, and the 'Fourth International,' and the 'Militant'—are things you said are in your own personal library, is that right?

A: Right.

Q: In addition to the Harvard documents and your own personal documents, did you review any documents that are currently in the possession of the Socialist Workers Party or the Young Socialist Alliance pertaining to those issues?

A: Not one.

Q: You testified earlier that there was an archives of Pathfinder Press.

But are you also aware whether there are any archives of the Socialist Workers Party itself?

A: I am not aware.

Q: Do you know whether the Young Socialist Alliance has archives?

A: I am not aware of what they have.

Q: You testified that you also reviewed the correspondence of James Hansen—

A: Joseph Hansen.

Q: Was that correspondence something in your own personal possession from your own personal library?

A: I told you where it came from. Part of it came from the Trotsky archives in Harvard, and I helped Mrs. Hansen to obtain that. Some things came from the Tamiment Library. Other things came from Utah University. I had nothing to do with them.

Q: Did any of the material in Mr. Hansen's correspondence pertain to these early meetings of the Fourth International that you testified to?

A: No. I don't think any of them did.

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Q: Now, the minutes of the Fourth International meetings which you have said you obtained in 1972, did those minutes come only from the Harvard collection or did you obtain some from any other source?

A: The minutes that I obtained in 1972 were the minutes of the founding congress in 1938. They were at Harvard, but they were not available at that time. They were in the section that was closed until 1980. So I did not obtain them from there. I obtained them from England. There is a historian of Marxist and labor movements who lived in England named Isaac Deutscher. He died in the sixties, and I read somewhere that his wife had these minutes. So I wrote to her and she sent me the minutes. And they are published in the book, *Documents of the Fourth International*.

Q: Are all the minutes published in the book?

A: All the minutes of the 1938 congress.

Q: I meant to restrict my question to that. Are there any other minutes, other than the 1938 congress, published in that book?

A: No, not other minutes. There are documents, resolutions, and so on, but no other minutes. So this was quite an achievement, to get a hold of this at that time.

Q: Are those minutes in your possession now?

A: No, they are in the book. After they were published in the book, I disposed of them.

Q: You destroyed them?

A: I think I gave them away to someone, but I don't have them and they are word-for-word, I will swear to it, what is printed in the book *Documents of the Fourth International*.

Q: Were there any minutes of the IEC meetings that were held in New York during the early 1940s?

A: Are you referring to September, 1939?

Q: Let's start with the September, 1939, meeting.

A: Yes, there are minutes. There are three sets of minutes, each one page long, for meetings of the International Executive Committee on September 12, 1939; September 21, 1939; and November 1, 1939.

You can get them the same way I got them, by writing to Harvard.

Q: Are those minutes currently in your possession?

A: Yes.

Q: There were other IEC meetings which occurred in May, 1940?

A: No, there was no IEC meeting. There was an emergency conference in May, 1940.

Q: But there was an IEC election at that emergency conference?

A: Yes.

Q: Were there any IEC meetings held after that election?

A: I presume so but I don't have any documentary evidence, as I have of these other meetings that I told you about.

Let me explain why that information was made available to us. It was because Trotsky received these September, 1939, minutes. He put them into his files and eventually they ended up at Harvard. On the minutes you will find his marks, things he wanted to find out further about, and so on.

If he didn't get a set of minutes, then it didn't end up in his files, go to Harvard, and then to us.

Q: He died during the year 1940, right?

A: Who?

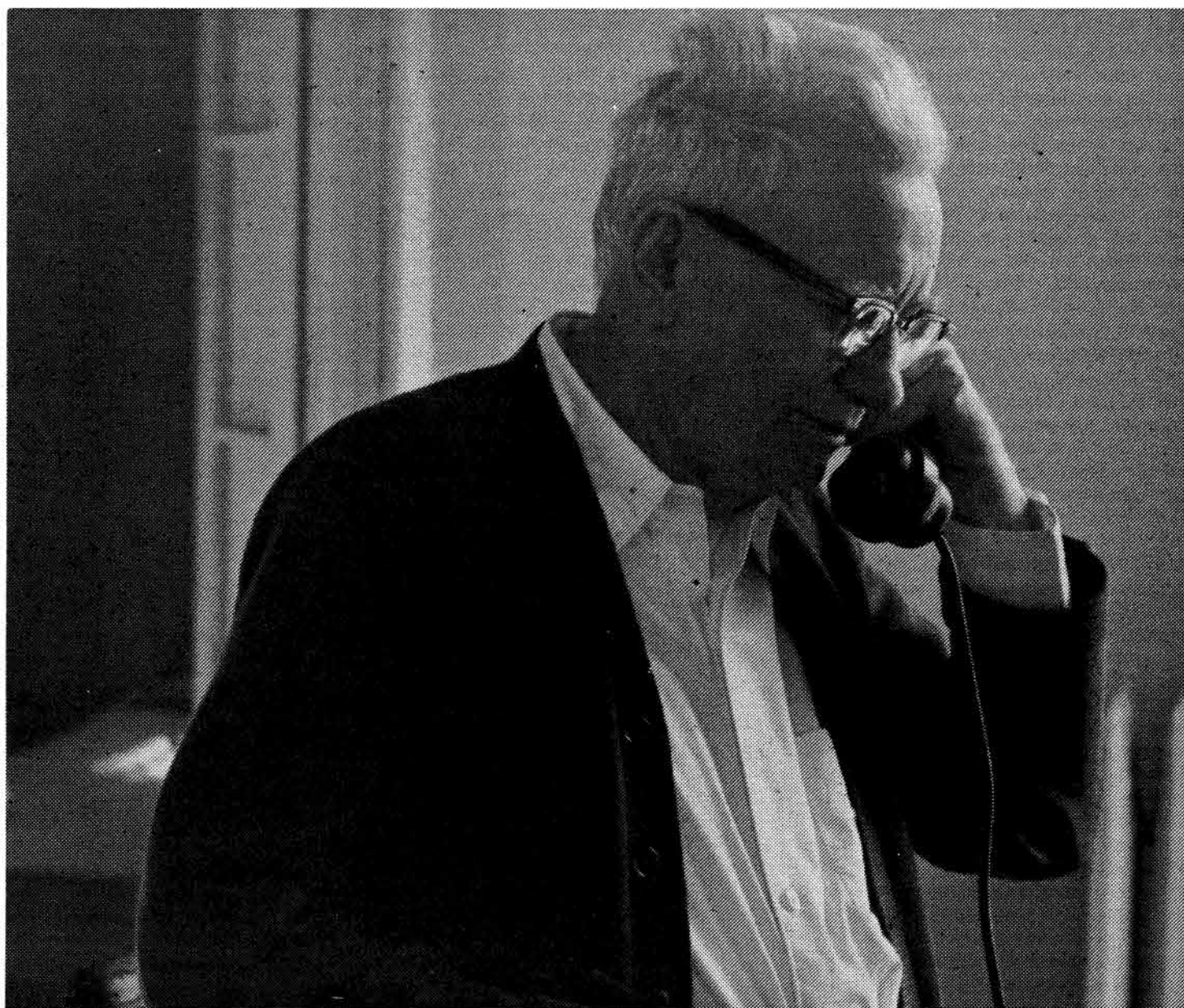
Q: Trotsky died in the year 1940?

A: Right. He was still alive up until August.

Q: Do you know whether there were any IEC meetings held after August, 1940—from August, 1940, to the period of early 1946, March specifically?

A: I am quite sure there were but I can't tell you when they were, who was there, or what they took up.

Q: Did you ever have any conver-



JAMES P. CANNON

sations with Mr. Cannon about those meetings during that period?

A: No. I was too busy with what I was doing to inquire of other things.

Q: Did you ever inquire of Mr. Cannon after that period about any meetings that had occurred at that time?

A: No, it was not a matter of much interest to me. I did not.

Q: How did you become aware of Mr. Cannon's participation in the New York center?

A: Well, I was aware that he had participated in the writing of some of the documents, because it was commonly known in the office. These documents were published by us at the time. So one would wonder who wrote this—writers wonder such things, editors wonder such things—and I would hear sometimes Cannon, sometimes someone else.

Q: So is it your testimony that the Socialist Workers Party, through Mr. Cannon or some of the other members that were active in the IEC during the period 1940 through 1946, did not retain the minutes of those IEC meetings?

A: Not to my knowledge. I have never seen them or heard of them.

Tape recordings

Q: You testified also about some tape recordings pertaining to Mr. Skoglund. Can you tell me how you obtained those tape recordings?

A: Yes.

Q: How did you do so?

A: A friend of mine who had taped this interview with Skoglund, in either 1954 or 1955—on hearing that I was preparing a book—donated the tape to me and answered some questions about it that I asked him.

Q: Do you know the name of that person?

A: Of course.

Winter: I would object, your Honor, unless it is a named plaintiff or someone whose name has been publicly identified. I don't know who it is but it seems a little unnecessary to me.

Griesa: This relates to what time period?

Breitman: 1954 or 1955.

Griesa: It is pretty long ago. I will allow it.

Q: Who was that individual?

A: His name was George L. Weissman, resident in New York City.

Q: Was he a member of the Socialist Workers Party?

A: Yes.

Q: Do you know whether the Socialist Workers Party maintains any tape recordings of Mr. Skoglund?

A: I am quite sure they don't. I asked everybody who might possibly have anything to please let me hear it or see it. Nobody else has produced any tape recording.

Q: Is there a tape recording collection at the Socialist Workers Party?

A: I don't know whether there is now. There used to be tapes of forums that were held throughout the country.

Griesa: Shouldn't this have all been covered in discovery?

Williams: We have requested production of those tape recordings.

Griesa: He has not identified the existence of any, has he?

Silak: He just testified there used to be tape recordings of forum meetings. I would like to ask him when

they ceased to exist.

A: I saw them in 1967 when I moved to New York, and I don't think they have them any more.

Griesa: Fourteen years ago.

A: There were so many of them that they became useless. You could not find anything among them, and I think they disposed of them.

Q: Your testimony, I believe, was that Mr. Trotsky was a member of the IEC at the time of his death:

A: Yes.

Q: Was anyone elected to take his place after he died?

A: I don't know.

Q: Did Mr. Cannon hold any title in connection with his IEC membership?

A: No. Just member.

Q: Do you know who presided at IEC meetings from the period August, 1940, until approximately March, 1946?

A: I assume the practice of rotating chairmen and chairwomen was followed.


Silak: I have no further questions, your Honor.

Winter: No redirect.

Griesa: You may step down.

James P. Cannon
WRITINGS AND SPEECHES, 1940-43

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'The Changing Face of U.S. Politics'

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Building a Party of Socialist Workers. Reports and Resolutions of the Socialist Workers Party. Edited by Jack Barnes and Steve Clark, Pathfinder Press, 1981. 346 pp., \$7.95 paper.

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Building a Party of Socialist Workers is important reading for socialists, union militants, Blacks, women, and others seeking answers to the big political questions of the day.

It is a compilation of reports and resolutions adopted by the Socialist Workers Party between 1975 and 1980. It also includes the report, "The Turn to Industry and the Tasks of the Fourth Interna-

try are now reading and studying the book in conjunction with their discussions preparing for the party's national convention in August.

Reasons for turn to industry

The documents outline the basic shifts in world and American politics that began in the 1970s.

This shift reflects the increasing weight of the working class in international politics. From Poland to El Salvador to Great Britain, the working class is coming forward to combat attacks on their living standards and to demand an expansion of democratic rights and control over their lives.

What conclusions do revolutionists draw from these changes?

Jack Barnes listed them:

"That a political radicalization of the working class—uneven and at different tempos from country to country—is on the agenda.

"That the rulers' offensive will force big changes in the industrial unions.

"And that the key for revolutionists is to be there, in and part of the decisive sector of the working class, prior to these showdowns.

"It is *there*," he explained, "that we will meet the forces to build the Fourth International, to build workers' parties. It is *there* that we will meet the young workers of oppressed nationalities, and the immigrant workers. It is inside the industrial working class that revolutionary parties will get a response to our program and recruits to our movement."

Three stages to turn

The party's turn to industry has developed through three stages.

The first stage began in 1975 with the adoption of the "Prospects for Socialism in America" resolution that explained the crisis of world capitalism and its impact on American working people.

The second stage began with the adoption by the SWP National Committee of the report, "Leading the Party in-



Miners at April 30 rally in Pittsburgh for better contract

Militant/Stu Singer

to Industry." The NC voted to concentrate the party's forces in industry and the industrial unions—steel, auto, rail, and others. The second stage also includes the decision by the Fourth International to carry out an industrial turn on a world scale.

The current and third stage of the turn has several aspects.

The first is to deepen the party's participation, as a party based in industry, in struggles that occur on and off the job. The party is participating in the resistance to the bosses' austerity and union-busting drive—and in the struggles against war, against racism and women's oppression, against nuclear power, and for democratic rights.

The second aspect is to seek closer political collaboration with revolutionary leaderships and class-struggle currents such as those in Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and Poland.

The third aspect is to come to grips

with new questions of leadership and organization posed by the turn.

American workers are becoming more and more of a factor in struggles around social and political issues. Although the labor movement is not leading or initiating major social protests, the changing attitudes of young workers and pressures from the bosses' offensives are creating a new willingness by the unions to support social causes—and, in some cases, actively build demonstrations.

As the book explains, the need for a labor party independent of the employers' two parties and based on the trade unions is also gaining a greater hearing in the ranks of labor today.

Because of its turn to industry, the SWP is in the best possible position to be an active factor in labor battles and other struggles as they develop.

—Malik Miah

Books

tional." This report was adopted by the 1979 World Congress of the Fourth International, an international organization of revolutionary socialists that the SWP is in political solidarity with.

The aim of this collection is to document how the Socialist Workers Party developed our current political orientation and perspectives, which are based on a process of political discussions and practical experiences in the class struggle.

Steve Clark, a member of the party's political committee and co-editor of the collection along with SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, explains this in his introduction:

"The reports and resolutions in this book . . . are the political and organizational foundations on which the SWP is building today, as it responds to developments in the national and international class struggle and increasingly becomes part of the changes taking place among workers in the United States."

Members of the party across the coun-

Our Revolutionary Heritage

The Sacco-Vanzetti case

In the 1920s two young, Italian-born workers faced a frame-up engineered by the U.S. government. It ended with their murder by execution in the electric chair. Their names were Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco.

This was the time of the witch-hunt Palmer raids, when the government set out to stop the rising militancy of workers, many of whom were foreign born. Any worker caught fighting for his or her rights was labeled a "foreigner," a "terrorist," a "communist" out to "violently overthrow the government."

In early 1920, a wave of raids was directed against immigrant workers. Many were arrested and imprisoned or deported.

Sacco and Vanzetti were among the thousands of workers who rose to the defense of their victimized brothers and sisters. Soon they too became targets of the government's terror raids. On May 5, 1920, they were arrested and framed up for robbery and murder.

They were not arrested for any illegal acts, but for their ideas. When Vanzetti was hauled into the police station, he was questioned not about his whereabouts during the robbery and murder at South Braintree, Massachusetts, but about his politics. Was he a radical? A communist? An anarchist? A member of the Industrial Workers of the World?

The stage was set for their conviction before the first word of the trial. The police created an atmosphere designed to make the innocent victims look like dangerous criminals. Police with riot guns

guarded the courthouse during the trial. State troopers rode through the streets. The prisoners were taken to and from court handcuffed and accompanied by twenty-eight armed guards.

The jury's decision came in 1921: guilty of murder in the first degree. But then something happened that the government hadn't planned on. As workers across the country and around the world found out about the mockery of justice, thousands joined in the defense, demanding a new trial.

Over the next six years millions were to join protests demanding freedom and justice for Sacco and Vanzetti.

The International Labor Defense, which was formed to defend workers framed up by the government, issued a call for every working person to join the effort. Meetings and demonstrations were organized in Paris; Sofia, Bulgaria; Lisbon; Buenos Aires; Berlin; Montevideo, Uruguay; Mexico City—as well as across the United States. Radical and labor papers throughout Latin America and Europe covered the case.

In 1926 the defense obtained affidavits confirming that Sacco and Vanzetti were framed up by the government and were innocent of any crime.

One affidavit, from a local agent of the Department of Justice, explained:

"The Department of Justice in Boston was anxious to get sufficient evidence against Sacco and Vanzetti to deport them, but never succeeded in getting the kind and amount of evidence required for that purpose. It was the opinion of the Department agents here that a conviction of Sacco and

Vanzetti for murder would be one way of disposing of these two men. It was also the general opinion of such agents in Boston as had any actual knowledge of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, that Sacco and Vanzetti, although anarchists and agitators, were not highway robbers, and had nothing to do with the South Braintree crime."

Despite this, the two men were condemned to die in the electric chair. At the sentencing on April 9, 1927, Vanzetti told the judge:

"I am suffering because I am a radical, and indeed I am a radical. I have suffered because I was an Italian, and indeed I am an Italian. I have suffered more for my family and for my beloved than for myself; but I am so convinced to be right that you can only kill me once but if you could execute me two times, and if I could be reborn two other times, I would live again to do what I have done already."

Never did Sacco and Vanzetti lose faith in the working class. It was the great power of labor solidarity that gained them time. But on August 23, 1927, these two heroic fighters were put to death.

"Remember," Sacco told his son in farewell, "remember always these things: we are not criminals; they convicted us on a frame-up; they denied us a new trial; and if we will be executed after seven years, four months and seventeen days of unspeakable tortures and wrongs, it is for what I have already told you: because we were for the poor and against the exploitation and oppression of the man by the man."

—Priscilla Schenk



Some have ingrown toenails—The State Department's office for combating terrorism has it down to a science. The team benefits from free advice. Like the tip from a Dallas psychiatrist, who suggests most terrorists probably suffer from a disorder of the inner ear.

That'll do it—No need to worry that El Salvador will become another Vietnam, assures Vietnam Dick Nixon. "All that we should do there," he advises, "is really what I used to call the 'Nixon doctrine.'"

Balanced approach—Washington isn't slashing all social funding. Like, members of the House of Representatives have been granted increased travel and home office expenses. Auto mileage allowances have been upped more than 50 percent. Allowance for stationery, postage, etc., is now \$47,000. Furnishings for the district home office (often the solon's front porch), is now \$35,000.

Sociology dep't—According to the *Wall Street Journal*, social psychologist

Jay Hall finds that management assumes workers are incompetent—when actually the shoe is on the other foot. If management could learn this, says Hall, it could get even more production. Also, "Frustrated competence often surfaces disguised as a grievance about sexism, or racial or antilabor bias." The workers are smart but paranoid?

Two-front war?—The Pentagon is pondering who will guard the nation, if the national guard goes off to war. "The governors can't be left without

forces to deal with civil disturbances and natural disasters," a senior official explained.

Don't call us—Speaking at Howard University, Vice-President Bush conceded the administration has a problem, image-wise, with the Black community. But, he assured, Reagan is 100 percent for civil rights. However, he added, while it can provide the legal framework for equal rights, "government is not the answer to minority hopes and aspirations to convert that opportunity into jobs."

The American Way of Life

One honest voice on Ireland is silenced

Last month, the *Washington Post* parted ways with reporter Janet Cooke after she admitted a story by her had been made up after all. Three weeks later, the *New York Daily News* accused columnist Michael Daly of the same thing, and got his resignation.

News reports linked Cooke and Daly to some sort of housecleaning by the U.S. media; editorials indulged in such self-criticism as publishers consider good for the soul. On the whole, an uplifting experience for everyone.

You almost hate to spoil the fun by pointing out that Michael Daly was framed.

Let's go back a bit. Three weeks ago in these pages, Margaret Jayko observed that Janet Cooke had merely been caught doing what lots of news people do all the time: They tell lies. Most of these lies, Jayko said, are by way of supporting one policy or another of the U.S. government. And nobody ever seems to own up to these lies.

Now lately, the U.S. press has had to write a lot more about Northern Ireland. U.S. government policy in Northern Ireland is to support the British occupation. So it is only natural that a lot more lies have started turning up to support that policy.

Irish Republicans are all bomb-throwing psychotics; their children behave like extras from *Village of the Damned*. And so on.

This is where Michael Daly comes in.

Daly was sent to Belfast by the *News*. He filed nine columns. This is from one of them:

"There could be a fine wee factory in the barn," Gibson said. Three months later, a candlemaking firm moved into the barn. Gibson was one of five people who were hired. . . .

"Then, last August, an armored car pulled into the Whiterock Industrial Estate. Gibson, who was making white votive candles at the time, looked up from the vat of wax to see a rifle pointed at his chest. At the other end of the room, a British officer was informing Gibson's employer that the property had a good view of the Catholic neighborhoods of West Belfast. Then the officer said that the army was appropriating the land.

"Sorry, but there will be no more work," the employer said after the soldiers left. . . .

"At the end of three weeks, the construction was completed. The government that had refused Gibson a development loan to the industrial estate had spent more than one million pounds on an army post. Now, each morning, armored cars roared out of the fort to do battle with people driven to violence by decades of unemployment. . . .

"Then, Desmond Gibson, a man who once had a job at the industrial estate, will battle soldiers from the fort."

Probably because he's honest, Michael Daly refused to go along on Northern Ireland. Instead, he reported what he saw. This made his columns sound sympathetic to the Republican cause. That cost him his job.

Daly's ninth and last column recounted a day in the life of a member of the occupation army. The soldier, whom Daly gave the fictional name Christopher Spell, spent most of that day shooting plastic bullets at children. One member of Spell's patrol thought this not enough. He loaded up with live ammo and dropped a fifteen-year-old with one shot in the leg.

The *News* ran the column, as did the *London Daily Mail*. The latter, though, had some points of its own to make. While admitting that a boy had been gunned down in Belfast at about the time Daly said he was, the *London* paper noted there was no soldier named Christopher Spell in their army. This, said the *Mail*, made Daly's piece "pure propagandist writing."

Daly's editors at the *News* asked him about this. Of course there was no soldier named Christopher Spell in the British army, Daly told them. If there was, Daly's column probably would have landed him in a stockade. Understandably, the man had chosen anonymity. It was, Daly said, a practice he routinely employed in his columns.

Well, said the editors, tell us the soldier's real name. No, said Daly. Journalistically, he was still on ethical ground here. The soldier was, properly speaking, a source; and you just don't go around

naming those to the first editor who asks. Bob Woodward of the *Post*, for instance, claims to this day he never told his editors who "Deep Throat" was.

But the *News* editors didn't see it that way. So Daly stood by his column and resigned.

The calculation the media has made since then has been an easy one: sink Daly, and the politics of his resignation, in the same boat with Janet Cooke. Bury whatever he learned about Northern Ireland in a lot of prattle about journalistic integrity, then start running the bomb-throwing stories again.

Events, though, have a way of confounding the media's best efforts to lie about them. The response of the Irish people to Britain's murder of Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes has been massive, militant, and dignified. Not at all what the media expected. It was this militancy and dignity that Michael Daly tried to capture in his columns about a people driven to revolution.

For the most part, he succeeded; and that will make it a little easier to see through the next round of lies.

—Steve Bride



MICHAEL DALY

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

RALLY TO SUPPORT THE FIRST GREAT CIVIL LIBERTIES BATTLE OF THE 1980s. Speakers: Hector Marroquin, member of Socialist Workers Party facing deportation; Rodney Johnson, NASSCO Three defendant; Elizabeth Reed, member, state executive board of Service Employees International Union; Bill Roe, founder, Committee Against Registration and the Draft. Sat., June 6, 7:30 p.m. Golden Hill Community Center, 2220 Broadway. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

SAN FRANCISCO

LABOR TAKES ON REAGANISM: ISSUES IN THE MINERS' STRIKE AND THE FIGHT AGAINST RAIL CUTS. Speakers: Deborah Liatos, member of International Association of Machinists Local 562, will give eyewitness report on miners' strike; others. Fri., May 29, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

COLORADO DENVER

E.S.P., CREATIONISM, PSYCHICS AND OTHER DANGEROUS MYTHS. Speaker: Tom Vernier, member, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 29, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

THE CRISIS FACING RAIL LABOR. Speakers: Kim Kleinman, member, Young Socialist Alliance, United Transportation Union Local 577; Lane Satterblom, Amtrak worker. Wed., May 27, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA INDIANAPOLIS

SECRET POLICE ON TRIAL. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party Political Committee; Howard Balshem, National Lawyers Guild; Jim Simmons, Citizens Party; Greg Gooch, National Association of Legal Service Workers; others. Sun., June 7, reception 6 p.m., rally 7 p.m. Ramada Inn, 1530 N. Meridian. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

GRENADA: A WORKERS' REVOLUTION IN THE CARIBBEAN. Speaker: Mark Severs, Socialist Workers Party, recently visited Grenada. Slide show. Fri., May 29, 7:30 p.m. 1012 Second Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore

Forum Series. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

TEXAS DALLAS

MINERS ON STRIKE: WHY YOU SHOULD SUPPORT THEM. Panel of speakers. Sat., May 30, 7:30 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 5442 E. Grand Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711. Translation in Spanish.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

CONRAIL CONTRACT: RAIL WORKERS DISCUSS RAIL CUTTING AGREEMENT. Speakers to be announced. Fri., May 29, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant N.W. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Letters

Little red pins

The government's Defense Mapping Agency is offering a seventy-square-foot map of the world (in six pieces).

I would suggest they send along a packet of those little red pins with flags so you can place a pin on each country as it frees itself.

Craig McKissic
Newport News, Virginia

A note from France

I really have enjoyed your paper. So I'll renew my subscription for the next year.

It's a good thing to see that in the bulwark of capitalism and imperialism there are some people like you who do a good job.

A French supporter

Latinos back Irish

About fifty Puerto Rican and Chicano demonstrators joined forty Irish and Irish-Americans who regularly picket the British Consulate in support of the Irish hunger strikers on May 12. The resulting picket line was the largest daily picket since the beginning of the hunger strikes and represented the first time that significant forces outside the Irish community here had taken part in the protest.

The Latino compañeros were organized by the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional, the Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña, and the Special Committee in Defense

and Support of Puerto Rican Prisoners of War.

Their leaflet calling for the picket, "in support of the Irish struggle for reunification and independence and in memory of Bobby Sands," stated: "Bobby Sands' death like his life are clear testimonies that the Irish people will never admit defeat and that the Irish nation will be free and reunited, for any struggle which produces men the caliber of this heroic comrade must triumph."

One young Chicano whom I talked to explained that, as he saw the issue, Northern Ireland is to Britain what Puerto Rico is to the U.S. The leaflet also drew the connection: "[T]oday in Puerto Rico, Ireland, and occupied Mexico, many a new Bobby Sands [was] born."

Three very unwelcome visitors also showed up at today's picketing—three plainclothes cops who carefully scanned the faces of the demonstrators. Their harassment angered people, but failed to intimidate anyone.

The cops evidently fear the militant solidarity shown by the Latino compañeros. This solidarity among oppressed peoples, this internationalism, will greatly aid them in winning their freedom. ¡Viva Puerto Rico libre! Saor Eire!
Tom O'Brien
Chicago, Illinois

Trial is long overdue

I am a political prisoner who should be released in August 1984.

I am a Marxist who has read



the Militant for many years and appreciates the good work your members are doing. I have also read the publications of the other leftist parties, but the views of the SWP are closest to my own.

I am glad to see that the SWP/YSA has put the FBI on trial for its illegal acts. A trial of this magnitude is long overdue since the U.S. government has consistently violated the rights of its

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.

citizens with impunity.

There is little that I can do for the party while I'm confined, but on my release I

intend to become an active member of the SWP.

A prisoner
New York

'That's news, don't you think?'

The following letter was sent to ABC, CBS, and NBC.

Since April 2, a trial has been in progress which will have a profound effect on the First Amendment, yet the networks have not reported on it. No doubt you are aware that the Socialist Workers Party has refused to settle out of court, as did others who sued the government for harassment. The silence of the press regarding this "Watergate" and its repercussions is beyond my comprehension.

It is well known that the FBI investigated everyone outside the 'silent majority' in the days of J.E. Hoover, and the FBI has since 'reformed'. However, this lawsuit proves that the FBI has not stopped its illegal activities against the SWP. Since it has been caught 'red-handed,' the FBI is attempting to turn the suit around by making the advocacy of socialism illegal in this country. That's news, don't you think?

In its twists and turns, the government made several accusations which it could not prove. It accused the SWP of being a terrorist organization, yet it could not point to one act of terrorism.

In fact, the party has always disavowed terrorism as a political tactic. The government then claimed that the SWP advocates "totalitarian communism," even though it promotes democratic socialism.

Failing to prove these accusations, the FBI's star witness, Charles Mandigo, maintained that the constitution gives the president the right to investigate anyone in his duty to protect and defend the constitution. Therefore, one does not have to engage in illegal activity to be wiretapped, burglarized, fired from a job, or deported—one just has to hold "subversive" ideas!

If socialists are outlawed, then any threat to capital interests could be labeled "socialistic" and outlawed, as well. It appears that the government really wants to legalize "totalitarian capitalism."

I hope that the powers that be at the networks will break their silence and let the facts of this case be known.

Sincerely yours,
Marie Falbo
Bridgeville, Pennsylvania

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MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.
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NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.
NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.
OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.
OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.
PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 3255. Zip: 17105. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, 52 Earle St., Central Falls. Zip: 02863.
TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 222-8398.
UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.
VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.
WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.
WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.
WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, Box 3761. Zip: 25337. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.
WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

Coal miners on front lines against employers' attacks

Broad solidarity needed for strike

By Ken Shilman

The miners' strike is now in its eighth week without resolution. This strike remains the most important battle between the labor movement and the employers today. The United Mine Workers is standing up to monopoly capitalists who are dead serious. They intend to impose contract provisions that would weaken the union and expand nonunion mining operations.

The miners organized a two-day political strike March 9-10 and a demonstration in Washington, D.C., against the Reagan budget. These protests against cuts in black lung benefits fired one of the opening salvos against the drive to reduce living standards and slash social services.

The UMWA has also played a leading role in the antinuclear movement. The union is backing the May 25 march on Washington, D.C., against the killings in Atlanta.

The miners are in the vanguard of resistance to the intensifying ruling-class offensive. Thrust forward by its militant membership, the UMWA is the only major union fighting back. The ruling class offensive to soften up and eventually break the unions has run up against the mine workers.

Rail capitulation

The Railway Labor Executives' Association and Conrail have put together a Chrysler-type agreement. It signals the capitulation of the rail union bureaucracy before the ruling class offensive.

Rail workers are now discussing how to fight back. They will keep one eye on the miners' strike.

The stakes in the miners' strike are very high. A victory will strengthen the hand of all intended victims of the big business/government offensive. A victory will facilitate the fightback by rail workers faced with wage cuts and unemployment. A miners' victory will also be a victory for Blacks under siege by racist killers, women fighting for

the Equal Rights Amendment, young people fighting against the draft, and all working people who want a decent life—not imperialist wars.

A setback for the miners will strengthen the ruling class. The capitalists will drive harder. A defeat will weaken the ability of our class to fight back.

Labor and its allies must do whatever possible to help the miners win this battle.

Resistance

What point is the strike at now? How did it get there?

As the contract discussions unfolded, it became clear the bosses were proposing a union-busting contract. The Sam Church leadership was caught between the company union-busting demands and a membership ready to fight. The leadership was forced to reflect some of the miners' resistance.

The resistance was demonstrated in three ways. There were the black lung protests and the national strike March 9 and 10. This was just prior to the contract deadline.

There was the breadth of the wildcat strikes. They occurred in every district of the UMWA before the contract ran out.

And there was the March 28 antinuclear march in Harrisburg, which was also a support rally for the miners. The UMWA helped initiate the march. The UMWA—which calls for coal, not nuclear power—threatened the ruling class by appealing for support to the millions of people opposed to nuclear power.

All this brought a quick victory against some of the major company takebacks. The operators dropped the Arbitration Review Board, company-by-company pensions, and, most decisively, the seven-day workweek. That would have restructured the work force and destroyed the control the UMWA has won over working conditions.

If the operators want to break and



Miners at March 9 demonstration in Washington, D.C., against Reagan cutbacks.

tame the UMWA, they have to destroy the network of union militants and strong safety committees in the mines. They cannot tolerate union control over working conditions.

After March 9, with wildcats going on everywhere and the March 28 mobilization coming up, the coal bosses withdrew these demands.

Horse trading

The operators and the Church leadership tried to paint a picture of trading concessions on dental care and

widows' pensions for a number of demands that weaken the union like the forty-five-day probation period and dropping royalty payments on nonunion coal. The operators also thought this was their chance to break the UMWA construction workers and end union restrictions on leasing and subcontracting. They tried this by pointing to a court decision they had won. The Church leadership said the courts had spoken—there's nothing we can do.

But the miners didn't see it that way.

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Stakes in district Steelworkers elections

By Malik Miah

On May 28 important elections are taking place in the 1.2 million-member United Steelworkers of America.

Two divergent currents in the union leadership will be the contestants. One represents the "official family," the supporters of union President Lloyd McBride. They stand for business unionism. This is the same approach as the Lane Kirkland leadership of the AFL-CIO—don't rock the boat, cooperate with management at all costs. Company profits are put ahead of the needs of workers.

The other approach favors union democracy. It points in the direction of

more rank-and-file involvement in running union affairs. It is represented by former supporters of Ed Sadlowski's reform-minded campaign for president of the union in 1977.

The fundamental issue in the elections is leadership. What kind do steelworkers need? What's wrong with the McBride team?

Who is the opposition?

In 1977 the opposition to the union's top hierarchy organized the Fight Back slate headed by Sadlowski. There is no challenge this year to President McBride and the other four international officers.

However, former Fight Back supporters and reform candidates are running for district directorships in several of the twenty-four districts.

These include one incumbent, District 31 Director James Balanoff, who heads the USWA's largest district with

110,000 members in the Chicago-Gary area. Others are Dave Patterson, president of Local 6500, representing more than 10,000 nickel miners at Inco in Sudbury, Ontario, USWA District 6; Joe Samargia, president of Local 1938, the 4,000-member iron ore miners local on the Mesabi Iron Range in northern Minnesota, District 33; USWA staff representative Marvin Weinstock from Youngstown, Ohio, running for director of District 27; and Ron Weisen, president of Local 1397 at the historic U.S. Steel Homestead mill in the Pittsburgh area.

Dave Wilson, president of Local 2609, representing 6,000 workers at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point mill in Baltimore, USWA District 8, is also identified as a reform-minded candidate.

Samargia and Patterson each led large strikes since the last union elections—four and a half months on the

Iron Range in 1977 and eight months in Sudbury in 1978-79.

Balanoff organized strong support for striking NIPSCO utility workers during their recent eight-month strike.

Samargia, Weisen, and Patterson are all relatively young steelworkers, close to the working membership. They reflect the new generation of leaders in the USWA.

A common theme of these reform candidates is to return the union to the membership, that is, more union democracy.

ENA

Balanoff and the others are opposed to the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), which denies workers in basic steel the right to strike. They support the right of steelworkers to vote on their contracts. McBride and his supporters have consistently op-

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Malik Miah until recently worked at Danly Machine Corporation in Cicero, Illinois, and was a member of USWA Local 15271. He is a national co-chairperson of the Socialist Workers Party.