

THE MILITANT

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

Interview with Vermont socialist mayor

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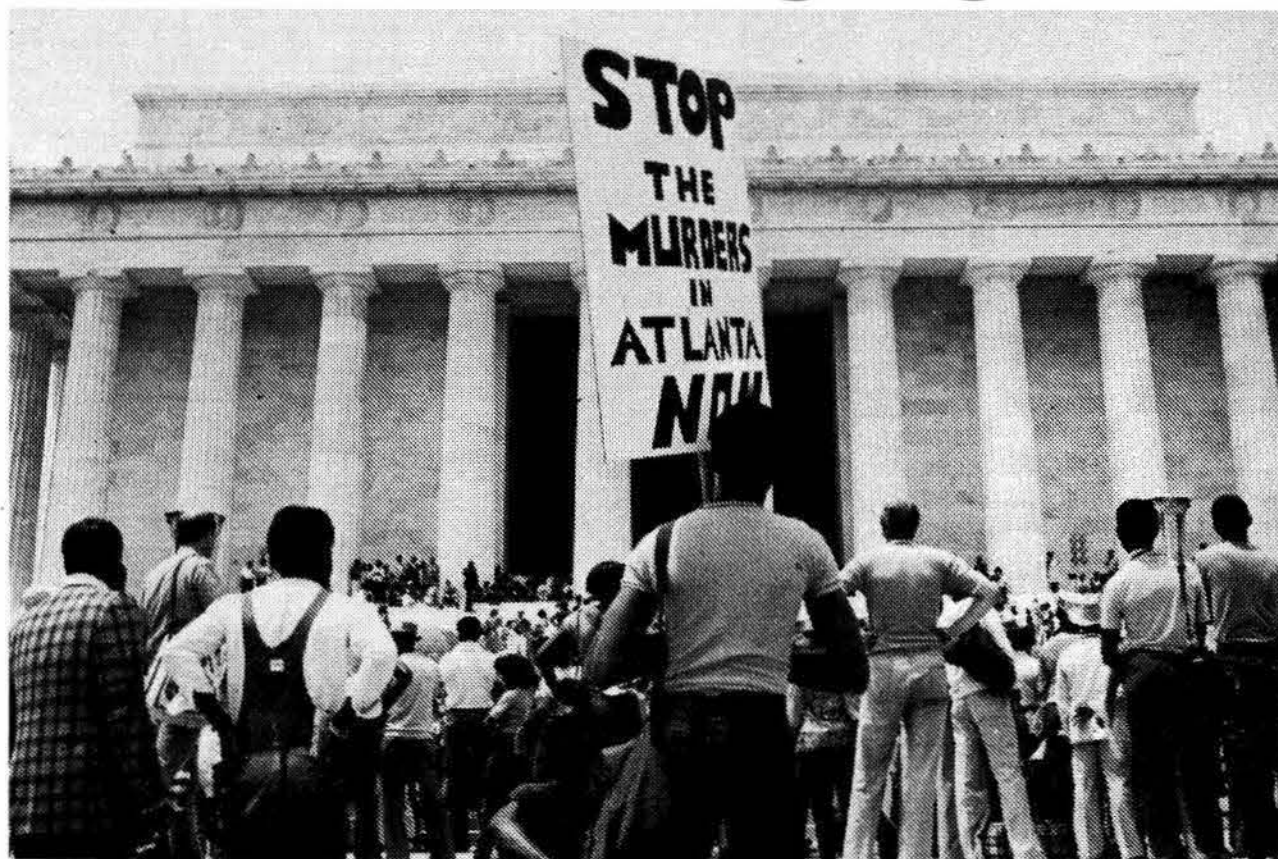
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ATLANTA: Gov't attacks mothers as child killings go on



May 25 Washington, D.C. Atlanta protest at Lincoln Memorial

Militant/Joel Ryan

The mothers of the Black youths murdered in Atlanta have become the target of a vicious attack.

On May 31 the Governor's Office of Consumer Affairs in Georgia called on

finances—not the recent murder of Nathaniel Cater, the twenty-eighth victim—have been the daily focus of the Atlanta media.

The committee has since registered. But now that's not enough.

The Georgia director of consumer affairs, Tim Ryles, is demanding that the committee open its books, account for the money that was raised and how it was spent, and show that 70 percent went for the purposes for which it was collected, the *Atlanta Journal* reported June 2.

Failure to comply could mean jail sentences for two of the mothers: Camille Bell, founder and chairperson of the committee, and Venus Taylor, secretary-treasurer.

This is an outrage!

Continued on page 2

An editorial

the state to prosecute the Committee to Stop Children's Murders for failing to register as a charity.

The committee—which is led by several of the mothers—organized a rally of some 5,000 people in Washington, D.C., May 25 to protest the murders.

Charges about the committee's

U.S.-backed terrorists target Nicaragua, Cuba

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...Atlanta

Continued from front page

Right now Atlanta is in the grip of a wave of racist terror. Black people, and especially youth, live in fear of being kidnapped and murdered. The killings continue, but there are no arrests.

And now the state wants to prosecute not the killers, but those who have spoken out against the government's foot-dragging in finding the murderer or murderers.

Books need to be opened all right, but not those of the Committee to Stop Children's Murders. The records that ought to be examined are those of the federal, state, and local officials and cops who are involved in the obviously ineffective murder investigation.

The Black community and working people in Atlanta and around the country have a right to know what is going on:

Why haven't the killer or killers been found?

Camille Bell told the *Militant*, "It bothers me that the government can find who didn't fill out their forms, but not the murderer of the children."

But state authorities are not really concerned about the committee's funds or its failure to comply with a technicality.

Like the FBI and the administration of Maynard Jackson in Atlanta, they want to deflect attention away from their failure to stop the murders. They want to silence these courageous women, and any independent initiatives demanding that the killers be caught.

The media has played its part in the attack. First the press talked about how the parents "weren't looking out for their children." Then the FBI claimed that some of the mothers had killed their own children. Now the mothers are being accused of stealing funds.

In a June 1 article, the *New York Times* insinuated that the mothers misused the money given to them by the committee for funeral and other expenses.

The *Times* clucked at \$324 supposedly spent by a mother for a washer and dryer. It expressed concern because the committee spent \$30,000 for the May 25 rally in Washington, D.C.

How the parents have spent the money given them is their own business.

And as Venus Taylor told reporters regarding the cost of the rally: "If it saves one child's life, that's important."

The *Times* didn't stop with smearing the mothers. It accused everyone who has expressed concern about finding the murderer or murderers—everyone, that is, except the cops and FBI—of exploiting the situation "for cash or public acceptance" or for "a chance to espouse political points of view."

The *Times* reflects the concerns of federal,

state, and city officials who fear an explosion in Atlanta's Black community.

They want people to keep quiet and not rock the boat. "The cops and the FBI know best. Let them find the killer, if possible," is the advice offered to the Black community and working people of Atlanta.

And if that doesn't work, they are ready with slander, threats of prosecution, firm denials that the murders could have anything to do with racism, and a cover-up investigation.

Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson has done nothing to prevent the cover-up or the efforts to discredit the mothers. He has admitted, "You would string us up if we told you all we knew." (March 28 *Pittsburgh Courier*)

The cops, the FBI, and Jackson operate with the same priorities as the *Times*. Keeping the lid on the Black community comes way ahead of finding the killer or killers of twenty-eight Black people.

That's why Jackson told the city's residents, two days after a March 15 demonstration there, to "lower their voices."

That's also why the state officials who are harassing the mothers haven't asked the cops to account for the more than \$1 million raised for them by Frank Sinatra and others, or the federal tax dollars provided by Reagan—supposedly to solve the murders.

By not acting decisively to find the killers, and by threatening to prosecute those who demand decisive action, the government is saying that Blacks can be murdered and their murderers will be let free to kill and kill again.

If the rulers succeed in silencing the mothers and others fighting to stop these racist killings, all working people will suffer.

Now, more than ever, the mothers and Atlanta's Black community need support.

Telegrams should be sent by unionists, civil rights fighters, women's groups, and all concerned people to President Reagan, Georgia Governor Busbee, and Atlanta Mayor Jackson demanding that the state stop its threats against the mothers.

Above all, the Black community and all working people need to know if the authorities are hiding vital information, or are just doing nothing to solve these murders.

Twenty members of Teamsters Local 528 at Oxford Chemical Plant in Atlanta criticized the Jackson administration's inaction and demanded that the investigation files be opened to the public. Expressions like this can have a powerful impact.

End the secrecy around the murder investigation!

Open the files of the cops, the FBI, and all other agencies involved in the investigation!

Working people demand to know the truth.

Broadbent's tour

Ed Broadbent, a leader of Canada's New Democratic Party and a vice-president of the Socialist International, is traveling through Latin America. Acting as a representative of the SI, Broadbent is seeking to win support for a negotiated settlement of the civil war in El Salvador.

So far Broadbent has met with Guillermo Ungo, president of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, and with Cuban President Fidel Castro (who also presides over the Movement of Nonaligned Nations).

His plans include meetings with representatives of the governments of Mexico, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and the United States.

Broadbent's efforts have the support of the FDR, which has offered to open talks to achieve a political settlement and end the bloodshed. Rejection of negotiations by Washington and the junta has deepened their international isolation. It has demonstrated that it is the junta and its backers that are responsible for the violence.

Broadbent's role has special significance for U.S. workers. The Canadian New Democratic Party is a labor party, based in part on the support of such international unions as the United Steelworkers and United Auto Workers.

Like the Socialist International, the Canadian NDP has opposed U.S. intervention in El Salvador and has voiced sympathy for the Revolutionary Democratic Front.

The NDP's stand is in striking contrast to the slavish support given by Lane Kirkland and other top AFL-CIO leaders to Reagan's foreign policy.

A broadening movement of opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador has arisen in this country.

Instead of throwing the AFL-CIO's support behind this movement, Kirkland and his cronies support Reagan's intervention.

Even worse, Kirkland and company are themselves involved in the brutal suppression of El Salvador's people. Through the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), they allow CIA agents in El Salvador to use AFL-CIO cards as cover for actions in support of the hated junta.

Kirkland's policy is helping Reagan's efforts to drag us toward a new Vietnam.

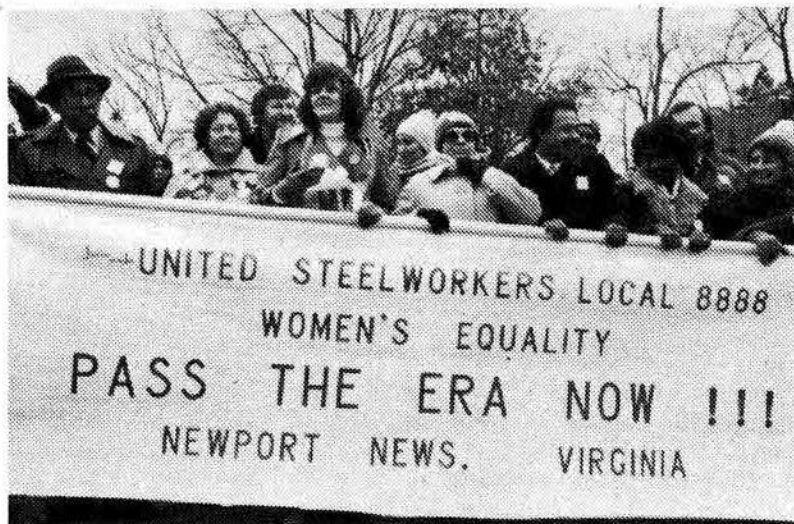
The NDP's stand is another indication of how Washington's foreign policy is hated by workers around the world.

Fortunately, most American workers see eye to eye with their Canadian brothers and sisters on the issue of El Salvador. Kirkland doesn't speak for them.

More and more unionists are raising their voices to demand: "U.S. out of El Salvador!"

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Va. unionists put Democrats to test

Union members in Virginia, led by Steelworkers Local 8888 tried to get a pro-labor, pro-civil rights program adopted by the Democratic Party. They were defeated. Now they're discussing what to do next.

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The Militant

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U.S.-So. Africa alliance out in open

By Margaret Jayko

The Reagan administration is moving to strengthen the hand of South Africa's apartheid regime in southern Africa, and to block the South African colony of Namibia from attaining genuine independence. It is also moving to increase military and other pressures against Angola.

A recently-released memorandum, dated February 7 and endorsed by Secretary of State Alexander Haig and the White House, purports to make independence for Namibia contingent on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the admission of pro-South African guerrilla leaders into the Angolan government.

The independence scheme is a fake.

South Africa's racist regime is carrying out a bloody war aimed at suppressing the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). SWAPO has the support of the great majority of the people in its fight for genuine independence.

According to the *Times*, "the memorandum stated that South Africa and its white allies in Namibia 'need 12 to 18 months, they believe, to get into a better position to compete with Swapo.'"

Savage bombings and search-and-destroy operations are the kind of "competition" the South African rulers have in mind.

The memo adds that South Africa "needs a formula that reduces Swapo's advantages and saves face."

One element of the formula, according to the June 2 *Christian Science Monitor*, is that "its own military should remain in Namibia during the elections."

The presence of South African troops would make any Namibian election a farce.

Washington is also joining South Africa's rulers in demanding that any future constitution of an "independent" Namibia include strong guarantees of the privileges of the white minority.

Closely related to Reagan's support for South Africa's occupation of Namibia are the memorandum's threats against Angola.

The Angolan government strongly

supports SWAPO, and is firmly opposed to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Cuban troops were originally invited to Angola because they were needed to help defeat the U.S.-backed South African invasion of that country in 1975-76.

And the violence against Angola continues to this day.

Angolan villages and Namibian refugee camps in Angola have been repeatedly pounded by South African bombers and invaded by South African troops. More than 1,500 Angolans and Namibians died in such raids in 1980 alone.

And South African arms and mercenaries keep right-wing guerrillas, organized into the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), in action. It is this group, headed by Jonas Savimbi, which Washington is demanding that Angola include in its government.

UNITA was one of the guerrilla groups that backed the 1975-76 invasion of Angola by South Africa. The memo admits Savimbi's complete dependence on South African aid.

It proposes that steps be taken to "lend political support and legitimacy to Savimbi." Reagan has already asked Congress to repeal the Clark amendment, which bars direct U.S. aid to UNITA.

The demands to remove the Cuban troops and admit UNITA into the government are outrageous violations of the sovereignty of the Angolan people.

They are aimed at bringing down the Angolan government and giving Washington and Pretoria a clear field to crush the liberation struggle in southern Africa.

By pretending to offer Namibian independence in exchange for withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, Washington also wants to make it appear that Cuba is the major obstacle to a settlement.

Virtually all of Black Africa knows better. The defeat of South Africa's invasion and the establishment of an independent government in Angola—made possible by Cuban help—was a tremendous inspiration to the freedom

struggle. It helped lead to the establishment of a Black-led government in Zimbabwe, the rise of the Namibian struggle, and growing antiracist protests in South Africa itself.

Will the independent governments of Africa accept such a policy? According to the memo, they will have no choice. Their alternative, it explains, is sanctions against South Africa and "we would not vote for them and South Africa has the strength to resist them."

Washington vetoed trade and other sanctions when they were proposed in the United Nations.

The memo goes on to threaten Angola and any other government that doesn't fall in line: "If they won't play, we have other options."

This is a go-ahead for South Africa to launch even more savage raids against the Angolan people. And it is intended to remind the governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique—also opposed to apartheid—that they can also become targets.

To cement ties with South Africa, the memo calls for lessening public criticism of apartheid, easing export restrictions on South Africa, entering into a consular treaty, exchanging military

attachés, and "moving ahead on our stalled nuclear relations."

Washington wants to bolster South Africa so that it can more effectively do Washington's dirty work in Southern Africa.

But the British, West German, and Canadian governments, who were working with Washington on a plan for Namibia, are said to be very skeptical of Washington's plan.

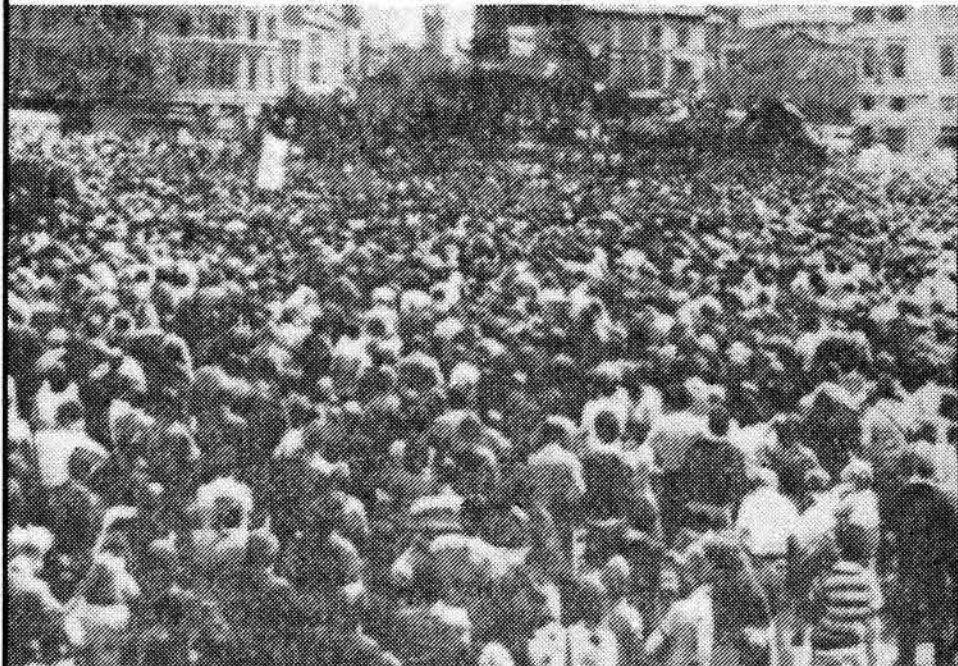
The Mitterand government in France has promised measures against the apartheid regime.

And the regimes in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Angola are unlikely to go along quietly.

The explosiveness of the African struggle against apartheid and imperialism has made it necessary for Reagan to give lip service to Namibian independence. The peoples of the area are sure to put up a hard fight against the Washington-Pretoria alliance that has now come into the open.

And there are 22 million people of African descent in this country, and millions of other working people, who are not interested in lining up with racist South Africa to turn back the struggles in southern Africa.

125,000 in London demand jobs



More than 125,000 people packed Trafalgar Square in London on May 31 to welcome the 500 unemployed workers who participated in a month-long cross country People's March for Jobs.

The march was organized by several regional chapters of the Trades Union Congress, the country's principle labor organization, and supported by the Labour Party. It drew attention to the plight of England's 2.5 million jobless workers. Marchers were greeted en route with local support demonstrations of up

to 10,000.

The London rally was sponsored by the Labour Party and the national Trades Union Congress. One of the most enthusiastically received speakers was Tony Benn, the most prominent leader of the Labour Party's left wing.

Speakers called attention to the disproportionate rise in unemployment for women workers, which has risen 207 percent since 1975 compared to 61 percent for men. One of labor's goals, they said, had to be the right of women to work.

Justice Dept. official linked to cover-up in SWP suit

NEW YORK, June 3—Robert Keuch, number three man in the Justice Department, was forced to admit in federal court today that he was one of the previously unnamed officials involved in meetings that led to the preparation of false statements to Judge Thomas Griesa in connection with the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit.

Under cross-examination by the socialists' lead counsel, Margaret Winter, Keuch testified that he had a hand in the 1974 cover-up of FBI burglaries of SWP headquarters.

When evidence of the break-ins came out in 1976, Judge Griesa had asked the Justice Department to report how the cover-up had occurred.

Keuch admitted today he had been one of the key unnamed officials mentioned in an official report on the cover-up released last year.

Angered by this revelation, Griesa ordered the government to produce in court tomorrow the names of all those involved in the deception.

Keuch has posed on the stand as a very forthright witness. This new development casts doubt on some of his previous testimony.

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Western miners and the UMWA strike

Linda May Flint is a striking coal miner from northern West Virginia. She is a member of United Mine Worker Local 1702. Since the strike began, she spent several weeks in Utah and Colorado talking to coal miners there. She was part of the 'Militant' sales teams, which sold hundreds of subscriptions.

The following articles written by Flint give a sense of the situation faced by western coal miners, and some of the challenges faced by the UMWA in organizing more of them.

By Linda May Flint

SOMERSET, Colorado—This small mining town is located on what is called the Western Slope of the Rocky Mountains. When the United Mine Workers of America organized the mines in the North Fork Valley area in the early 1930s, union members had to walk four miles down the valley to hold their meetings.

Frank Kanerly, who explained this to me, is the former president of UMWA Local 6417. He said the school near the mines was placed "off limits" to the union by the coal company officials who controlled the town. Many union veterans from that time still live in the area.

Kanerly was interviewed recently in a *New York Times* article on western coal, but he felt the article came out slanted. "I don't want to see this split from the East. If you have unity, you have to strike together." The *New York Times* exaggerated the differences between UMWA members in the East and West.

In the valley area around Somerset, there are four coal operations. The U.S. Steel Somerset mine, the Bear mine, and the Western Slope Carbon Hawk's Nest East and West mines are all union. There is also a nonunion Westmoreland Coal Company mine.

The 270 miners at U.S. Steel Somerset are on strike as part of the national UMWA strike against the Bituminous Coal Operators Association. U.S. Steel is part of the BCOA.

But the other union mines in this area are working because the companies are not in the BCOA. When the union locals at those mines voted in favor of the proposed contract, the operators accepted it and the mines are running under that contract. Some miners I spoke with expect their companies to improve the contracts if the UMWA wins a better national agreement later.

Descendants of Ludlow

North of Somerset, in the Carbondale area, the UMWA recently organized the Snowmass mine. But that company is not in the BCOA, and the miners work under a separate contract. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company mines in southern Colorado, around Trinidad, are also organized by the UMWA. But CF&I pulled out of the BCOA. CF&I is the Rockefeller-owned company that ran the mines in 1914. When the miners were on strike that year, they were forced out of their company-owned housing and into a tent city. Company gunmen killed miners, their wives, and children in a brutal attack to break the strike. It's known as the Ludlow massacre.

Miners at the Somerset mine have to watch their union brothers and sisters, as well as the nonunion miners, go to work and get paid while they "sit it out." They don't feel right about it, and the union miners who are working don't feel right about it either. They're all in the same union, but only some are holding out for what will benefit all miners.

Colorado miners are isolated by mountains and thousands of miles from the majority of their union brothers and sisters in the coalfields further east.

Giant corporations have sunk millions of dollars into "western coal." Many of the operations are surface mines, not underground. Some are organized by unions like the Operating Engineers, a construction union with no connection to coal mining. Many western mines are nonunion or have some



Linda May Flint speaking with UMWA miners in Colorado.

Militant/Martha Graham

independent union.

At the Dutch Creek mines in Redstone, near Snowmass, the miners have an independent union. Unsafe operations there led to an explosion that killed fifteen miners April 15.

The companies' advantage

Union organizing in the West is a tough battle. There have been few recent victories for the UMWA.

The separate contracts in the West mean many tons of union coal are being produced in the midst of a union strike. And this is in addition to the nonunion coal that is being produced. The results add up in favor of the operators and against the union.

This is a real concern for union members in the Somerset area. A woman union member from a mine that is now working told me: "I think it would be more effective if all the mines went out together, including the strip mines. Ever since they separated surface from underground, we've been weaker. The union shouldn't let us split up because we hurt ourselves. The companies are taking advantage of it."

PRICE, Utah—The coal mines in Utah are underground. The miners are members of UMWA District 22, which covers Utah, Arizona and Wyoming. There are 3,700 union miners in the coal-rich area of Utah which covers Emery and Carbon counties in the southeastern part of the state. It's nicknamed the "King Coal area."

Owners of the mines include Consol, Atlantic Richfield Oil, Kaiser Steel, and Utah Power and Light.

There are a number of nonunion mines, with a new one scheduled to open soon. Utah's "right-to-work" law makes organizing hard for the union. Watching the nonunion mines operate during the strike, the union miners say, "there are lots of hard feelings about it and lots of anger."

Coal production in Utah has been expanding for years. There are jobs available. I met people who had been laid off from mines in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and West Virginia who are working here.

The District 22 miners voted in favor of the first proposed contract by the same margin by which it was rejected in the rest of the country, two-to-one. Miners I talked to here said they thought we must have a lot of problems back East, and many assumed we can hold out longer than them.

There were mixed feelings about the contract that was rejected. Some thought it was OK; others who didn't like it were afraid we'd get a worse contract next time. Of course a good number voted against it. And their reasons were the same as the miners in the

East who rejected it by large margins. One said, "The union would be weakened if we voted it in. Nonunion mines would grow."

Need more communication

There is a lot of talk in Utah about the differences between the mines back East and here. There is a lot of confusion about it. I often heard, "You've got a lot more problems back there with the bosses, I hear. Aren't you always out on strike?"

But a guy whose family has worked in the Utah mines for generations expressed worry about the possible conflict between eastern and western miners. "We need to have more communication within the international," he said. "They should send us people from the East more often, and vice versa, so that we know each other's problems and concerns and we can stay united."

I spoke at length with Ada Esqueda. She is a woman miner and mother of three young children. She works at the Deer Creek mine and is a member of UMWA Local 1769. Her mine has about 600 workers.

Q: Does the union get good coverage here about the strike?

A: The press always says that if we get the raises we need, the price of electricity will go up. I think that it would be good if we got out the miners' side of the news. The day we voted on the contract, I watched the news. They had one union guy on the 6 o'clock news and none at 11.

Foodbank

Q: Does the UMWA have support from other unions and people in the community?

A: During the last contract strike, the district had a foodbank like we're organizing this time. We got contributions from the Steelworkers and the Ironworkers and 500 pounds of potatoes from Idaho farmers. Everybody around here gives what they can, including the organized grocery stores. Railworkers donated last time too. The foodbank gives food to miners who need help.

Q: Why do you work in a union mine?

A: Because you have job security. I haven't had a problem where I work, but I'm afraid that if I worked in a nonunion mine and ran into a Mr. Macho boss, that I would have trouble.

I've noticed that in union mines they don't take as much stuff from the bosses. Here's an example: The guys on a section in my mine said they wouldn't work without a mantrip there, which is a safety regulation. In a nonunion mine the guys would have been told, "too bad, you have to work up at the face."

What I like about the union is the thing with brotherhood and sisterhood. You can feel it when other unions come

in and help us, like with the foodbank.

Q: How do you feel about organizing?

A: The union is trying to organize, but it's hard. Union miners here feel we need more organizing.

The coal operators in Utah have introduced diesel equipment into underground mines. The UMWA opposes diesels because: "diesel particulates and respirable coal dust may combine to damage health more than dust alone."

"... particulates from diesels [operated underground] would make it impossible for coal mine operators to meet the congressional requirements of two milligrams of respirable dust per cubic meter of air."

Other reasons explained in an article in the September, 1980, *United Mine Workers Journal* are that diesel emissions can affect the nervous systems of miners, that diesels use up oxygen in the mine, and that there is danger of fire caused by sparks from clutches and disc brakes not present in electrical equipment.

Charles Crume is on the Safety Committee of UMWA Local 1769 at the Deer Creek mine in Huntington, Utah. He told me: "From my viewpoint, I think diesels are unsafe. In union mines, they're only used for mantrips and some shuttle cars, and no other equipment. But the fumes are highly toxic. They control the fumes by a filter called a scrubber. But the problem is that the scrubbers aren't maintained, and when the union complains, they don't get much action from the company on it."

"I think that with these scrubbers in line, the equipment is safe. But management knows as good as I do they will not be maintained. At my particular mine, I know for a fact they aren't."

"I believe that as far as I can speak for the local and the UMWA in general, we're against diesel. I'm totally against it."

Labor's Giant Step

by Art Preis

Read how the United Mine Workers union defied government strikebreaking—both federal seizure and Taft-Hartley injunctions—during the labor upsurges of the 1930s and 1940s . . . and won.

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Miners attacked in Virginia and Maryland

By Diane Wright

NORTON, Va.—This is the largest town in southwestern Virginia, in the heart of the coalfields.

Driving into Norton, at the end of the second month of the 1981 coal strike, you notice right away that coal is moving everywhere. Nonunion trucking outfits carry coal down Main Street and the Southern and the L & N Railroads are hauling it down the tracks.

Another thing you notice is that the town seems to be under marshall law. State troopers have converged on Norton and other coal towns. They are everywhere.

Virginia Gov. John Dalton ordered state troopers into the seven counties of southwestern Virginia on March 27, the day the strike began.

We found state troopers around the United Mine Workers Local 8017 Dixiana union hall as picketers were being dispatched.

At the scene of some picket lines, there were often as many state troopers as miners.

UMWA pickets reported that eighteen state troopers broke up a union meeting of the Dixiana local. They declared the meeting an "illegal gathering" and arrested sixteen miners. Police captain W.S. Hicklin was quoted as charging that "guns were protruding" from the windows of the union hall.

The "guns" turned out to be a painted broom handle.

The attempts by miners to slow nonunion coal production have run into a solid front of opposition from cops, mineowners, and the courts. As soon as pickets show up near a mine property, the owner goes to court and gets an injunction. For example, at the Paramount Mine, the largest nonunion operation in Wise County, a court limited pickets to five.

Where police escorts are unavailable, the companies use their own armed guards. The United Coal Company has six tactical operation officers from the Birmingham, Alabama, Police Department working for them.

The attacks on the strikers have not broken the union or their spirit. Despite several days of pouring rain when we were in the area, we found miners picketing all along Route 23 outside Norton. But nonunion coal keeps moving. Nonunion miners who are sympathetic to the union are forced to work by the presence of so many cops.

Local newspapers reflect the raging debate over the strike.

News articles carry the operators' campaign to portray miners as violent and greedy. But letters to the editor show some of the strong support for the miners.

While Dalton is not running for governor in the election next November, both the Democratic and Republican candidates are backers of Dalton's strikebreaking efforts.

By Ginny Hildebrand

GEORGES CREEK, Md.—Coal company gun thugs ambushed a group of UMWA strikers here Monday, May 18. According to a Baltimore *Sun* report the next day, "a barrage of shots were fired" at a UMWA caravan that had come from nearby West Virginia. Five UMWA members were struck by "shot-gun pellets" and hospitalized.

A UMWA member and resident of the area who met the caravan shortly after the attack told the *Militant*, "I heard about it on the CB. When I got to

the miners, one guy had blood coming out of his mouth and out of his back. A couple of others were really beat up. Some trucks had their back windows knocked in and headlights smashed. One miner's head was all cut up. Ten guys had been hit with bullets. And they were on a county road near the Beener Coal Company. They weren't even on private property. The scabs were waiting for them. They were ambushed."

At the time of the shooting, there were no police on hand. But when UMWA members sped away from the attackers, it didn't take long for police cars and a helicopter to get on their tail.

"When the miners gathered several miles down the road to talk over what had happened," continued the UMWA member, "the Maryland State police landed their helicopter in a nearby field. We heard on the CB that police with guns and paddy wagons were up on Georges Creek in case the miners came back."

"I suspect the police had just given

the company people some leeway."

The Georges Creek area, about twenty-five miles long, has ninety-one active strip mine permits. Every pit is nonunion. Until the day of this incident, UMWA pickets had paid little attention to these operations. However, the nearby Mettiki mine, an underground mine owned by Mapco Corporation employing some 500 nonunion miners, has been a target for UMWA protests.

On April 16 the courts issued an injunction limiting the number of pickets at this site. Thirty individual miners have also had injunctions slapped against them barring any participation whatsoever in picketing.

The Baltimore *Sun* reports that state and county police have been stationed at Mettiki since April 15. But this doesn't begin to tell the story.

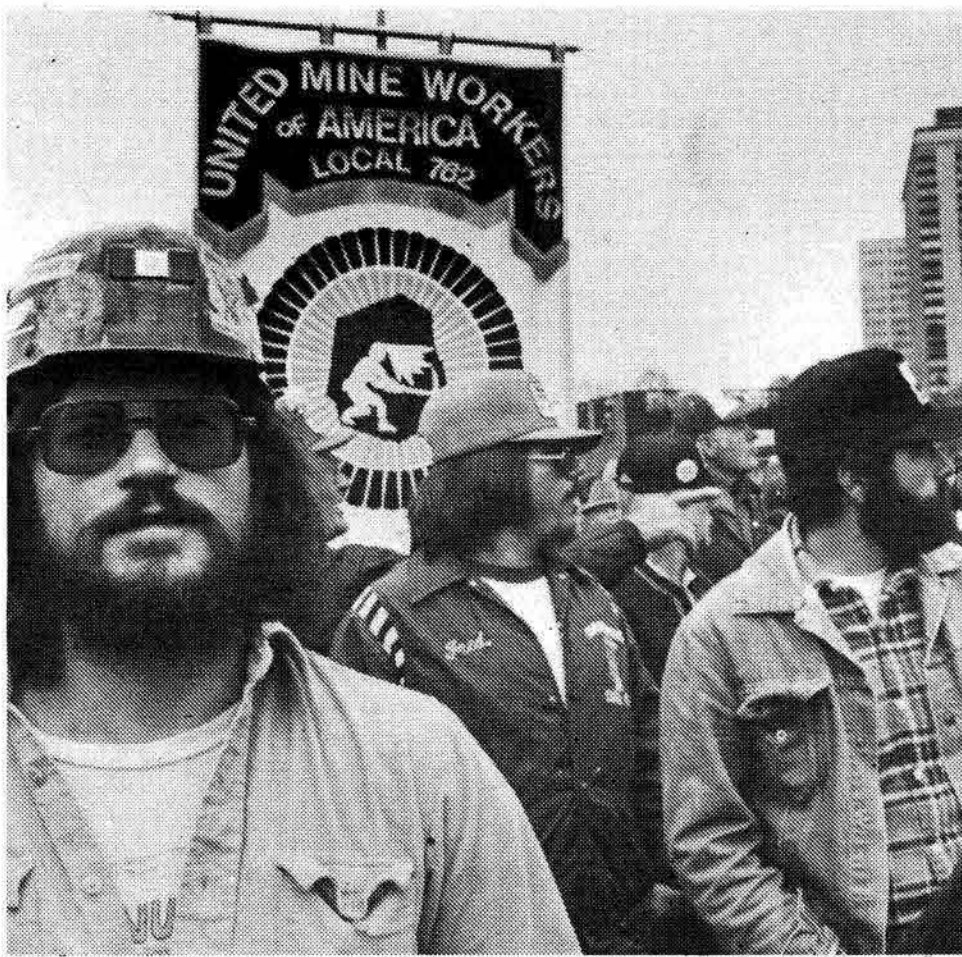
UMWA members have shown up at the Mettiki portal to find police manning a machine gun mounted by the tippie, toting automatic weapons, and with dogs. A cameraman perched on the tippie photographs pickets.

Mettiki is a symbol of much of what the coal strike is about. The Bituminous Coal Operators Association would like to operate its mines like Mettiki. Interviewed in the October and November 1980 *United Mine Workers Journal*, two former Mettiki miners who now work in UMWA mines described the conditions. At Mettiki coal is mined up to forty feet past the last roof support. Miners work with zero visibility because inadequate ventilation allows blinding accumulations of coal dust. Inexperienced miners are assigned to run machinery. There is forced overtime and no employee-elected safety committee.

In 1979, two miners were killed there as a result of these conditions.

Mining in Maryland is 100 percent nonunion. Fear of unemployment contributes to keeping the union out. Nearby Allegany County has the second highest unemployment rate in the country.

The violence being directed against UMWA pickets in Maryland is intended to preserve the dangerous and violent conditions in the mines. It is a real challenge to the union to organize the coal miners in Maryland.



At the April 30 rally in Pittsburgh to support miners.

Militant/Joey Ryan

Ginny Hildebrand is a member of UMWA Local 3506.

Food stamps cuts target miners, other unionists

By Ginny Hildebrand

WASHINGTON, Pa.—"Were you able to save money and prepare for the strike?" I asked several UMWA members outside the welfare office here where they were applying for food stamps.

"Nope. Too many bills," said a motorman from Consol's Mathies mine.

When you work hard for a pay check and see the government taking nearly half of your hard-earned dollars out for taxes, it's easy to fall prey to propaganda. "Working people are being ripped off by welfare cheats who drive around in Cadillacs and don't want to work," say politicians who want to gut social services.

Now coal miners, squeezed by two months without a pay check, are accused of being the "freeloaders." The big media is shooting every angle to turn public opinion against the strikers.

Last month, the Washington, Pennsylvania, *Observer-Reporter* attacked coal miners trying to get food stamps in an editorial entitled "Public Support of Strikes." John Bradburn, a local taxpayer, shot back in a letter to the editor: "I am not a coal miner and don't want to be, but I am a union worker. I subsidize

all the people who collect food stamps and welfare and can think of no one I would rather help out than fellow union workers in their time of need. . . . If that editorial expresses the opinion of the *Observer-Reporter*, one wonders why you choose to stay in Washington County. You don't fit in!"

It sounds like the editors want to pressure strikers to stay out of the food stamp lines, stay hungry, and sign any old contract fast. But that just doesn't wash with many miners.

"It's the first time I've ever applied for food stamps," a mechanic from the Marianna mine told me. "I don't feel guilty about it. I don't particularly like to take food stamps, but we've been paying taxes for a long time for food stamps for people who aren't working. And when I have a job, I don't feel that it's wrong for me to help out others who need assistance."

It's no shoo-in for miners or anyone else to get food stamps. If you've ever gotten mad at someone in the checkout line for paying with food stamps, consider this. To be eligible, you can't have more than \$1,500 in savings. And you can't own a car with a book value of

\$4,500 or more. Qualifications like that are tying the hands of Brenda and Clark Pry in Nemacolin, Pa. Clark is on strike from the Jones and Laughlin mine in that town.

Brenda told me, "We had \$1,200 in the bank. Other than that we have no income. We'd saved so we could pay utilities and house payments during the strike. We were sure we would get food stamps because welfare said we could have \$1,500. But when our car broke down in October, we bought a new Volkswagen, never thinking it would affect food stamps."

When Clark, the father of two young children, went to the Waynesburg welfare office, Brenda explained, "They asked 'What do you have?' Clark said, 'A house and an '81 VW.' The man said, 'No need to take any more information because of your car.' My husband said 'What you're telling me is that you have to live in an outhouse to get food stamps.'"

"I called the man back and he was real smart. 'You're living in luxury,' he told me. I called State Sen. Barry Stout and Congressman Austin Murphy. Murphy's office said they'd get right on it.

But I haven't heard anything."

Brenda's angry and looking for a way to fight back. She says she'd like to "put an ad in the paper asking other women to call me [if they've been denied food stamps] and we'd get a picket line organized. I'll picket or go to jail in a minute. We don't want the food stamps for no reason. A job is so hard for me to find. The \$1,200 is almost all gone. What can we do, eat our car?"

The wife of a miner from Consol's Mathies mine made this point:

"I looked at some of the contract and I don't think it's any good. I don't think they should go along with this no-royalty on the nonunion coal. If they lose that, they're going to lose their bond with the union, the hold that they have with the union. They need that union."

When news of the Colorado mine disaster reached her, she says, "I thought of our men here, of them losing their union and having the same kind of problem here. The union's what protects the men. . . . Yes, this strike is going to hurt us, we have four children. But it's worth it. Even if our family loses it all, they've got to hold the union together, they've got to stick together, that's all!"

Meet the real terrorists

Miami: U.S.-backed exiles arm for 'zero hour'

By Nelson González

In Miami, Florida, Cuban exiles and followers of the late Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza are openly operating terrorist training camps.

Noticias del Mundo, the right-wing daily put out by Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, published an exclusive story on the training camps in a May 20 special supplement.

The exiles are publicly preparing for what they call "zero hour"—the signal to participate in a counterrevolutionary invasion of Nicaragua or Cuba.

Their operations obviously have the go-ahead from the U.S. government, despite the fact that the camps are clearly in violation of U.S. law. The organizers formally deny CIA ties. Similar denials were made by similar types before the unsuccessful invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961. Afterward, the invaders admitted having been organized, trained, supplied, and directed by the CIA.

Noticias del Mundo describes a very large, well-equipped, and sophisticated military camp.

The reporters describe being taken to "the vast and dangerous training camps where scores of Cubans and Nicaraguans . . . have been receiving training for some time at the level of 'Special Forces,' that is, training as sub-officers and officers in order to



On maneuvers in Florida

lead . . . platoons and companies."

Commander-in-Chief Jorge González declares, "Things are in our favor," and "zero hour is a lot closer than anyone imagines."

The article reports that most of the arms found in the training camp have been obtained "legally." González says they don't use explosives at the camp, but promises that "we will not be without them" when "zero hour comes."

"We are using the same arms that

the Green Berets used in Vietnam," boasts González. Where do the arms come from? The *Noticias* reporter was too polite to probe further.

Noticias reports that the hundreds of trainees are specialists in "self-defense, demolition, explosives, communications; etc. . . ."

Many Cuban terrorist groups are involved in the operation, including Brigade 2506, Internal Front of Anti-communist Liberation, and Martí Insurreccional Movement.

The Reagan administration's loud threats to Cuba and moves such as the cutoff of aid to Nicaragua are signals to such counterrevolutionary outfits to become more bold in their criminal actions. Washington's attacks on the Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutions carry the threat of a new Vietnam or worse for the American people.

These terrorist camps, which violate U.S. law, should be shut down now and the participants prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

Washington: Letelier killers back on the street

By Harry Ring

In a grim mockery of its "anti-terrorist" demagoguery, the U.S. government has achieved the freedom of two Omega 7 killers previously convicted in the assassination of Orlando Letelier. A jury acquitted them May 30.

Letelier had been the Chilean ambassador to Washington for the Allende government. When a U.S.-backed coup established the Pinochet dictatorship, Letelier remained in this country.

He died in 1976 when a bomb blew up the car in which he was riding. Killed with him was an aide, Roni Moffitt.

Two of those convicted in the assassi-

nation were Guillermo Novo Sampol and Alvin Ross Díaz, members of the Cuban Nationalist Movement, a front for Omega 7, the notorious gang of Cuban counterrevolutionary killers.

Also convicted in the 1979 trial was Michael Townley, a U.S.-born member of the Chilean secret police. In exchange for a forty-month sentence, Townley admitted planting the bomb and testified that Novo and Ross had participated in the killing. He named two other Omega 7 members who are still at large.

They drew life terms. In addition, Novo's brother, Ignacio, got eight years for lying to a grand jury and concealing in-

formation from prosecutors. He was again found guilty in the second trial.

The conviction of Ross and the Novo brothers had been reversed by a federal appeals court last September. The court held that testimony by prison cellmates had been improperly used. (Meanwhile officials floated "information" that Letelier had been a "Cuban agent," although even the U.S. government has conceded that there was no evidence of this.)

In making its ruling the federal court admitted that, on the evidence, the killers were guilty as charged.

Nevertheless, they ordered a new trial.

The reversal came four days after members of Omega 7 had assassinated Felix García, a member of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations.

And, three days after that, in Venezuela, military authorities announced plans to release four terrorists who blew up a Cuban plane in 1976, killing more than seventy people. Two of the four were Cuban counterrevolutionary exiles.

The freeing of Novo and Ross is a dangerous new signal that, as far as Washington is concerned, anything goes in its reactionary war against the government of Fidel Castro.

New York: Koch honors Omega 7 assassins

NEW YORK—As part of its anti-Cuba policy, Washington has given free rein to such anti-Cuba terrorist gangs as Omega 7.

Now New York's Mayor Edward Koch has taken this a step further. He's handing out scrolls to these killers.

Koch's boost to Omega 7 and other counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles came as he was fiercely denouncing acts of terrorism said to have been

carried out by Puerto Rican nationalists.

When a group called Puerto Rican Armed Resistance assertedly claimed credit for a May 16 explosion at Kennedy Airport, Koch assailed them as "scum" and called for executing those responsible.

The very same day, a mayoral proclamation was issued declaring May 20-27 as "The week of the Cuban Lover of Freedom."

In a city hall ceremony, a Koch administration official presented the proclamation to a delegation that included representatives of at least two notorious terrorist groups—Omega 7 and Alpha 66.

One of those accepting the scroll was José Tenreiro, described by authorities as "minister of information" for Omega 7.

Tenreiro was convicted on a federal perjury charge in April for lying to a grand jury probing Omega 7. He drew a two-year sentence.

In that probe, active links were established between Tenreiro and the killers who assassinated Orlando Letelier, the former Chilean ambassador to the United States under Salvador Allende.

According to a report in the May 27 issue of New York City's *Village Voice*, another participant in the city hall ceremony was Maria Iglesias of Alpha 66. Seven members of that outfit were arrested off the Florida Keys last January in a boat that was a floating arsenal.

But the hands of the Omega 7 killers honored by Koch are the bloodiest of all.

Omega 7 took credit for the September 11, 1980, assassination of Félix García, a member of the Cuban mis-

sion to the UN. Earlier, in April 1979, they proudly claimed responsibility for the murder of Carlos Muñiz, the operator of a travel agency in Puerto Rico that organized visits by Cubans living abroad to their homeland.

In November 1979, Omega 7 killers gunned down Eulalio José Negrín in Union City, New Jersey.

Negrín and Muñiz were members of the Committee of 75, a group of Cubans living in the United States who favored normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba. The murders were intended to terrorize the large numbers of Cuban-Americans who share this view.

"The proclamation that Koch handed out would be better titled, 'License to Kill,'" declared Wells Todd, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York. He said Koch's action was consistent with U.S. government moves that "give racist and reactionary terrorism a green light," and try to isolate the Cuban revolution.

He called on Koch to arrest the killers of Félix García, the first United Nations diplomat to be murdered in this country. "Koch knows where to find the killers," Todd said, "since he obviously knows where to reach them when he wants to hand out awards."



Village Voice

Omega 7 Minister of Information José Tenreiro, far left, with other anti-Castro Cubans, accepts proclamation declaring 'The Week of the Cuban Lover of Freedom' in New York.

Reagan budget: disaster for Puerto Rico

By Nelson González

Reagan's proposed cuts in food stamps and other social service funds underscore the colonial subjugation of Puerto Rico by the U.S. government. The cuts will have a catastrophic effect on the already miserable economic situation of that small Caribbean nation of 3.2 million people.

According to Baltasar Corrada del Río, non-voting Puerto Rican representative to the U.S. Congress, the proposed cutbacks amount to \$650 million. He said this 25 percent slash would cause the loss of 30,000 jobs and force up to 500,000 people to emigrate to the United States. Close to two million Puerto Ricans already live in the U.S.

By any standard, Puerto Rico needs massive federal aid—not cutbacks. The official unemployment rate is 18.8 percent, but this figure would double if so-called discouraged workers—those who have given up looking for work—were added.

Fully 58 percent of the Puerto Rican population receives food stamps—a rate much higher than that of any American state—as a result of the astronomical unemployment and low wage levels.

The impact of Reagan's cuts will be much more harshly felt in Puerto Rico than in the United States. That's because Puerto Rico is a U.S. colony lacking any meaningful self-government, with U.S. business interests totally in control of the island's economy. To stave off the economic catastrophe that this domination has caused, in recent years the U.S. government has sent to Puerto Rico increasing amounts of "aid." Today, federal funds spent in Puerto Rico amount to the equivalent of more than 30 percent of the island's gross product.

Where federal 'aid' goes

However, much of these funds go to cover the expenditures of U.S. agencies in Puerto Rico, mostly of the military.

Another big part is made up of military pensions and Social Security benefits. In effect, these are delayed payment for work performed by Puerto Ricans.

Additional funds go directly to the Puerto Rican government. These funds represent a form of colonial blackmail, since the U.S. government dictates how they are to be spent.

Finally, a portion of the funds goes for food stamps and other assistance programs. It is precisely these that are being cut most savagely.

Although people in Puerto Rico don't pay federal taxes, they pay in other ways for Washington's "aid." The truth is, the small, impoverished island of Puerto Rico subsidizes the economy of the United States, the richest country in the world.

Puerto Rico is a key link in Wall Street's world-wide economic empire. U.S. investments in Puerto Rico totaled more than \$14 billion by the mid-1970s.



Sentiment for independence is gathering momentum

Miguel Rivera/Claridad

Direct U.S. industrial investment in the small island was 40 percent as much as for the rest of Latin America, and 21 percent as much as for all colonial and semicolonial countries.

Corporations extract profits

These investments produce tremendous profits. In 1974, U.S. corporations extracted from Puerto Rico more than \$1.3 billion in profits, out of a gross national product of \$6.8 billion. Fully one-fifth of the wealth created by Puerto Rican workers wound up in U.S. banks.

These superprofits are guaranteed by U.S. political control over Puerto Rico and by the economic stranglehold that U.S. monopolies have on that country's economic life.

In addition, Puerto Rico is a captive market for U.S. products. U.S. companies export more to Puerto Rico, on a per capita basis, than to any other country in the world.

As if this weren't enough, the Pentagon has made Puerto Rico a strategic military fortress in the Caribbean. American military installations blanket the island, occupying 13 percent of its total

territory, including a disproportionate amount of the arable land. The U.S. government uses this territory rent free and pays no property taxes since, as U.S. laws state, Puerto Rico is an island "belonging to the United States."

These military installations are a direct threat to the peoples of Latin America. In 1961, Puerto Rico was one of the jumping-off points for the CIA's invasion of Cuba, which met defeat at the Bay of Pigs.

U.S. colony

Put it all together, and it's easy to see why this island is one of the most important remaining classical colonies in the world today—internationally recognized as such by the United Nations and the Movement of Nonaligned Nations.

Given the permanent economic dislocation (inflation and unemployment) created by this relationship, the federal funding is nothing more than a cheap glue to hold together the underlying economic and political contradictions.

"The federal funds are artificial respiration to a colony that can't generate its own progress," said Carlos Gallisá, president of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which advocates independence.

Rubén Berríos, leader of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, compared federal handouts to drugs. "They have made a large part of our society drug addicts. Now they want to take drugs away. The person might even die."

'Showcase for democracy'?

The savage cutbacks now hitting Puerto Rico signal the end of the "showcase for democracy" propaganda launched by the Kennedy administration to counter the example of the Cuban revolution.

The goal was to create an "economic miracle" through an infusion of U.S. investments, turning Puerto Rico into a "showcase for democracy." This would be the model for the rest of Latin America to follow. Capitalism would be made more dynamic than socialism.

The main tool used by Washington in encouraging investments is what today would be called "supply-side economics," the pet theory of the Reaganite

budget cutters. U.S. corporations, through their representatives in Washington, generously gave themselves 100 percent exemptions from all local and federal taxes for many years. This did produce a transformation of the Puerto Rican economy. The number of factories rose from 717 in 1960 to close to 2,000 in 1970. Unemployment dropped to 11 percent.

But as the post-World War II economic boom ran out of steam internationally, Puerto Rico's economy went into a nosedive. Washington responded with ever-more-massive infusions of federal funds to maintain the "showcase of democracy" image.

At the same time, the Cuban model was showing itself superior on every count. Despite a crippling U.S. economic blockade (joined by virtually every other country in the hemisphere), Cuba succeeded in wiping out illiteracy, wiping out unemployment, and guaranteeing every man, woman, and child a decent, if still modest, standard of living.

In contrast, even with massive infusions of federal funds, Washington had succeeded in creating only a showcase for colonial misery. Instead, given the political and economic crisis of U.S. imperialism, the Reagan administration has elected to escalate its superexploitation of the Puerto Rican people. The expensive "showcase for democracy" illusion, unlikely to impress anyone in Latin America, has been junked.

But the political repercussions could be far-reaching.

A time bomb

The cuts could make Puerto Rico "the next Cuba in the Caribbean," said Baltasar Corrada del Río.

"It's a time bomb," agrees Miguel Hernández Agosto, president of the Puerto Rican Senate and member of the Popular Democratic Party, the party that helped Washington set up Puerto Rico's present "Commonwealth" status.

"If all this occurs," he added, "unemployment will rise from nearly 19 percent to 30 or 40 percent. It's very dangerous for us."

Since Puerto Ricans are excluded from many U.S. programs such as general revenue sharing and supplemental security income, planned cuts will have twice the impact as in any state with a similar population.

Cutbacks include \$300 million in food and nutrition programs, \$140.6 million in Comprehensive Employment and Training Act funds, \$11.3 million in education grants to students, and \$24 million in Economic Development Administration loans.

In typical Reaganite fashion, administration spokesperson Edward Dale promised, "If Puerto Rico happens to be rather heavy with welfare recipients, the people who genuinely need benefits will get them." He described the 25 percent cuts as "the trim around the edges."

The 58 percent of Puerto Ricans who depend on food subsidies won't appreciate being cast off as "trimmings."

Puerto Rico Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló of the New Progressive Party, the pro-statehood capitalist party, has made several trips to the mainland to plead with the Reagan administration to exempt Puerto Rico from the cuts. He warned of the effects that social unrest in Puerto Rico could have on neighboring regimes.

The leaders of Puerto Rico's proimperialist parties are worried about the growing dissatisfaction and social unrest on the island. Although supporters of independence are at this point a minority in Puerto Rico, pro-independence sentiment will mushroom as the island's economic situation grows worse, as happened in the 1930s.

The fight against Washington's attacks will make growing numbers of Puerto Ricans look to revolutionary Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua for alternate models to Wall Street's "showcase for democracy."

Puerto Rico:

U.S. Colony in the Caribbean

by José G. Pérez 24 pp., 35 cents. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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Perspectiva Mundial

A biweekly magazine bringing a revolutionary-socialist perspective on the news to Spanish-language readers. For a copy send 75 cents to Perspectiva Mundial, 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: \$8 for six months, \$16 for one year. Write for information on bundle orders.

La Verdad

Bimonthly newspaper of the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores in Puerto Rico. Subscriptions: \$4.50 for one year. Order from La Verdad, Apartado Postal, 22699, Estación de la Universidad, Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931.

May 3 signals growing opposition

Militarism and war: central issues for U.S.



Militant

By Doug Jenness

The following are major excerpts from a report presented May 17, 1981, to the New York-Northern New Jersey District Convention of the Socialist Workers Party. The report was based on a discussion in the SWP's Political Committee.

The drive of the American imperialists toward war is a central question for the American working class. The rulers must push forward their efforts to militarize American society, to reinstitute the draft, to intervene where their interests are threatened, to build more nuclear missiles, and to spend more for military purposes.

The irrepressible struggle of the toiling masses throughout the world against exploitation and oppression has won significant victories. U.S. imperialism ceaselessly probes to try to reverse and contain them. This is not new. We have recognized this, pointing to it many times in party resolutions and in our press. But we continually see this feature of American politics brought home in new and richer ways. It's useful to step back and review the role that it plays in the class struggle.

When the Reagan administration was installed in January, it claimed to have a mandate to set a new course in U.S. foreign policy. It tried to take some new initiatives, principally in El Salvador and Central America. It has taken a harder line on El Salvador, stepping up arms shipments and sending in military advisors. It is pressuring the Duarte regime not to negotiate with the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). Just in the last couple of weeks, the administration announced that it will resume aid to the military dictatorship in Guatemala. It has cut off the sale of wheat to Nicaragua, threatened Cuba, and is waging a campaign to slander and pressure the Grenadian revolution.

Massive sentiment for peace

But Reagan, like his predecessors, has a big problem right here in the United States. It prevents

him from doing what the U.S. imperialists need and want to do. This is the deep sentiment for peace among the American people. The breadth of this feeling, and its weight as a factor in American politics, is historic. This is partly a result of the experience during the Vietnam War.

But it also flows from the fear of nuclear war, which could entirely wipe out humanity. The conflict between Israel and Syria in Lebanon is a reminder of the explosive situations in the world that could expand into a much broader and more dangerous war.

The American people do not want nuclear war. They are suspicious of and fear provocations that could kick one off. As social services are slashed, there is greater questioning about the need to keep expanding the military budget.

The sentiments are reflected around issues like the MX intercontinental ballistic missile system that the Pentagon wants to set up in Utah and Nevada. Compare the mounting opposition to the MX today, to the situation some years ago when the construction of missile sites in the West was welcomed by many as a source of jobs and commerce. How that's changed today in Utah and Nevada!

The sentiment against militarism also overlaps with the struggle against nuclear power, and many of the big anti-nuclear actions have been held at military installations. This year again there was a large demonstration in Rocky Flats, Colorado, where the plutonium triggers are made for atomic weapons.

There is a strong feeling against any more Vietnams. And the worsening economic conditions for American workers makes them less willing, not more willing, to accept interventions in other countries.

Intervention in El Salvador

President Reagan hasn't done any better than Carter in reversing the peace sentiment. His first big foreign policy move after taking office—sending fifty-six military advisors to El Salvador and step-

ping up arms shipments—sparked the biggest antiwar opposition in this country since Vietnam, and Reagan has had to move more cautiously.

Even these initial probes were relatively modest measures compared to the extent of U.S. involvement in Vietnam before 1965 when the movement against that war emerged. Yet millions of Americans immediately saw it as a dangerous shift. They saw it as a turn to a more aggressive stance by the U.S. government.

We correctly recognize the continuity of ruling class policies between the previous administrations and the Reagan administration, as well as the limits placed by the relationship of class forces here and abroad on what Reagan can do. This shouldn't lead us to overlook the impact that the Reagan election and his initial moves have had on the consciousness of the American people.

They fear that he will act on his threatening campaign promises. They are on the alert for any move that Reagan makes that could drag the country into war, just as they are watching closely his attacks on social security, busing, affirmative action, and abortion rights.

Just a few relatively small moves in Central America have stirred up the largest antiwar opposition in eight years. In March and April we've seen a wave of demonstrations, rallies, conferences, and meetings primarily around the El Salvador issue. This culminated in the massive May 3 demonstration in Washington and the large parallel actions in Seattle, San Francisco, and other cities.

The Washington action was the largest single antiwar demonstration in this country since January 20, 1973. What began as solidarity activities with the Nicaraguan revolution and with the freedom fighters in El Salvador and Guatemala have grown into an anti-interventionist, antiwar campaign.

We recognize that the way to reach the American working class and to build a massive movement is along the lines of mobilizing opposition to U.S. intervention. That is the most effective way we can develop truly massive solidarity with the peoples of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Grenada, and Cuba.

But this struggle against intervention and war is strengthened by the fact that such a large component of the activists in the initial stages of this movement side with the freedom fighters and support the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions.

This wave of antiwar protests around El Salvador is continuing. The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) has called for further protest actions on July 19, the second anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution. These will also demand a halt to Washington's threats and pressures against Nicaragua. On June 24-25, CISPES plans activities aimed at broadening trade-union involvement in the anti-interventionist struggle.

We should also note that the growing antiwar sentiment and protests are part of a broader international phenomenon. Not only are there growing protests around El Salvador, but we've reported in our press over the last year the developing opposition in Western Europe and Japan to increased spending and to U.S. missiles and the neutron bomb. The antimissiles fight, for example, is a central issue for the working class and the Labour Party in Britain. We've also seen how this issue is shaking up the Social Democratic Party in Germany, politics in the Netherlands and Norway, and so on. The recent revelation that for two decades U.S. warships have been bringing nuclear weapons into Japanese ports, has aroused significant protests in that country.

The May 3 demonstration

Within this framework of the ruling-class militarization drive and mounting antiwar sentiment, the May 3 action was very important. It was a broad, united front-type demonstration that advanced the interests of the working class in this country. It inspired the forces who are opposed to the war. Certainly many of the millions of Americans who don't want another Vietnam were inspired and strengthened when they saw the television coverage of the May 3 demonstration.

This large protest increased awareness of U.S. policy in El Salvador and increased the already wide doubts and opposition. It showed the rulers the extent of opposition to U.S. intervention, and it helped to give inspiration to the freedom fighters in El Salvador and throughout the Americas.

The Political Committee thinks that we made an error by not supporting the May 3 action earlier and

working people

by not campaigning around it.

This is not the worst error in the party's history, nor will it be the most serious one we'll make. But it's important to recognize it as an error, discuss it out, learn from it, and move forward. So we thought it would be useful to go over some of the factors that were involved.

The first factor was that we tended to underestimate the sentiment for a united action against U.S. intervention in El Salvador regardless of who got it going, who was involved, or who was in charge of it.

For those, like myself, who were not at the Detroit Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) conference in February, where the call for the May 9 action was adopted, it's hard to have tactical judgment of what was correct to do at that meeting. Only those who were there can judge that.

But the key problem wasn't that there were two different dates for awhile. The problem was that we did not recognize early enough that what had come out of the CARD conference was a majority for a date, not a genuine coalition. Our error was hanging onto that date too long, rather than objectively evaluating what began to happen shortly after the CARD conference. When it became clear that May 9 wasn't going anywhere, and that the May 3 action called by the People's Antiwar Mobilization was gaining support, we should have thrown our support behind May 3.

At different stages we hoped that something would come along to rescue May 9. Immediately after the CARD conference we threw ourselves into building the March 28 Harrisburg action. At the CARD conference this was projected as the key immediate focus for organizing efforts. It was hoped that out of the experience of building this action a broader range of forces, especially unions, could be drawn into May 9. Then there was the hope that the leadership of the International Association of Machinists, who initially endorsed the May 9 date, would throw their support behind it and make it real. But this just didn't happen.

There was also an element of factionalism in our attitude toward the Peoples Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) because of the influential role of the Workers World Party.

Because of delays in obtaining a permit, we and others were concerned about the threat of a violent confrontation at the Pentagon. However, this proved to be unfounded and opened us up to the charge of violence-baiting.

Then, when the May 9 date was dropped about a month before May 3, we didn't really take up support for May 3 in an active or clear way.

Important demonstrations

At the same time, we were involved in helping to build several important actions. We helped build the March 9 United Mine Workers demonstration in Washington, D.C., against the cutbacks in black lung benefits; the March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg against nuclear power and in solidarity with the miners; and the April 29 rail action called by a coalition of rail unions against proposed cutbacks on the railroads. These were actions around important social and economic questions, and served as examples to broader social forces. They provided excellent opportunities for the party, and we have every reason to be proud of the role we played to help build and participate in them.

At the same time, however, we tended to give the impression, that the particular form of the March 28 action, that is, a union-initiated action with significant union participation around an important social question, was a harbinger of things to come in the immediate future. The impression was created that these kinds of actions were somehow inherently better than other types of actions because of the form through which they were organized.

The participation of miners in a demonstration against nuclear power and the demands of the rail workers are very important. But it would be wrong for us to get into the position where we appeared, even if unconsciously, to be counterposing them to the war question or to any other central social question. And it would be an error to counterpose these particular forms of action to actions that are not necessarily initiated nor have broad participation by the labor movement, but are nonetheless very important political actions for the working class.

We should not construct some sort of schema around the March 28 action and how it was organized. There were two aspects to this action. One was that it was initiated and sponsored by important unions, especially the United Mine Workers; politi-

cal direction over it was maintained by a coalition of unions. At the same time, the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment drew in other, nonunion organizations that played an important role in bringing people out for the action.

At the present stage in the development of the consciousness and leadership of the working class, protest actions will take place in many forms. Each case has to be judged concretely.

How socialists participate

Often we're able to participate in coalitions. This is the way most actions are built. As members of unions, we try to get our unions to be part of the coalitions or to get co-workers and other members of our unions involved.

Sometimes we participate in labor outreach committees in coalitions. Sometimes we don't. It depends on whether or not this is the best way of getting involved and helping to make it as successful and powerful an action as possible. These are all tactical questions. Our general approach is to not let the form get in the way of doing what is politically right or necessary.

We always participate from the standpoint of advancing the struggle and reaching out to involve the working class and the labor movement.

Within this framework, we should note that the changes that are taking place in the consciousness of the working class are opening the door to more discussions and meetings in the unions around issues such as El Salvador and the draft. It doesn't detract from the importance of these new trends to recognize that we're not right on the verge of a class-struggle left wing or labor party being born. We're still at a stage where we don't know how, when, and in what form a class-struggle left wing will emerge in the American labor movement.

The general trend in the labor movement today is for the officialdom to settle for Chrysler-type contracts. An article in the New York *Daily News* a week ago quoted United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker as boasting that other unions are now going along with wage deferrals and union bail-out schemes like the UFT leadership in New York City did in the mid-1970s. "It was difficult," Shanker admits, "especially when you are the first. They [the members] said the railroad unions would never do it. So why should we? It looked at that time that their leadership was especially weak in agreeing to it." But other unions are seeing it the same way now."

There's the Conrail proposal, which would defer increases in wages and fringe benefits in order to help "bail out" this government-financed corporation. We have also seen how the steel and rubber union leaderships have gone along with and helped enforce productivity measures to boost the profitability of the employers. In spite of the progressive image William Winpisinger is attempting to cultivate, you'll see similar tendencies in the IAM contracts.

Agreements that tie the union officialdom much more closely into joint management boards, tripartite committees, or corporate boards of directors are on the increase. The class-collaborationist bureaucracy is being drawn in to help police and discipline the working class in order to drive through the employers' schemes to raise profit rates.

In an article written in 1940, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (see *Trotsky on Trade Unions*, Pathfinder Press). Leon Trotsky predicted that this development is inevitable. As the crisis of capitalism deepens, he said, the employers

must draw the labor officialdom into helping implement and enforce their austerity measures. The unions will be weakened and eventually smashed unless an alternative leadership succeeds in fighting this process and transforming the unions into class-struggle instruments. At this stage, the bosses are meeting much success in convincing the labor officialdom to get behind their plans and dealing blows against the working class. We can expect them to keep driving forward with this approach.

There is no leftward development by the union officialdom. There are no big organizing drives. The Newport News shipyard drive that got the support of the McBride leadership of the United Steelworkers union was more the exception than the rule. There's no serious move toward establishing a labor party. What we have is capitulation to the capitalist offensive and complicity in carrying it out.

Coal miners

There is one union that's different. That is the United Mine Workers. It's not the leadership that is different. The UMWA leadership has done no better in developing a strategy to counter the employers' offensive as shown by its failure to organize the growing sector of its unorganized coal miners. It is the consciousness of the membership and its relationship to the leadership that is different. More than a decade ago, the union membership revolted and, after a long fight, threw out the old leadership headed by Tony Boyle.

While the miners didn't go all the way and establish a class-struggle leadership, they significantly changed the relationship of forces in their union and won some important democratic rights, including the right to vote on their contract. The miners still have the consciousness and confidence generated by this victory. Today, this is reflected in the attitude of the miners to the moves by the coal operators, who are raking in big profits, to take away rights and conditions won in previous fights and their attempt to weaken the UMWA. The miners' resistance forced the operators to drop a series of their proposals, including the seven-day work week, even before the contract was submitted to a vote. Some of these proposals such as the seven-day week are already established practice in most industries.

But even after dropping these measures the proposed contract was unsatisfactory to the membership and they voted it down two to one.

But just the fact of the miners standing up to the operators' attacks, in defiance of their leadership, and saying "We're not going to go along with this type of contract," makes the situation in this union unique in the American labor movement today. It underlines the stakes in this strike, both for the miners and for the entire working class. Workers in other unions who are looking for openings to fight back are closely watching the outcome of this strike.

Openings in unions

At the same time that the union officialdoms are deepening their betrayal, the resentment and militancy of workers is mounting. The miners aren't exceptional in this regard. Rail, steel and auto workers also want to fight back. Discussions are taking place in the plants, mills, and mines as workers absorb the meaning of the blows being dealt to them and try to come up with answers. These changing moods and heightened consciousness offer the most favorable opportunity the party has had in years to get a hearing for our ideas on how to advance the struggle of the labor movement.

The fact that we are becoming part of the industrial working class and active in the unions puts us in the best position to become part of the ferment taking place. It is from the layer of workers that are getting involved in struggles and are seriously trying to figure out an alternative road that we can win new friends and members.



Perspectiva Mundial/Roberto Kopec

A special interview

Vermont's socialist mayor

By Harry Ring

BURLINGTON, Vermont—Bernard Sanders is a busy man. As a longtime radical activist, he's attended his share of meetings. As the newly elected mayor of Burlington, the meeting schedule is even heavier.

Despite the press of meetings and appointments, he squeezed in time for an interview with the *Militant*.

Sanders, thirty-nine, made national news when he was elected mayor this past March 3. An avowed socialist, he nosed out Democratic incumbent Gordon Paquette. Paquette headed a well-entrenched machine. Over the past ten years, he was regularly returned to the mayor's office and had served a previous thirteen years as an alderman.

In this election, the Republicans didn't bother running. Contesting with Paquette were two lesser machine hacks and Sanders.

A former New Yorker, Sanders settled in Burlington in 1970. Soon after his arrival he became active in the Liberty Union Party, which he says was generally seen as socialist. He ran four times on the party ticket, twice for U.S. senator and twice for governor.

Well-known as socialist

An effective speaker and aggressive campaigner, Sanders became well known throughout the state as a socialist.

Also, he made a videotape on the early socialist leader, Eugene V. Debs, and created a public stir with a successful campaign to get the local public service station to show it.

In the 1980 presidential elections Sanders endorsed Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers candidate for president and served as a Vermont elector for Pulley.

In his campaign against Paquette, Sanders focused on issues confronting working people in Burlington. He did not run as a socialist candidate, but made no effort to duck the fact of his socialist beliefs.

Both the local and national media regard his victory as a big upset. But not Sanders.

Asked why he decided to make the race, he responded, "My particular fear of what Reagan was doing to this country. The ideas I'm talking about now are the ideas I've been talking about, one way or the other, since I was twenty. . . . So in that sense,



Militant/Harry Ring

MAYOR BERNARD SANDERS

running was not something new. But we had done some thinking and some calculations and reached the opinion that it was in fact possible to win the mayoralty race."

Many independent voters

For one thing, he explained, minority parties like the Liberty Union and Citizens parties had polled respectable votes in the city. And the problems of working people there have grown increasingly acute.

The problems are not essentially different from other places, Sanders explained. "You have a relatively small number of people—the heads of large businesses—determining the economic development of the area."

With a population of 39,000, Burlington is the largest city in Vermont. It's the center of an urban area numbering about 120,000. A General Electric plant

in town employs some 3,000 people. In a neighboring town, IBM employs 7,000.

Vermont unions are relatively small and not too strong. Workers at GE are organized into the International Union of Electrical Workers but it's not a closed shop and not all are members. IBM is nonunion. The largest union local in the state is an amalgamated Teamster union of about 1,500, which includes the Burlington area bus drivers.

Losing ground

Sanders said that while the population of the state has increased, Burlington's population has been going down.

"That's because working families can't afford to live in the city anymore," Sanders observed.

"Rents are skyrocketing. There's a very serious shortage of housing for low-income and moderate-income people."

During the campaign, Sanders had vigorously opposed a project being pressed by business and financial interests with the enthusiastic backing of the incumbent. Burlington fronts on Lake Champlain, and a drive is on for a major shorefront development to include expensive condominiums, a luxury shopping area, and a marina.

Reiterating his opposition to this scheme, Sanders said, "It's a question of how you invest your money. To have condos on the lakefront when there's no housing for working people."

The waterfront, he added, "is a priceless area for our city, and we don't want to just let it become an enclave for the wealthy."

Unfazed by Reagan win

Sanders's decision to make his independent bid for the mayor's post coincided with Reagan's inauguration. But that didn't persuade him a radical couldn't win.

Reagan's victory, he said, "was not so much a movement to the right as much as an obvious disgust with Carter's failure. People wanted an alternative. . . . Well, the only alternative presented by corporate America was Ronald Reagan."

In Burlington, too, he added, people wanted a change "and we came along with our vision, as opposed to a Reagan-type vision."

His earlier campaigns, he said, had

helped convince him of the viability of this. "When I ran for the Liberty Union Party," he said, "we were outspent a hundred to one. But I talked to enough groups to know that the fact that a handful of people own America is not something that the average American is sympathetic to."

It was the concrete expression of this reality that led workers, other low-income people and students to give Sanders the votes to edge out the Democratic machine.

Broad dissatisfaction

People were mad about the housing shortage, the moves to increase property taxes on small homes, the fact that Burlington's inflation rate has kept pace with the country's, but not its wage scale.

People in one working-class area are up in arms because they want to ram a highway through their neighborhood. Tying in to the main highway outside of town would be beneficial to business interests.

Sanders opposed the highway project along with the projected expensive waterfront development.

He opposed the property tax hike and urged revision of the tax structure to put a greater share on business and industrial interests.

He raised the idea of a local income tax for those grossing over \$25,000, and he argued for a rent control structure.

Working people responded to this approach. "We did very well among low-income and working people and the elderly," Sanders said.

"Where we're a little weak is among middle-age people, those my age. The young people are idealistic, and the old people know what the hell's going on. They've lived their life, been through the crap. People in the middle age still think there's a chance, so they're kind of conservative."

Class vote

He added, "I think we had pretty much of a class vote."

For various reasons, legal and political, Sanders did not get much in the way of official union endorsement. But he estimates that 80 percent of union members voted for him. The vote in working-class neighborhoods tends to confirm this.

Local business interests also apparently see the outcome as a class vote.

'Andrew, we're delighted to have you'

The following remarks were made by Mayor Bernard Sanders of Burlington at a May 21 Political Rights Defense Fund meeting for Socialist Workers Party leader Andrew Pulley.

One of my jobs as mayor is to welcome people to the city, and I welcome you.

Sometimes I'm obliged to welcome people who I'm not overly enthusiastic about. But tonight I'm very privileged in welcoming you in behalf of the city of Burlington, Andrew. We're delighted to have you and hope you enjoy yourself.

I think that what Andrew is going to be speaking about tonight is an issue of extraordinary importance. I'm sure most of the people here know that for the last forty years the Socialist Workers Party has—now admittedly—been harassed, informed upon, had their offices

broken into, had members of their party fired from their jobs, and have been treated with cold contempt by the United States government.

And it's very clear that the reason they have been thus treated is because of their ideas—ideas which are frightening to the people who own the United States of America.

And they are a threat, these ideas, they are a threat.

I think the point Andrew will probably deal with is also well known. In the '50s, with McCarthyism, they created a system of bugaboos, with the bugaboo of communism. Any person who stood up for working people, or for low-income people, or for peace, was associated with the "communist front." Now the word is "terrorist."

Now anybody who stands up and fights and says things is automatically a terrorist and to be associated with those people who plant bombs

in buses, and murder children and innocent people.

I trust that many of you know how the system works. It happened, slightly, in my case. Because I was an elector for the Socialist Workers Party, there was a "noninvestigation." I was "noninvestigated" by the FBI. The theory is that it was an attempt to smear me.

I think there's a way to deal with that terrible word—that pornographic word which they hate in this country—called socialism.

I think the best way is to be up front about that word, not to run away from that word. To deal with it in a straightforward way, and explain exactly what we mean by that word.

Along with Andrew, we are antitotalitarian. We believe in democracy.

Then there's nothing they can do. I can't be called a socialist anymore. I admit it.

What are they going to do with us?

I can't be painted. I don't have to go out denying it. I don't have to deny that I've been seen in public with Andrew Pulley. There's somebody taking photographs of us, so I don't have to deny it. I think that's good.

Then we can have the debate which is the real debate of our time. I'm sure Andrew will be having that debate all around the country. That debate is socialism versus capitalism. That is the debate of our century.

And we're all proud and delighted and it's extremely important that Mitterrand won in France. People in our country can identify with France. They go to movies there. They eat French fries, I suppose, just like us. And now they want socialism. It can't be so crazy. That's good.

So having said that, it's been an absolute pleasure. I wish you the best.

"They were stunned," Sanders said. "I don't have much contact with them on a personal level," he explained, "and their hostility at the present time is muted."

But, he added, "I won this election spending \$3,500. My opponent, being somewhat cockier, also only spent three or four thousand."

"But in the next election, if I chose to run again, there will be thirty, forty, fifty thousand spent against me."

Police support

One source of official union support Sanders did get will be, he acknowledged, controversial to some radicals. The local police union decided it had had enough of the Paquette administration and backed Sanders's campaign.

"We've got cops here," Sanders said, "who are good trade unionists on all the regular trade union issues, and who also have a concern for young people. Probably the major crime problem we have in the city is with young people. They [the police] see the futility of arresting poor kids all the time and they want to get involved in some of the projects which we're beginning to dent the surface on."

Sanders added that he knows that some police forces "are dominated by fascists and Nazis. . . . But on the other hand, here we have a police force—and we may well have our bad eggs too—but I don't consider these guys who are making \$10,000 a year as my enemies, as much as that may offend certain people in the left-wing movement."

Union efforts

Sanders also emphasized his efforts to develop active collaboration among other city unions.

"For the first time in the history of the city," he said, "we have four city unions meeting here together on a regular basis."

"And we've done a lot of talking about how the trade unions, plus other organizations in our city, can come closer together in fighting for their general political goals; to understand

that the unions have the same issues as the neighborhood organizations and why the neighborhood organizations should support the unions."

Sanders sees a difficult period ahead in trying to accomplish some of his goals. There is the problem, he said, of corporate blackmail. "If you stand up to them, well you're going to destroy the downtown, or they'll move out. It's a very hard thing to deal with. It's one of the reasons why being the socialist mayor of a small town—or any city or entity—is very difficult. You don't bring about that kind of change piecemeal."

Federal cutbacks

An added difficulty, he continued, is the Reagan cutbacks. It will mean reduced revenue-sharing for Burlington, loss of food stamps for many of its citizens. Federal welfare contributions will be cut.

Discussing this, Sanders assailed the Democrats for teaming up with Reagan on the cutbacks.

They're caving in to Reagan, he said, because they think that's what the voters want. "And they're wrong," he declared. "They're wrong. They're misjudging. This garbage about people don't want government. Of course people want government to do something for them. But they don't want the kind of government they've been getting."

He added, "I think most people understand there aren't two parties. That there's just one party called Republicrats, or Demicans, or whatever you want to call them."

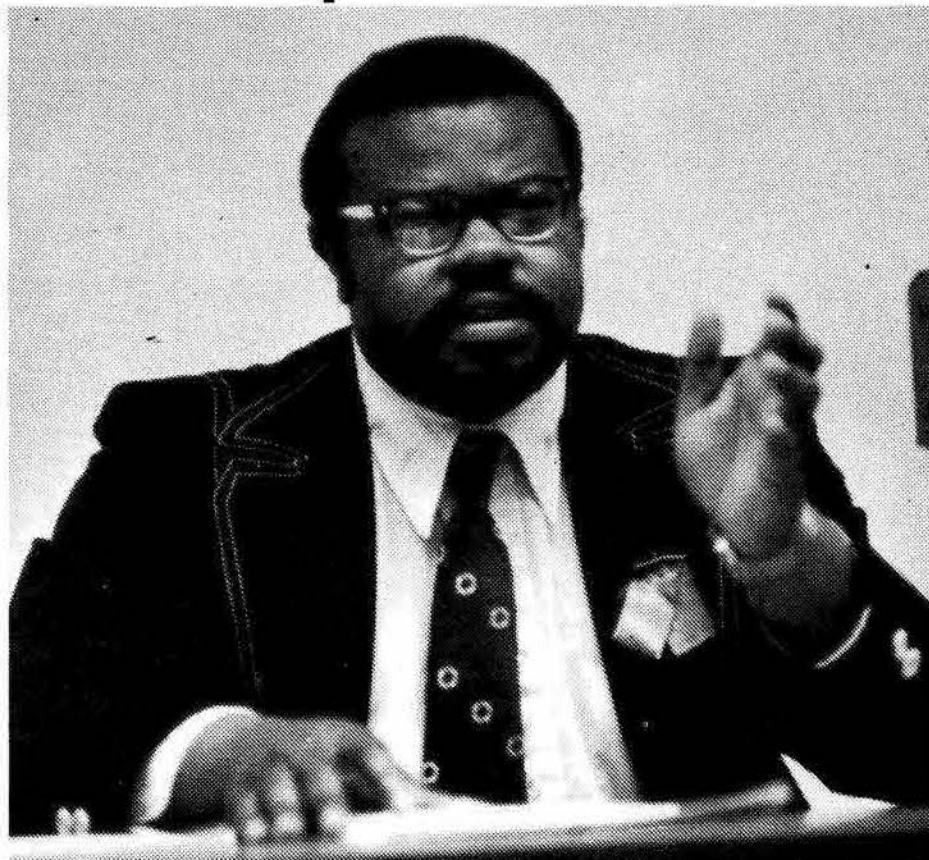
Meanwhile, he said, in Burlington, "at least we're bringing the word socialism into the realm of reality. It's no longer some far-off business."

Sanders feels the socialist electoral victory in France will help make socialism more acceptable to workers here.

He recalled that in reporting Mitterrand's election in France, one Burlington newscaster quipped, "As Burlington goes, so goes France."

Sanders chuckled and said, "I got a kick out of that."

Burlington rights meeting hears report on SWP suit



Militant/Harry Ring

ANDREW PULLEY

BURLINGTON, Vermont—Supporters of the Political Rights Defense Fund held a meeting here May 21 to hear a report on the Socialist Workers Party suit against the government's program of political victimization. The principal speaker was Andrew Pulley, the SWP's 1980 presidential nominee.

The meeting was held in the Burlington public library. About thirty people attended.

The meeting was chaired by Will Miller, a professor of philosophy at the University of Vermont. Also speaking was Greg Guma, editor of the *Vermont Vanguard Press*, an alternate weekly, and the local chair of the Citizens Party. The meeting opened with welcoming remarks by Mayor Bernard Sanders. (See above.)

In the 1960s and '70s, Professor Miller said, when radicals talked about what various government agencies were doing to them, "people thought we were paranoid." But, he added, subsequent revelations established that "our fears were not only justified, but that we had fallen considerably short in imagining the lengths to which they had actually gone."

Because such political police practices are on the rise again, Miller declared, the SWP suit "is particularly crucial."

Guma also pointed to the present mounting threat to civil liberties. He

urged members of the audience to participate in a public examination of the practices of intelligence agencies at a special gathering to be held here in mid-June.

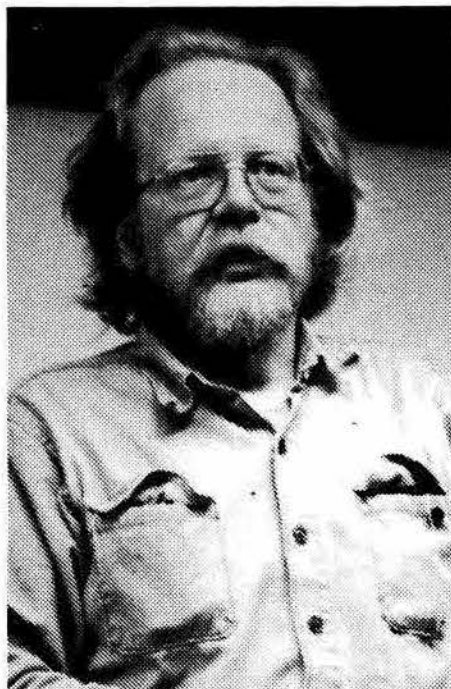
Pulley discussed the basic aims of the socialist lawsuit. He explained that the key objectives were to halt illegal practices by the FBI, CIA, and other police agencies and to challenge the validity of thought-control laws and presidential executive orders which provide the justification for such unconstitutional activity.

"It's the right of the people to dissent," he declared, "to have an opposing view and to change the government. Does the Bill of Rights apply to everybody? That's the fundamental question."

Pulley's visit was well publicized. The *Burlington Free Press*, Vermont's major daily, carried articles the day Pulley was slated to speak as well as a report of the meeting the following day.

The first article focused on current government moves to have the SWP declared "proscribed" by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. This would make foreign-born members and supporters subject to possible deportation.

Initial determination on this will be made by the Northeast region of the INS, which is headquartered in Burlington.



Militant/Harry Ring

Editor Greg Guma, left, and Prof. Will Miller participated in meeting

NEW YORK



Rally to defend political rights!

Dick Gregory—Comedian, Black activist

Jack Barnes

National Secretary
Socialist Workers Party

Ruth Gage-Colby

Anti-Vietnam-War leader, Women's
International League for Peace
and Freedom

Jack Gilford

Entertainer, witch-hunt victim

Ernesto Jofre

Representative ACTWU Local 169,*
Member, Hispanic Labor Committee

Afeni Shakur

Black Panther Party 21 defendant,
Black community organizer

Morton Sobel

Witch-hunt victim, imprisoned
for 15 years after Rosenberg trial

William Kunstler

Lawyer, Center for Constitutional Rights

Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh

Iranian student fighting deportation,
member Young Socialist Alliance

Tom Pontolillo

President, Brotherhood of Locomotive
Engineers, Division 501*

John Trinkl

Writer, *Guardian*

*Organization for identification only.

Saturday June 6 7:30 pm

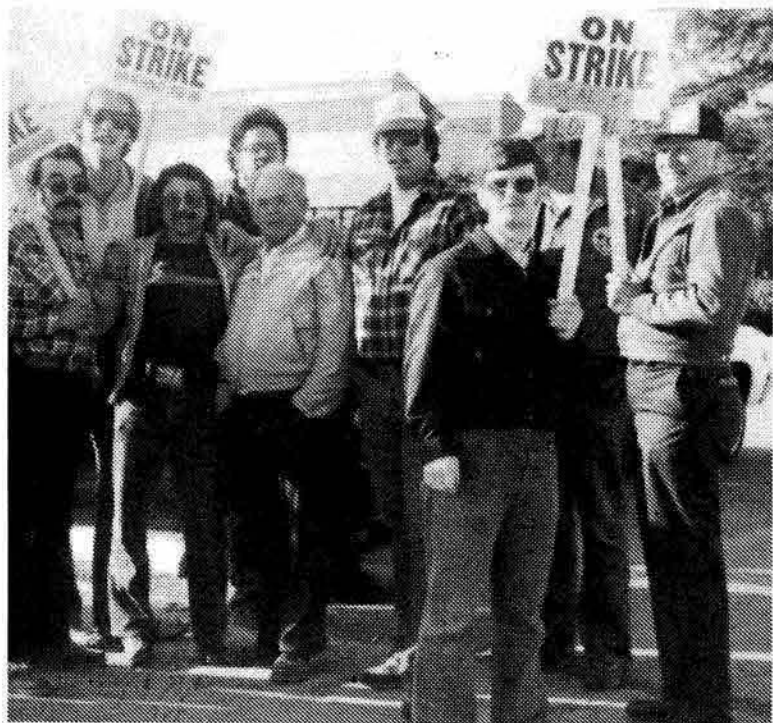
Reception and entertainment at 6:30 pm. Party after program.

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San Jose strikers resist takebacks



Militant

By Deborah Liatos

SAN JOSE, Ca.—The Food Machinery Corporation (FMC) is one of the major producers of military vehicles in the world. Their plant here makes tanks and personnel carriers. Military budget hikes are swelling their profits. But FMC workers are not benefiting. And since April 4 we have been on strike.

The 2,200 members of Local 562, International Association of Machinists, voted 1,100 to 300 on April 4 to reject the company's contract offer. It is the first strike at FMC since 1967.

There was a second vote on a reworded version of essentially the same contract on May 20. The union negotiating committee recommended it be rejected and it was, by 1,201 to 495.

The major issues in the strike are forced overtime, speedup, sick pay and pension benefits.

On April 6, hundreds of people picketed the plant. The company responded by getting a court injunction limiting pickets to four or six per gate. Since then the union has maintained the picketing twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.

The company has not yet tried to hire new workers, but they have used the 2,000 nonunion office workers to try to continue production. The results have been tragic. One man lost three fingers, a woman lost one finger, and others have been seriously injured operating equipment

they know nothing about. And to add insult, the office workers are still receiving their average of \$5 an hour pay, much less than the unionized production and maintenance workers get.

Railroad crews have refused to operate trains into or out of the plant, in solidarity with the strike. However Southern Pacific Railroad supervisors have operated the trains for the company.

Thirty tool and die makers, who are members of the Teamsters Union, not the IAM, have been honoring the union picket line.

Hundreds of FMC workers had signed their names and contributed money to an advertisement that appeared in the *San Jose Mercury-News* protesting U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The Labor Committee on El Salvador has now sent letters to all the signers of the ad, expressing their support to the FMC strike.

Another important show of solidarity came from IAM Local 565 at the nearby Westinghouse plant. When Local 562 met to vote on the second contract proposal, Local 565 members kept the picket lines going.

A solidarity rally is planned for June 7 at B Stadium in San Jose. The event is planned to last from noon to 5 p.m. that Sunday.

Deborah Liatos is a member of IAM Local 562.

New curb on Calif. ballot

In a move to further restrict California voters' rights, the State Assembly passed a bill that will knock the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) off the state ballot, where it has appeared since 1968.

The move escalated the attack on ballot rights in California being carried out by the Democratic Party and the administration of Governor Jerry Brown. Last year, the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket was arbitrarily barred from the ballot after collecting more than 150,000 signatures.

Lou McCamen, legislative expert for the PFP, denounced the new legislation at a May 14 news conference in Los Angeles. The legislation would raise the registration requirement for political parties from one-fifteenth of 1 percent to

one-half of 1 percent of the state's registered voters.

Currently, 0.47 of 1 percent of California voters are registered Peace and Freedom. An additional 12,000 would have to sign up by January 1 for the PFP to maintain its ballot status.

A May 21 editorial in the *Los Angeles Times* summed up the move as "dirty work afoot in Sacramento."

The *Times* continued: "Fearful that Peace and Freedom Party candidates might hurt the Democrats in next year's legislative and congressional races in California, the Democratic majority in the Assembly has found a simple way to remove the threat: kick the party off the ballot."

The Peace and Freedom Party plans to challenge the undemocratic measure in court.

Indict GI in racist killings in Buffalo, other cities

By Suzanne Haig

Private Joseph Christopher, twenty-five years old, is currently being held by police as a prime suspect in the slayings of Black men in Buffalo and other cities. These murders include:

- Three Black men in Buffalo and a fourth in Niagara Falls shot with a .22 caliber sawed-off rifle on September 22 and 23, 1980.

- Two Black men in Buffalo bludgeoned to death with their hearts cut out on October 8 and 9, 1980.

- Three Black men and a Hispanic man knifed to death December 22 in New York City.

- A Black man stabbed December 29 at a Buffalo bus stop and another at a Rochester, New York, bus stop the next day.

In January 1981, Christopher assaulted a Black soldier in his training company in Fort Benning, Georgia, with a paring knife.

In the base stockade he cut himself with a razor and was moved to the hospital. In a psychiatric session, he reportedly told nurses that he "had to" kill Blacks in Buffalo and New York City.

Buffalo police have said they found cartridge casings, two sawed-off gun stocks, the sawed-off barrel of a .22 caliber rifle, several knives, and a jacket stained with human blood in Christopher's Buffalo home and in his family's cabin.

He was reportedly picked out of police lineups by some witness to the slayings in Buffalo and New York City.

Christopher has pleaded not guilty to three of the murders. He has not yet been charged in the others.

Whether Christopher is guilty or innocent, some press coverage on him has been unusually positive.

The *Atlanta Constitution* re-

ports Christopher as "a quiet young man who is a whiz with mechanical gadgets. . . . He is sensitive and compassionate and would often help senior citizens with odd jobs around their houses."

But here's how the *Constitution* portrays Black youth Timothy Hill, the twenty-third slain youth in Atlanta.

"For Hill, life consisted of a jumbled melange of many inter-related elements: hunger, poverty, neglect, criminal behavior and homosexuality. . . .

"It's difficult to determine which of those numbing factors, or which combination of them, might have led Hill to become one of twenty-six young Blacks found slain."

According to the *Constitution*, Hill is to blame for his own death, a criminal who deserved what he got. Christopher, on the other hand, is portrayed with deep sympathy.

N.Y. Black party honors Malcolm X

By Melvin Chappell

NEW YORK—The New York State National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) held a memorial program on what would have been the fifty-sixth birthday of Malcolm X on March 19. Nearly seventy people turned out to see the film, *El Hajj Malik El Shabazz* and to hear speakers praise the legacy that Malcolm had left behind as an example for the NBIPP.

The guest speaker was Joseph Burke, Grenada's consul general for North America. Burke began by noting that Malcolm's mother was born in Grenada. "The only difference between you and me is that somebody slipped and put us on the different ships," Burke said.

He went on to blast the local CBS news series, "The Prisoner in a Police State," in which correspondent David Marsh tried to portray revolutionary Grenada as a totalitarian hell. "Whenever the people

take into their hands their own destiny," Burke said, "they call us guerrillas; they call us rebels. The U.S. mass media said nothing about exploitation under [ousted dictator Eric] Gairy or 400 years of British rule."

The representative of the Grenadian government outlined some of the gains of the two-year-old revolution: every man, woman, and child now has access to free medical care, women are now guaranteed equal pay for equal work, and they receive paid maternity leave.

"Under Gairy," Burke said, "only 40 percent were unionized. Today it is over 80 percent, and people can join any union they want."

The audience applauded when Burke told how Cuba had supplied workers and machinery after the U.S. and its allies refused to help build an international airport. "We will not refuse assistance from any country except South Africa."

The next speaker was Zala Chandler, national convener of the NBIPP's Women's Caucus. She said that Cuba and Grenada were inspiring examples of what is needed here in America. Muntu Matsimela, a co-convener of the New York State NBIPP, spoke on Malcolm's contributions to the Black liberation struggle. "There is no difference between Republicans and Democrats," Muntu said, "and Malcolm was hard on that. Malcolm was very clear about independence."

Muntu described Malcolm as an internationalist. He said the NBIPP should continue to support events like the May 16 picket line to denounce the slanders against Grenada by local CBS news, and defend the struggles in South Africa, Angola, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Palestine.

Other speakers included Reneve Calvin Butts and Kabili Tayari of the Jersey City NBIPP.

Philadelphia unionists fight to stop Eaton plant closing

By Adrienne Benjamin

PHILADELPHIA—Chanting "let's not starve, let's keep 'Eaton,'" 1,500 workers rallied at the Eaton Corporation plant in northeast Philadelphia May 18. The protest against the planned shutdown of the factory was organized by Local 1717 of the International Association of Machinists and the Delaware Valley Jobs Coalition. Eaton, which manufactures forklift trucks, plans to stop production at this plant in December, eliminating the jobs of the 600 members of Local 1717.

Since 1973, as the company shifted operations to plants in the South, 1,300 other Eaton workers have lost their jobs. Eaton is seeking out even cheaper labor costs with big investments in Mexico and Japan.

Participants in the May 18 demonstration blocked Monday evening rush-hour traffic along the eight-lane highway in front of the plant. Many of the protesters were in their fifties. As one

put it, "after twenty years of working I'm too young to collect a pension but too old to get another job."

Danny Chelmko, chairman of the grievance committee of Local 1717, was greeted with loud applause when he said, "To hell with the politicians, to hell with Mayor Green. That's what they say about you. The system stinks. We've got to change the system. I hope this demonstration will be the spark that lights the fire in this city. We've lost too many jobs already."

A leaflet distributed by Local 1717 for the rally said that "since 1965, Philadelphia has lost over 121,000 factory jobs." It listed ten plants "that are now threatened, closing or just closed."

The demonstration was an angry one. The chain link fence surrounding Eaton went down as protesters surged across the lawn. Hundreds of sticks were waved in the air and beaten on the ground to symbolize deter-

mination to "stick together."

Demonstrators came from over a dozen local unions to support the Eaton workers. United Auto Workers Local 92 at the nearby Budd Red Lion plant put out a special flier to encourage participation. The leaflet pointed out, "What is of special importance to the members of Local 92 is the fact that the [six UAW local unions at Eaton plants] have been sent letters by Eaton demanding the removal of the cost-of-living allowance formula from their national contract now as the price of Eaton considering which of its plants it will keep in operation."

Two days after the demonstration at the Eaton plant, 200 labor and community leaders met to discuss further activities. One proposal being considered is for a fifteen-minute work stoppage to protest plant shutdowns.

Adrienne Benjamin is a member of UAW Local 92.

FBI 'terrorist' smear flops as gov't opens defense case

By Cindy Jaquith

NEW YORK CITY—"As a Puerto Rican woman, I take what the FBI did very personally."

Two Puerto Rican activists were talking to me during a break outside the courtroom here. It was June 1, the day the government opened its defense in the suit filed against them by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The two women had just heard an FBI agent testify how he investigated SWP leaders Willie Mae Reid and Olga Rodriguez on suspicion they were harboring "fugitives" from the FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation).

Eleven Puerto Rican independence activists are currently serving prison terms of fifty-five years to life. They're accused of membership in the FALN and charged with conspiracy, bombing, and armed robbery.

The women were angry—and a little shocked—at the FBI's far-fetched efforts to justify its persecution of the socialists.

The two had come down to the trial—one skipping work—to see what kind of a case the government would put on after two months of testimony documenting massive violations of the SWP and YSA's rights.

The FALN story appeared to be the best the government could come up with.

It fell flat.

First, Assistant U.S. Attorney Edward Williams called Willie Mae Reid to the stand. Reid was the SWP's vice-presidential candidate in 1976. She was followed by Olga Rodriguez, the organizer of the Manhattan branch of the SWP.

Under questioning, both women said they had shared an apartment in Jersey City, New Jersey. Williams asked if they had received a phone call at the apartment from "an individual you knew to be associated with the FALN" in May 1980. Both said no.

As Rodriguez was about to leave the stand, Williams suddenly realized he had made a mistake and reformulated his question. Had she received such a phone call in March 1980?

Rodriguez again answered no, as did Reid.

Later, in an interview with the *Militant*, Rodriguez noted that Williams never asked about her political views on the FALN matter. "If he had, I would have told him that the barbaric sentences imposed on the eleven brothers and sisters is an outrage," she said.

"The Socialist Workers Party stands foursquare on the side of the Puerto Rican independence struggle. The government has used its search for 'FALN members' to witch-hunt the entire Puerto Rican movement. We demand the immediate release of those railroaded to jail and a halt to the attacks



OLGA RODRIGUEZ

Militant/Harry Ring

on other independentistas.

"The government," she added, "knows full well the SWP disagrees with acts of individual terrorism as a means to liberation. Maybe that's why they didn't want to question me about it."

After Rodriguez testified, the government called Rene Amaya to the stand.

Amaya said he is an FBI agent in Newark, assigned to Criminal Squad C-3. He covers the FALN, which he defined as "a terrorist group which has taken violent [means] by which it would like to acquire the independence of Puerto Rico."

In April 1980, he said, eleven people were arrested and charged with FALN activities. The New York FBI asked him to follow up on a "lead" from a phone bill allegedly found in the apartment of Elizam Escobar, one of the eleven.

Amaya said the "lead" was a phone number called from Escobar's home on March 18. The number was registered to an "O. Rodriguez" in Jersey City.

Amaya said his object in checking out "O. Rodriguez" was to apprehend Oscar Lopez-Rivera and William Morales, two "suspects" in the FALN case. "O. Rodriguez" could be an AKA, or alias, for Lopez, he claimed.

He described his first visit to Rodriguez's apartment building in May 1980.

Amaya's description of the visit made it appear like he had taken his life into his hands to make the trip. He interjected the words "weapons" and "explosives" as often as possible throughout the account.

Carlos Torres, portrayed in the media as the leader of the FALN, had lived "only two-and-a-half blocks" away from Rodriguez, he testified. Lopez-Rivera and Morales were "armed and dangerous," he went on.

"Since I was by myself," he ex-

plained, he decided not to go directly to Rodriguez's apartment, but to visit the superintendent first.

He also examined Reid's car, an old Volkswagen, looking for explosives. FALN members, he told the court, "have in the past used Volkswagens—often older models."

Amaya said he returned to Rodriguez's apartment six or seven times. He never found anyone home.

During all this time, he insisted, he did not know Reid and Rodriguez were in the SWP.

Finally, he said, Margaret Winter, the lead counsel in the SWP lawsuit, called him and arranged for him to interview Rodriguez. He cancelled out at the last minute, he said, because he had to go to Washington, D.C., unexpectedly.

Then, he testified, FBI legal counsel George Williams told him Willie Mae Reid had charged him with harassment in a sworn deposition. In July, he testified under cross-examination, he was "instructed" not to follow up on the investigation of Reid and Rodriguez.

Cross-examined by Winter, Amaya conceded he had no information that Elizam Escobar had called Rodriguez's apartment on March 18. Nor did he know who took the call at her apartment.

He admitted he had "no other information" that would link Reid or Rodriguez to the "fugitives."

Asked if he knew of any other tie between the SWP, YSA, and FALN, he answered, "No."

Winter asked if he intended to pursue an interview with Reid or Rodriguez.

Amaya reported with obvious satisfaction that Oscar Lopez-Rivera had just been arrested a few days before. He's being held in Chicago on \$2 million bond.

Amaya also said that having heard the testimony of Reid and Rodriguez, "an interview now would not help our case."

Following this, Winter moved to have Amaya's testimony stricken from the record. She told Judge Thomas Griesa it "has no relation to this case." She said the witness had clearly been called to "prejudice" the socialists' case by introducing the issues of the FALN and explosives.

Defense attorney Williams rose to say that Amaya was called to show that "in the course of everyday life, SWP and YSA members will bump up with the FBI."

Judge Griesa said, "We'll stipulate that the government is not seeking to argue an FALN connection. . . ."

"Other than what has been presented here," Williams interjected.

"Well, period," the judge replied.

"I couldn't possibly take this testimony to establish any connection of an SWP member with the FALN," he concluded. "That isn't a stipulation, that's a ruling."

"Amaya should have been removed as a witness," commented one of the young Puerto Rican women after it was over.

"Imagine if Olga Rodriguez had just been an average citizen with a Spanish name, with no organization to back her up. She could have been really framed."

Both women talked about the government's FALN scare campaign.

"It's terror tactics," said one. "No one has explained to me any proof the FALN is doing these bombings. The evidence is just phone calls."

"They're trying to get things to the point where if you say you're for Puerto Rican independence, boom!—you're a communist."

DAY
BY
DAY

WHAT HAPPENED IN COURT

DAY 34: THURSDAY, MAY 28

YSA National Organization Secretary Kathryn Crowder takes the stand. She explains the political perspectives and campaigns of the YSA.

Following Crowder, Seaside, California, socialist city council member Mel Mason testifies. Mason, a member of SWP, describes his activities on the council, including organizing support for striking workers, helping elderly residents win housing subsidies, and getting an affirmative action ordinance adopted.

DAY 35: FRIDAY, MAY 29

Mary-Alice Waters, SWP national co-chairperson, takes stand as final witness in socialists' direct case. Testifies about her activities in Europe beginning in 1968 in France. Explains evolution and resolution of differences in Fourth International from 1969 through late 1970s. Socialists introduce into evidence FBI document on SWP 'exploitation' of women's liberation movement. Copies were sent to officials in Nixon administration, many of whom were later jailed. Waters tells real stand of SWP on women's rights.

DAY 36: MONDAY, JUNE 1

Government opens its defense case, calling witnesses to stand. SWP leader Caroline Lund is questioned about activities of Fourth International.

SWP leaders Willie Mae Reid and Olga Rodriguez are asked if they ever got phone call from 'individual associated with FALN' in 1980. They say no. FBI agent Rene Amaya says he investigated the apartment of Reid and Rodriguez, looking for FALN 'suspects.' Judge Griesa rules testimony establishes no connection of SWP with FALN.

Marilyn Vogt and Richard Congress are asked about expulsion of FBI informer from Bloomington, Indiana, YSA chapter in 1969.

Anthony Greenwood of FBI testifies about preparation of membership statistics on SWP and YSA. Admits FBI had wiretap on SWP national office in 1960s.

DAY 37: TUESDAY, JUNE 2

Frederick Phillips, retired investigator for Defense Investigative Service, testifies about questioning Mohammed Oliver, a plaintiff in socialist suit, in relation to a security clearance.

Gary Greenhalgh of Federal Election Commission testifies about role of agency. Government lawyer Peter Salerno reads into record SWP presidential vote totals from 1948 to 1980.

Herbert Brownell, attorney general under Eisenhower, explains how authority for SWP 'investigation' comes from president.

DAY 38: WEDNESDAY, JUNE 3

Robert Keuch, top Justice Department official, returns to stand, called to testify about court decisions on electronic surveillance. Under questioning by SWP attorney he admits he was at meetings that led to preparing false statements to judge on FBI burglaries of SWP.

"It's just to get away from the real issue of independence," said the other. "It's the same thing they do on El Salvador."

"This is really a political shock when you actually see these FBI agents. We need to bring the masses here to watch this."

Iranian socialist gets month extension on deportation hearing

An initial victory has been won in the fight to block the deportation of Iranian socialist Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh. Her deportation hearing, originally scheduled for June 9, has been postponed until July 7.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service went after Hariri-Vijeh right after she joined the Young Socialist Alliance. In response, many supporters of democratic rights have signed protests against the INS deportation move, including Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.); Tony Benn, Labour Party member of British Parliament; Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee chairperson

Michael Harrington; and Camille Bell, Atlanta mother of slain Yusef Bell.

The recent convention of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression passed a resolution backing her case.

Protests are urgently needed as the July 7 date approaches. Send telegrams and petitions demanding a halt to deportation proceedings and renewal of Hariri-Vijeh's student visa to: Commissioner, INS, Washington, D.C. 20536.

Send copies to: Political Rights Defense Fund, 2913 Greenmount Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland 21218.

Gov't forced to withdraw 'secret affidavit'

By Nelson Blackstock

NEW YORK—The government has withdrawn its secret affidavit as evidence in the trial of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying and harassment.

The secret affidavit is alleged to contain evidence of illegal acts committed by the socialists. The government claims it must be kept secret because to reveal its contents would endanger "national security" by exposing "sources."

Word of the government action came in a May 25 ruling by Judge Thomas Griesa on the disposition of the secret affidavit.

This marks a setback for the government, which had counted heavily on the use of the secret affidavit. It has been a central aspect of the trial since it opened here April 2.

Griesa says he will make no ruling on the charges in the secret affidavit, which will not be considered as evidence in this trial nor in any appeals court.

'National security'

The government reserves the option of later moving to set aside all or part of the judge's final decision in the case on grounds that they were unable to defend themselves because "national security" barred them from putting forward their "strongest evidence," the secret affidavit.

The government decision means that they have been forced to shift to weaker ground. They are now reduced to reserving a last line of defense that will not prove popular in public opinion.

This latest government action flows out of the way the trial has developed these past nine weeks. As the socialists presented their case, which they wrapped up on May 29, the credibility of the secret affidavit—the content of which is known only to government lawyers and the judge—was steadily undermined.

'Evidence' of crimes

The secret affidavit was first introduced in the case in January, right before the trial was originally set to open.

Up to last fall, the government had counted on avoiding a trial through an out-of-court settlement. Once a trial became inevitable, they shifted their tactics.

During almost forty years of spying, the government had not turned up evidence of one illegal act. Many, seeing no point in an "investigation" that never comes up with evidence of illegal acts, agreed with the socialist demand that it be stopped for good.

That's where the secret affidavit came in.

It was submitted by the FBI along with a public affidavit. Both purported to provide evidence of crimes by leaders of the SWP.

It was a last bid to demonstrate that the socialists had broken the law. The government knew that if they could pull this maneuver off it would vastly strengthen their case.

They were trying to derail the trial from confronting the issue of whether the government can maintain a permanent "investigation" that never comes up with evidence of crime.

'Completely useless'

The judge had only to read the public affidavit to label it "completely useless," rejecting the claim that it contained any evidence of crimes.

But the government still counted on the secret affidavit to prejudice the court proceedings. They calculated that the charges in the affidavit would be unanswerable, since the socialists couldn't be allowed to know what they were.

Initially, Judge Griesa was not going to look at the secret affidavit. "The government can't make any case by providing it in camera [privately] to me," he said. "I'm not going to receive it."



Defense attorney Edward Williams, left, and plaintiffs' attorney Margaret Winter, right.

Convinced that the secret affidavit was a fraud, the socialists made it clear that they stood ready to disprove any and all charges in the affidavit. This was a continuation of the fight they had waged since filing the suit in 1973. All the crimes in this case have been committed by the government.

Taking on the affidavit

The first thing they did was to urge the judge to change his mind and read the affidavit. This he did during the first week of the trial.

Then they called FBI agent Charles Mandigo to the stand. He testified he had prepared both a public affidavit and the secret one at the same time, and with the same "thorough and careful" methods.

In the trial, the plaintiffs were able to get at the secret affidavit indirectly by demolishing the public Mandigo affidavit. Witness George Breitman, a veteran SWP leader, took it apart line by line. It was riddled with lies and errors.

During the course of the trial, possible hints as to the contents of the affidavit came out. When SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes was on the stand, government attorney Edward Williams asked if he "headed up an International Operational Center of the Fourth International in Paris from 1972 to the start of 1973?" The implication was that this secret "Operational Center" coordinated some sort of "terrorist" activities.

Despite denials that any such thing ever existed, Williams continued to ask about it. He claimed, "There are many documents which have been produced to us by the plaintiffs from their own files which refer to the Operational Center of the Fourth International . . . those very words are used."

The plaintiffs continued to press the government on this. All Williams could finally come up with was a reference to

the "operating expenses" of the Fourth International center.

No secret center

On May 18, Judge Griesa announced, "I think you can assume that there are no documents in the public record that talk about the operational center and that Mr. Williams's statement was incorrect. He hasn't come forward with anything, so he was wrong."

On top of this—and probably most importantly—the socialists have established their honesty and integrity in court by forthrightly answering any questions asked. They've made it clear they have nothing to hide.

They have spoken frankly and in great detail about their revolutionary Marxist outlook, party organization and history, political solidarity with the Fourth International, and other issues.

The combined impact has eroded the credibility of the secret affidavit. Judge Griesa indicated this June 2 when he stated:

"I think . . . there has been so much evidence in the case on so many issues. There is a wealth of material on the record, on the public record, in my view to dispose of the issues in the case . . . and there's no psychological problem in my limiting myself to the evidence in the record." That is, whatever is in the secret affidavit will not influence his decision.

In fact, during the weeks of the socialists' direct case, the real issues have come to the fore, and the government's line of defense has been forced out.

Extraordinary powers

If the government does eventually ask that a ruling be thrown out because they can't use the secret affidavit for "national security" reasons, that will pose in a dramatic way issues that have already emerged at the heart of the case.

The government is claiming extraor-

dinary powers—beyond any pretext of democracy or fair play—to "investigate" you.

This came out in its sharpest, most authoritative form to date in the testimony of top Justice Department official Robert Keuch. He asserted that the president—and by extension anybody he designates—has virtually dictatorial powers to do anything he wants in the name of "national security." This power, Keuch asserted, stems directly from the Constitution.

Now the government says that if things don't turn out the way they like in a ruling, they can rely on similar totalitarian claims to get rid of the socialist legal challenge altogether.

The government has reserved the right to claim on appeal that it was unable to put up an effective defense without presenting the secret affidavit. And why couldn't they do so? Because they themselves decided to withhold this so-called evidence on grounds of "national security."

The injustice and absurdity staggers the imagination.

Government immune

The government would be, in effect, asking to be immune to challenge by citizens through the courts. They would be arguing that they can do anything they want and there's nothing you can do to stop them if they plead "national security." There's no due process, no way to get an injunction to force them to stop, no way to get damages.

Of course, if the government were to be allowed to get away with this, the rights of more than socialists would be in danger.

Millions of trade unionists, Black activists, and others would be open to attack along these same lines.

This brings home once again the importance of this case to the democratic rights of millions.

FBI spy frames NASSCO unionists

By Michael Boys

SAN DIEGO—On June 2 closing arguments began in the trial of three unionists who are charged with plotting to blow up the main power transformer at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (NASSCO), the largest shipyard on the West Coast.

These workers are victims of an outrageous frame-up—part of a campaign by NASSCO to get rid of the leadership of Ironworkers Local 627, which represents about half of the yard's 6,000 workers.

The trial of David Boyd, Rodney Johnson, and Mark Loo—who face up to forty years in prison—lasted five weeks. The government's key witness was Ramon Barton, a company spy who collected more than \$5,000 from the FBI and police for his role as an agent provocateur at NASSCO.

Boyd, Loo, and Johnson were among twenty-seven workers, including seventeen union officials, who were fired last August for leading a walkout.

Their arrests, on September 16, came just two weeks after the deaths of two workers in the hold of the destroyer tender Cape Cod.

Safety issue

Safety at NASSCO has been an issue for several years. After five on-the-job deaths between 1976 and 1977, a new militant leadership was swept into office in Local 627.

Some gains in improving shipyard safety were made. During 1978 more than 1,500 grievances were filed by the union. The contract ratified in 1978 gave workers expanded rights to refuse to work in unsafe situations. The number of disabling injuries dropped; there were no more on-the-job deaths until those last September.

NASSCO—like all companies—puts production schedules and making mon-

rally at a ship launching in protest.

NASSCO officials labeled the protest "a disgusting, disgraceful, and unpatriotic display," and began to fire union leaders.

The workers responded with a four-day wildcat strike.

At this point, trial testimony shows, the company stepped up its spying and harassment of union members. At the center of the company's campaign was the use of agent provocateur Ramon Barton.

'Target is militant labor'

Leonard Weinglass, the attorney representing Loo, described the frame-up this way:

"Shortly after the August protests, an FBI informant who had infiltrated the union and had previously distinguished himself by spray painting profanities on company walls and threatening management personnel, began pushing for a bombing of the facility.

"And although no bombing occurred and the only destructive devices found were discovered in the van of the agent, the federal prosecutors now claim their agent succeeded in bringing the NASSCO Three within the ambit of their own government-concocted conspiracy.

"This tawdry piece of business is sadly reminiscent of the old conspiracy prosecutions launched against the antiwar and civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s. This time the target is militant labor."

Johnson and Loo are members of the Communist Workers Party. Boyd is a CWP supporter. NASSCO and government officials obviously hoped that anticommunist attitudes could be whipped up against the union leadership.

This ploy didn't work, however. Leaders of the safety protests won recent elections in Local 627. Miguel Salas, twenty-six, who was elected business agent, was among those fired in August.

A former organizer for the United Farm Workers, Salas has helped organize demonstrations on behalf of the three victimized workers.

International union officials intervened to put Local 627 into receivership soon after these elections.

The trial against the three began in San Diego on April 28 before U.S. District Court Judge Edward Schwartz.

U.S. Attorney Michael Lipman, who presented the government's case, described Barton as a man concerned about safety in the shipyard who decided to provide information to the police and the FBI "as a concerned citizen."

Tapes altered

The government introduced thirty hours of taped conversations Barton held with NASSCO workers. Barton wore a transmitter taped to his calf inside his left cowboy boot. Barton's van was outfitted by the FBI with another tape recorder.

The accuracy of these tapes was a point of controversy in the trial. The tape of a September 12 meeting, when Loo, Boyd, and Johnson tried to talk Barton out of his wild scheme, has—in the Watergate tradition—mysterious gaps.

George Papcun, a Los Angeles researcher who specializes in acoustic sound, told the court of "evidence that there was a strong probability that specific tape had been tampered with, altered, or otherwise modified, and not accidentally."

In all the taped conversations Barton instigates the idea of bombing NASSCO facilities. At one point he tells the three workers, "We just have to convince ourselves that this is the thing to do." Barton admitted denounc-



"Barton started stomping around . . . (saying) 'If you guys are going to punk out on this, I guess I'll have to do something myself'"

—Framed unionist David Boyd

ing Loo and Johnson as "sellouts" when Boyd told him that the three were not interested.

On April 30 Barton—who now works at Avondale, a nonunion shipyard in New Orleans—took the witness stand.

Barton was on the stand five days. Among other things, he admitted that:

- He was paid \$5,100 by the FBI and San Diego Police Department while working as a company spy for NASSCO.

- He told NASSCO labor representatives about union strategy when the union was fighting the dismissal of the twenty-seven workers in August.

- Barton told workers at NASSCO that a fire extinguisher wrapped in a gasoline-soaked towel makes a good incendiary device.

- Barton went to several newspapers with the phony story that Miguel Salas was a CWP member. He admitted that he thought if workers thought Salas was a communist he might get "wedged." Wedging, Barton said, refers to the deliberate dropping of heavy metals or equipment on top of someone.

'I'll say anything'

When Weinglass pointed to the numerous fabrications and contradictions in Barton's testimony to the jury, Barton volunteered, "When I'm playing a role, I'll say anything."

Weinglass responded, "I'm very tempted to rest my defense on that, but I won't."

FBI agent Richard Schneider testified May 15 that the San Diego office of the FBI began an investigation of the CWP at NASSCO in late 1979, shortly after five CWP members were gunned down by members of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi Party in Greensboro, North Carolina.

On May 14 NASSCO labor relations officer Dan Stravinski admitted that Barton told him in advance about union strategy for arbitration hearings.

Stravinski also testified that he taped workers' conversations during a shipyard rally and took photos of union members during the August strike.

400 photos

In an interview with the *Militant*, union business agent Salas said company files turned over in the case reveal extensive surveillance of union members. More than 400 photos taken

by NASSCO security officers were turned over.

Union vice-president Frank Holowach added in the interview that photos of *Militant* salespeople were in the files. "Unidentified CWP" was written on the back of the photos.

Other witnesses at the trial filled in even more details about Barton's role as an agent provocateur at NASSCO.

Gwen Ferguson, a NASSCO ironworker who was elected president of the union December 6, testified that Barton suggested attaching propane tanks to the exhaust pipes of two NASSCO officials' cars.

Ron Graham, a former NASSCO worker, said that Barton told him September 6 (the first day Barton admits to being wired for sound) that Graham ought to use his "expertise" as a former Green Beret in Vietnam on some of the NASSCO officials.

'It's unjust'

David Boyd took the stand on May 19. Boyd said he went to work at NASSCO in July 1978 and became active in Ironworkers Local 627 after becoming convinced that NASSCO "was doing little or nothing to promote safe working conditions in the shipyard."

Boyd and Loo were among those who pulled thirty workers off of the destroyer Cape Cod last June after they were overcome by fumes. It was the same site where two workers died in September.

Boyd told the jury that Kenneth King, one of those who died, "was the same guy we had pulled out of the hold a couple of months earlier—from the same place as before."

Boyd described the anger among NASSCO workers over the deaths. This was the atmosphere, he said, in which Barton peddled his ideas about bombings.

Eugene Iredale, the attorney for Boyd, told the jury the three defendants were entrapped by Barton, who "took advantage of what were intolerable safety conditions at NASSCO, exemplified by the asphyxiation deaths of Kenneth King and Michael Beebe, to prey on their deep concerns for the safety and welfare of their fellow workers."

"Seven men died in the last five years at NASSCO, and no one was prosecuted," said Iredale. "Now these three men are being prosecuted for their beliefs. It's unjust."



"When I'm playing a role I'll say anything"

—FBI agent provocateur Ramon Barton

ey ahead of safety. Early last year the company began a campaign to bust the union and get rid of its leadership.

In January 1980 NASSCO hired the law firm of Littler, Mendelsson, Fastiff and Tichy—the number-two union-busting law firm in the country, according to the AFL-CIO publication *Federationist*.

Routine grievances became met roadblocks. The most militant shop stewards began to get punitive work assignments and transfers.

When a well-known shop steward was fired last July, 200 workers held a

Some fundraising tips

\$125,000 is a lot of money to raise. But the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) needs at least that much to meet legal and other costs in the socialists' suit against the government.

The experience in four cities shows the funds are out there if you ask for them.

Take Albuquerque, New Mexico. The PRDF there sent out a letter to individuals and organizations in late May asking for contributions. They've already received \$150 back, without making any follow-up calls yet. Six or seven people sent in cards endorsing the lawsuit at the same time.

Or Dallas, Texas. Dr. Benjamin Spock sent a letter recently to the Dallas PRDF commending the suit. Noting how important the case is as a challenge to government spying, Spock added, "Now Reagan threatens to escalate the harassment and pass laws to make it legal. Now's the time for citizens to defend the Political Rights Defense Fund with contributions, write, there is still time."

There certainly is. In Los Angeles, a special benefit showing of *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, Howard Petrick's film on McCarthy victim James Kutcher, will take place at the Screen

Writers Guild screening room on July 16. Leading up to this fundraiser, PRDF is holding a cocktail party June 13.

Regular phone calls to supporters of democratic rights in the Los Angeles area have already netted over \$300. The special button designed by Jules Feiffer is going well too.

In New York City, a letter urging people to attend the big June 6 rally there and contribute funds has been signed by a broad array of movement activists, including Afeni Shakur, Black Panther Twenty-One defendant; John Trinkl, *Guardian*; Jules Feiffer, cartoonist; Muntu Matsimela, National Black Human Rights Coalition; Ken Caldeira, New York Mobilization for Survival; and William Kunstler, Center for Constitutional Rights.

Donations are coming in to the New York PRDF office from many sources. One supporter sent in a check after receiving a leaflet with a coupon on the bottom. The "memo" line on the check was marked "Freedom."

Thus far, \$58,824 has been received in the PRDF national office. An additional \$24,500 has been pledged. That means over \$40,000 must be raised in the next few weeks.

Witch-hunt victim, unionists, civil libertarians at L.A. rally

By Rebecca Finch

LOS ANGELES—"This is really a celebration in many ways. It's a celebration of an eight-year struggle to bring the government to court."

"And what we have done in the past month is we have all gone to court. We have gone to trial. We have all gone to trial."

"Because when the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance walked into that courtroom, every progressive organization and individual in the United States walked into that courtroom with them."

That was how Linda Valentino, the chapter director of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union, opened up the May 16 rally sponsored here by the Political Rights Defense Fund in support of the socialist lawsuit against government spying and harassment.

The program began with a song for Bobby Sands and Frankie Hughes that was sung by Kirk Olson, a member of Irish Northern Aid. And it ended with songs of the Nicaraguan revolution by El Grupo Monimbo.

One-hundred and eighty people attended the rally. Trade unionists; activists from the Labor Committee on Safe Energy; militants from the Irish struggle; members of left, liberal, and civil libertarian groups.

They all came together in one of the broadest outpourings of support for a battle for political rights that has been seen in Los Angeles in a long time.

Robert Lees was a screenwriter who was blacklisted during the McCarthy era because he was part of the group that went to Washington to support the Hollywood Ten when they appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

"We are threatened today by the evident return of McCarthyism in the guise of 'terrorism,'" he said.

"It is most heartening, therefore, to find that at last we are not going to wait to become victims again, and try to defend ourselves after the fact."

But rather we are taking the offensive against the victimizers and let them try for once to defend their own un-American activities."

"At critical points in our history, symbols emerge that become lightning rods of resistance," said Tom Ono, a lawyer for the NASSCO Three.

"The Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the U.S. government is one such symbol."

The NASSCO Three are fighting a vicious government frame-up in San Diego that involved the use of an FBI provocateur in the union. (See page 15.)

Raoul Teitel, president of the California Federation of Teachers, explained his view of what the socialist suit meant to trade unionists.

"The trade union movement has been a target of the state since its origin," he said.

"The police, the courts, the military, the legislative and executive branches, the judiciary have worked against us at all times."

"So it's very proper for a trade unionist to be involved in supporting the Socialist Workers Party suit against the United States government."

Sean Kennedy, from Irish Northern Aid, told the rally, "Our struggle and yours have a lot in common."

Other speakers included Bernie Sapiro, president, Printing Specialties Union; Michael Balter, Citizens Commission Against Police Repression; Marc Cooper, news director of KPFK radio; Walter Miller, general manager, Service Employees International Union Local 434; Ramon Diaz, Casa Nicaragua; and Bob Duren of the Black Panther Party.

Greetings were read to the rally from Frank Wilkinson, director emeritus, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation; Rev. Stephen Fritchman, First Unitarian Church; Dorothy Healey, Socialist Party; New American Movement; SEIU Local 535; Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; and others.

Over \$3,000 in pledges and contributions was raised.



This button, designed by Jules Feiffer, is free with donation of \$10 or more to PRDF.

- ☐ Enclosed is \$ _____ to help defray legal and publicity costs of socialist suit.
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- ☐ Add my name to list of sponsors of Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit.

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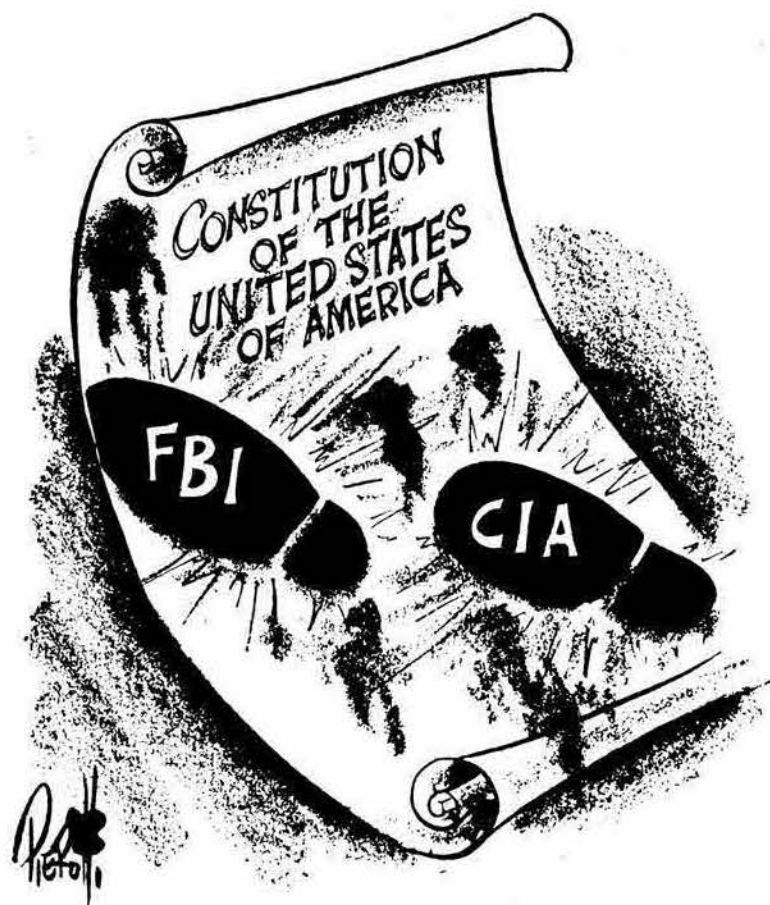
Send to Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

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.

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



DSOC convention okays NAM merger

By Nelson González

PHILADELPHIA—The fifth national convention of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) was held here May 22-25.

The opening session of the convention featured such guests as David Livingston, president of District Council 65—United Auto Workers; and Bernt Carlsson, general secretary of the Second International.

Over 600 people attended a Friday night public rally that featured Michael Harrington, DSOC national chair; Tony Benn, leader of the British Labour Party's left wing; Marjorie Phye, an international representative of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) Non-Partisan League; and others.

Salvadorans hailed

Two representatives of the National Revolutionary Movement, DSOC's sister party in El Salvador, and a member of the Revolutionary Democratic Front, which is fighting the junta, were introduced to the rally. The audience broke into a sustained spontaneous ovation, the longest of the evening. Guillermo Ungo, the most prominent leader of the MNR, is the president of the Revolutionary Democratic Front.

Greetings from newly elected French president François Mitterrand were also enthusiastically received.

A closing session was addressed by IAM president William Winpisinger.

As many as 500 people participated in the workshops, caucuses, and plenary sessions. Many were college-age youth. Many of these were women who played an active role.

The delegates approved a proposal for fusion with the New American Movement. This proposal sparked a debate. The Committee Against the NAM Merger, a caucus opposing fusion, included such figures as Martin Gerber, vice-president of the United Auto Workers; Jacob Sheinkman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; Sol Stetin, vice-president of the ACTWU; literary critic Irving Howe; and Jules Bernstein, an attorney with links to the building trades' unions.

They represented some of the more conservative forces in DSOC.

The strongest supporters of fusion were the Left Caucus, formed at the convention for the primary purpose of winning support for the merger and getting DSOC to adopt more radical positions.

The unity document presented culminated two years of negotiations.

DSOC views affirmed

The document confirmed the basic positions held by DSOC, while making some concessions to those NAM members who advocate more radical views.

"In the present period," it declared, "the social forces we seek to work with find their electoral expression primarily within the left wing of the Democratic Party. It is for this reason that our national electoral strategy consists of working with and strengthening this left wing, creating a socialist presence

in this arena."

Then it added, "If and when these social forces take on other serious electoral expressions—in nonpartisan campaigns or third parties—we would support those efforts as well."

It declared, "We support the right of self-determination expressed in the Jewish state of Israel." And then added, "and the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people."

"We oppose the claim of communist countries to be socialist," it declared, condemning Soviet threats to Poland and intervention in Afghanistan.

The left caucus argued that agreement on these points made possible a strong, unified, multi-tendency organization. The Committee Against the NAM Merger represented about twenty percent of the delegates. They argued that the merger would only result in unceasing internal factionalism.

They were less concerned with the unity document itself than with the more radical positions that many NAM members are identified with. They accused NAM of insistence that "the new organization abandon DSOC's founding principle of working within the Democratic Party . . . that the new organization have an 'anti-imperialist perspective . . . (which) must focus on opposition to U.S. militarism and all forms of U.S. domination abroad.'"

They denounced NAM for "pro-PLO" positions and "infatuation with third-world dictatorships."

While speaking in favor of merger, National Chairman Michael Harrington proposed several amendments to the unity resolution intended to meet the objections of the opponents of fusion. These were overwhelmingly voted down.

The merger proposal carried by a four-to-one majority.

A threatened walkout by the Committee Against the NAM Merger was averted when the majority of delegates approved a separate resolution reaffirming DSOC's support to Israel and its orientation to the Democratic Party.

It was reported to the convention that DSOC now has 5,000 members in fifty chapters. Its youth affiliate is said to have 1,500 members on forty campuses. The proposed merger, still to be approved by the July 29-August 7 NAM convention in Milwaukee, would add an estimated 1,300 NAM members to the total.

Resolutions adopted at the convention called for DSOC to focus on fighting the Reagan budget.

Stepped-up participation in the movement against U.S. intervention in El Salvador was also projected. "We are, as Americans, particularly committed to fight against our country's attempt to dominate Central and South America," stated the political resolution.

Resolutions on the unions called on the leadership to organize a "socialist trade unionists conference." One resolution suggested that DSOC needed to begin recruiting rank-and-file workers: "Now is the time for socialists to work with the labor movement at all levels—from the top to the bottom. . . ."



Michael Harrington



Tony Benn

National Picket Line



OCAW women's conferences planned

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union has announced plans for three area conferences to discuss the needs and concerns of its women members. The conferences—the first ever to be organized by the international union—will be held in June.

Dates and locations are:

- June 8 Oakland, California
(Oakland Airport Hilton,
1 Hegenberger, Oakland)
- June 15 Cleveland, Ohio
(Sheraton Hopkins Airport Hotel,
5300 Riverside Drive, Cleveland)
- June 22 Denver, Colorado
(Plaza Cosmopolitan,
1780 Broadway, Denver)

In the May issue of OCAW's *Union News*, union president Robert Goss urges "every OCAW local with women members to send a woman delegate to one of these meetings."

The conferences are open to all members of OCAW. For more information phone (303) 893-0811.

Garment union blasts gov't attack

At a May 19 congressional subcommittee hearing, Ladies' Garment Workers President Sol Chaikin blasted government plans to drop restrictions on industrial garment work in the home.

The restrictions were passed forty years ago to protect the wages and working conditions of hundreds of thousands of garment workers, the overwhelming majority of whom are women.

"Homework is a simple way to violate the law without fear of punishment," Chaikin said at the hearing. "No minimum wage, no overtime, no limit on hours, no health and safety measures, no taxes."

"When laws were passed prohibiting industrial employment of children below a certain age, employers shifted to homework."

"Various states passed factory laws, especially after the gruesome Triangle Fire in our industry. The object was to reduce the danger of fire and unsanitary conditions. To evade those laws, employers turned to homework."

Chaikin said the restrictions were needed now more than ever because the "large component of the homework force consists of undocumented workers" who could "be threatened with being reported to the Immigration and Naturalization Service and face probable deportation."

The Labor Department's plan was also panned in a *New York Times* editorial and by industry spokesmen who would face competition from the growth of homework.

The June 1 *Wall Street Journal* reports the Labor Department is reconsidering its proposal.



"But the President has been real nice about it. He cut their Social Security benefits, but he's encouraging them to work past 65... G'nicht Gran'ma."

English auto workers win 15-day strike

Auto workers in England told Ford Motor Company what to do with its new disciplinary code.

Last November, the company imposed a rule that any worker who walks off the job without going through the full grievance procedure—for whatever reason—may be suspended.

In May, Ford cranked up production at its Halewood plant, where the Escort is built, from fifty-five to sixty-two cars an hour. Four workers who walked off the line in protest were suspended.

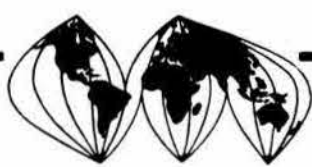
News of the suspensions quickly spread through the plant. Within five days a strike by 10,000 auto workers had shut down Halewood and another Ford plant in Dagenham.

On May 25, on the strike's fifteenth day, Ford threw in the towel and agreed to withdraw the code. The strike is estimated to have cost the company \$134 million.

Workers returned to their jobs May 26.

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.

—Vivian Sahner



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Interview with Jacek Kuron

Poland: 'What is going on is revolution'

The following interview with Jacek Kuron, a prominent figure in Poland's Solidarity movement, was obtained in Warsaw on May 2 by George Saunders and DeAnn Rathbun.

Question. Could you give your assessment of the present situation in Poland.

Answer. The situation is very complicated. I think it should be put as follows:

The best word for what is going on—with all due reservations—would be a revolution. The term must be used with reservations, because it is only an analogy, and analogies never apply completely.

I call it a revolution because, practically speaking, it is a movement involving all of Polish society, which is trying to change its life as a whole. I would say it is based on a revolution in people's moral outlook. People have decided that it is impossible to go on living as they used to. There is a general conviction that the way of life we were forced into was opposed to all basic human values, and the attempt to change our way of life in every aspect stems from that general conviction. This change of outlook, which I call a moral revolution, affects all human relationships—social, political, and all others.

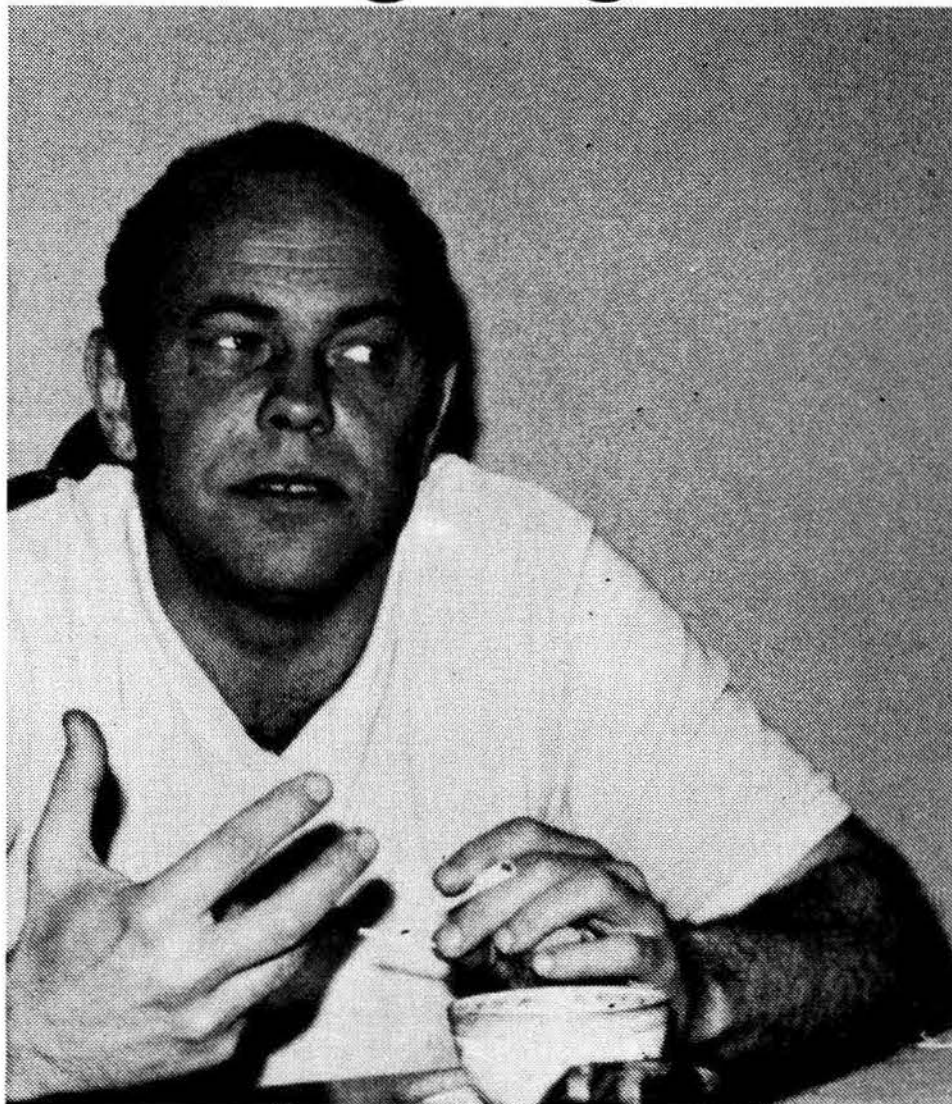
This movement obviously is embodied first of all in the independent trade union Solidarity, but also in Rural Solidarity, the Independent Students' Union, etc. These are the organizational forms of the movement. This movement is found in every possible sphere of life—in factory relationships, in the area of workers self-management, in parliament, in town councils, in culture and education, schools, theater, literature, the system of orphanages—every sphere of life. And that is why I call it a revolution. And this change is occurring very rapidly.

The old order has practically ceased to exist. We have to create a new order. That is the first, approximate answer to your question.

And now we have to consider the complexities of the situation. I think that the basic thing that complicates the situation is the fact of Soviet domination of Poland. There is a general awareness of the fact that one day the tanks may appear, and then the Polish war would start, which would be a tragedy for our nation. This has to be avoided. At the same time, this revolution cannot be stopped, because nobody could ever stop a revolution.

I wrote an article on whether there would be a Soviet intervention, in which I had an idea on what has to be done in connection with this. The article was circulated widely, and we are still considering the same question. Now I would like to clarify this. The premises for this concept—and I think of it as my former concept—of how to avoid intervention are as follows. The Soviet Union requires a political guarantee of its military domination over Poland. That is the necessary minimum, from their point of view.

I thought the statement in the Gdansk agreement which acknowledged the leading role of the party would be this necessary guarantee. It had to be connected with a strict definition of what the political leading role of the party meant. I formulated this as follows: The party would have exclusive authority over the army, over foreign policy, and over the police, particularly the political police. However, this did



JACEK KURON

Militant/DeAnn Rathbun

not mean authority above the law. Independent courts, and courts controlling the police, had to be guaranteed.

Also, the party and the central administration, that is, the executive authority, would have to follow a line in accordance with the wishes of society. I thought that within this framework we could build our democracy up from the lowest levels of society, with the stress on social control over the means of production.

This entire program has fallen to pieces, because a revolution has started in the party. Because this whole line of thinking was based on the assumption of the Soviet Union's trust in the party. And in the present situation I am afraid this trust is no longer possible.

Because of the external danger, the revolution has to be self-limited. At the beginning nobody knew whether the self-limitation of the revolution was possible. Generally speaking, revolutions are not able to limit themselves. However, in my opinion, it was within our power. I think perhaps we could have done it. The self-limitation of the revolution might have been possible. But now we don't know the answer to the basic question of how to do that.

This revolution has reached the party and now it is proceeding inside the party. And I don't know yet what should be done in this situation. I think there are many different ideas, but it is too early to talk about them. And that is the answer to your question about the general situation in Poland.

Q. We heard on Polish television a couple of nights ago that the government had agreed to let Solidarity have time on television. Is that true?

A. Yes. But it is not that the govern-

ment agreed to it, but that Solidarity demanded it.

Q. You mean the demand has not been agreed to by the government?

A. Full agreement has not been achieved yet. The argument is still going on. The problem is who is going to control this television program. They say that television belongs to the state and that they will decide what the final shape of this program is to be. But Solidarity says no, the government can have formal control, but Solidarity must have essential control, over the content.

But I think this is a matter of no importance, because in fact there is a fight going on for control over all of television, not just part of it, and this fight is going on throughout the society, and within the institutions of the television system itself. You have to realize that most of the television staff are members of Solidarity. And in fact this is a pressure on the television system as a whole and they won't be able to withstand it.

I think that in connection with your question you have to realize that in practice Solidarity is able to achieve anything it wants. But the question becomes, what is it possible for Solidarity to demand? The fact that we are not achieving everything we demand is because we realize that we cannot push them to the wall. When I say "we" I mean a trade union composed of twelve million members, in which different people have different points of view. And so this is a point of argument within Solidarity, that is, how far to push each demand.

Role of KOR

Q. What is the role of the KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense] in Solidarity, or the relation between the KOR and So-

lidarity?

A. In my opinion, the KOR should have been dissolved at the beginning of last September, because the KOR had served its purpose. In practice, the movement as a whole is doing what the KOR did previously. In fact the entire KOR movement is inside Solidarity.

But it is hardly possible for the KOR as an organization to be dissolved because of the natural conservatism of such an organization. In fact it continues to exist without any separate field of activity. The KOR has never been a political party. And it cannot be, because according to its program, it was organized as a body that would be above politics.

At this moment the need is not to have political parties, but political trends or clubs or something like that. And the KOR is not able to fulfill this need. This is something that is causing divisions in the KOR.

Q. Did members of the KOR play any special role during the August strikes?

A. First, from the beginnings of the strikes in July we organized an informational center that gathered all possible news about the strikes and made it public. Not only in August, but even in July, if a strike was declared somewhere in the country, people immediately got information about it and about all the previous strikes and demands. Issues of *Robotnik* were published containing "strike calendars" [chronologies of events in the strikes] and the demands of the strikers in each factory.

This was of great importance. In the previous moments [in 1970 and 1976] there were demonstrations, the burning of party buildings, blocking of railroad tracks, etc. Among other things, these were attempts to achieve publicity, to communicate. Workers were not able to simply occupy their factories because then the rest of the population would not know what was going on. Thanks to our efforts, everybody knew about every strike and every other activity. And this was a very important condition, allowing strikers to remain in their factories.

It should be added that during the preceding four years, the KOR had sought to convince people of a central idea which could be expressed this way: "Don't set fire to party committees; organize your own committees." This idea became very widespread in our society, in addition to the fact that the information the KOR provided was very good.

Because of this we were invited by strike committees and asked to advise them and help them, which we did. According to our knowledge about the strikes, our strike experience, we issued nationwide demands three times. In fact, the main strikes, of greatest importance, such as Ursus, Lublin, and Gdansk, were led by people connected with the KOR.

Q. Through Robotnik?

A. Yes, but also through Bogdan Borusewicz, a KOR member who was an observer on the Gdansk strike committee. He was delegated from the KOR to the Gdansk region. After we were isolated [by repeated 48-hour arrests] other people were delegated from the KOR information center to organize an information center at the shipyard.

In addition to Borusewicz there were three other KOR members in the Gdansk shipyard, [Ewa Milewicz, Mi-

ruslaw Chojewski, and Konrad Bielinski]—all from our editorial committee—and they put out the newspaper *Solidarnosc*.

Q. Has there been any new KOR statement of principles since August?

A. No, but recently a set of theses has been presented for discussion in *Solidarity*, a draft program being considered for adoption by *Solidarity* [published in issue No. 3 of the weekly *Solidarnosc*]. This is a document of fundamental importance.

This is a text I identify with completely. It is a program for the democratization of the country. It was very sharply attacked by the party authorities in the country and abroad.

'Antisocialist'?

Q. What answer do you give to those who accuse you and others in *Solidarity* of being antisocialist elements?

A. I was asked the same question yesterday by a journalist from *Czas* [Time], an official, party-oriented weekly published in Gdansk. I don't know if the interview will be published. My answer was that if what we have been living under for the last thirty-six years is socialism, I am antisocialist.

Q. What is the role of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], whose leaders are now under arrest?

A. That is the only role this group has played. For all practical purposes they did not exist before they were arrested. Since the leaders were jailed and there was a need to fight for their release they suddenly started to exist [as a factor of political importance]. And I cannot predict what the situation will be after they are released. They are exceptionally unskilled politically, and they may not be

able to make use of the political capital that has accumulated as a result of their arrest.

At the same time I think there is a need in part of Polish society for this kind of nationalistic current. That is the source of their support. In fact the conservative wing in the party wants to make use of the same moods, because they have brought into being the Grunwald organization, whose members call themselves "national Communists." So this is the same as national socialism, but worse.

Q. Is this the anti-Semitic, pro-Soviet organization we have heard about?

A. Yes.

Q. And what role do they play?

A. Within the apparatus of the totalitarian movement [i.e., the official party] fascism is being born spontaneously. But it has no chance of success within society among other things because these are indeed national Communists, but no one can tell of which nation.

Q. There was a joint international appeal by the KOR and Charter 77 in 1978 calling for all dissident groups in Eastern Europe and the Soviet republics to work together for democratization in this part of the world.

A. Yes. There are undoubtedly ideological and situational bonds between our movement and these nations.

Western press doing harm

Q. The Polish movement has evoked sympathy and support all over the world—among the people. I don't mean the governments. How in your opinion can people in other countries best help *Solidarity*?

A. My personal opinion is that what is going on in Poland now is of fundamental significance for the whole world. I think that the solidarity of people is perhaps the most important. And I'm ashamed, because it is really a very important matter, that I can't say very much about it. I think that people should know as much as possible about us, everything about us. They should understand us.

This is especially important because I have a feeling that the Western press is doing us harm. It presents our situation as though it is within our power to stop the movement and as though it is unreasonable of us to continue. It is as though the Western press is justifying an intervention that has not happened yet.

The main point is that we cannot stop because the old order has collapsed and we have to build a new order. It is impossible for a society of thirty-five million people to live without a social order, without institutions of social life.

There is a need for all people in Western countries to understand that the Soviet Union is very dependent on Western governments, and in this connection, pressure by the peoples on their governments in defense of us is very important. Western governments would be able to stop Soviet intervention by their joint efforts. I want to stress that I am not calling on them to declare war.

That is all I can say on this question. Much more might be said, but my point of view is so Polish that it is very difficult for me to speak as if I were in your shoes.

Q. In what ways have your views changed since you wrote the Open Letter, along with Karol Modzelewski, in 1965?*

A. It would be very difficult for me to answer your question because that would require a very broad theoretical discussion. Since then I have ceased to be a Marxist, and Karol has too, at least in the sense that Marx used to say: "I am not a Marxist." This is a theoretical question that we would not have time to go into.

As for the practical proposals in the book, my attitude is entirely the same, except that it should be within a framework of parliamentary democracy, that is, workers councils side by side with a parliament. Parliament was not included in the book. Both Karol and I already considered that to be a mistake three days after the book was published.

The other mistake was that the national question was completely overlooked, an example of the classical blindness of Marxism. In Poland that is a fundamental question. This was a basic mistake in analysis.

Q. In 1965 you were very definite about the need to form a new party. How do you see that question today?

A. The difference is significant. In 1965 I said that there should be a revolution in the Soviet Union and Poland, or in Poland and every country of the Soviet bloc. Today we are making the revolution in Poland. And in this practical situation I have to keep in mind the existence of the Soviet Union, and this places a limitation on my political program. The difference is that those were words and these are deeds.

From *Intercontinental Press*

*"Open Letter to the Members of the University of Warsaw Sections of the Polish United Workers Party and the Union of Young Socialists," is included in *Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out*, (1964-1968). Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. US\$1.25.

OSPAAAL asks support for Arab peoples

U.S. gives OK to Israeli raids on Lebanon

On May 28, barely twenty-four hours after U.S. envoy Philip Habib had temporarily returned to Washington, warplanes struck targets in northern, central, and southern Lebanon. Palestinian sources reported that at least eighteen civilians were killed just in Damour.

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin claimed that the raids were aimed at missile emplacements operated by Libyan troops—an attempt to mesh gears with the campaign against the Libyan government being carried out by Washington.

As if it were the most natural thing in the world for Israeli jets to be bombing Lebanon, Begin asked, "What are Libyans doing in Lebanon at all?"

One week earlier, on May 21, Begin had to come out with the demand that not only Syrian anti-aircraft missiles in Lebanon be removed, but that those on the Syrian side of the border as well be taken out. A leading Syrian paper described Begin's escalating demands as constituting "a declaration of war."

Following the Israeli raids, *New York Times* correspondent David Shippler reported: "In Washington, the State Department said that the Israeli attacks did not seem to upset the diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis over the Syrian missiles in eastern Lebanon."

This was practically an explicit endorsement of the raids. It did not even include formal expressions of regret over the loss of civilian life. Washington has previously openly supported Israel's right to bomb southern Lebanon, where many Palestinian refugees live.

Washington and the Zionist regime share a common goal of crushing the Palestine Liberation Organization and its allies in Lebanon. They see Syria's current role in Lebanon as an obstacle to this.

Begin is moving to strengthen his diplomatic position in preparation for more military action. He held a June 4

meeting with Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, who has declared that he will not turn back from the Camp David accords with the Israeli rulers under any circumstances.

But the brutal actions of the Israeli regime, and Washington's complicity, are arousing international opposition.

On May 21 the executive secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL), issued the following declaration:

"Once again, the Tel Aviv government, in its racist hysteria and expansionist zeal, supported by U.S. imperialism and the reaction, is massacring the Lebanese and Palestinian people.

"The devastating air, land and sea attacks against the Palestinian and Lebanese people—in which Israel has been using the most sophisticated U.S.-made weapons—has caused hundreds of deaths, other casualties and huge material losses, and is a threat to the integrity, sovereignty and independence of Lebanon.

"With this new bloody aggression the Zionist regime is attempting to eliminate the Palestinian resistance and the patriotic Lebanese forces, pushing the situation in the area to the edge of a new dangerous war. These vandalistic acts are part of Yankee imperialism's policy for the Middle East, undoubtedly anticipated by the treacherous Camp David

accords.

"The attack by the imperialists and their allies is also directed against the progressive Arab countries, democratic forces and liberation movements of the area. Today also Syria finds itself threatened by a new war because of its firm opposition to the Zionist, imperialist plans. . . .

"OSPAAAL calls on all revolutionary, progressive and democratic organizations and forces of the world to lend their military solidarity to prevent these criminal actions against the Palestinian and Lebanese people from continuing and the Zionist-imperialist plan for the Middle East from being implemented."

You missed a lot last week
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There was, for example, a report from Ireland by Gerry Foley on local elections in the north that swept several British collaborators from office. Two articles from France explained the views of revolutionary socialists on the recent elections in that country. And, in an article translated from 'Vietnam Courier', that government's position on Kampuchea and other foreign policy questions was detailed. 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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Vietnam: target of Reagan's food weapon

By Fred Feldman

The Vietnamese revolution is a prime target of Washington's food weapon. The threat of growing hunger and malnutrition is being used in an attempt to exact concessions and break the revolutionary spirit of the people.

According to *Far Eastern Economic Review* correspondent Nayan Chanda, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization team "estimated that between October 1980 and September 1981 Vietnam faces a deficit of 4.4 million tons" of rice or equivalent, "affecting some 6 million people. The FAO experts believe that unless 380,000 tons of milled rice or equivalent are delivered as emergency aid 6 million Vietnamese face malnutrition."

Six major typhoons last year—the latest in the series of weather disasters that have plagued Vietnam since 1976—reportedly destroyed 40 percent of the northern rice crop.

Malnutrition

The shadow of malnutrition already hangs over the Vietnamese population. Dr. Doung Quynh Hoa, an official of a Ho Chi Minh City hospital for children, "has conducted a survey whose preliminary results show that 38 percent of the preschool children in over 100 of the city's day-care centers suffer from malnutrition," wrote Murray Hiebert in the April 14 *Christian Science Monitor*. "She says that hunger problems are even worse in the north."

"Hanoi's leaders began cutting already-short rations last September," declared a May 4 *Business Week* article headlined, "Mass starvation looms in Vietnam with no aid in sight." The article noted that "in January another sharp cut was made that reduced the rice ration to below the U.N. standard of 15 kg per month per person. . . ."

"The food crisis and the resulting malnutrition have caused productivity to drop," asserted Chanda in the January 9 *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

Washington's campaign

In an effort to head off an outcry by working people around the world for food for Vietnam, the Western media are claiming that the food problem has little or nothing to do with the devastation created by the thirty-year imperialist war or the subsequent economic boycott imposed on Vietnam. Instead, it is said the crisis is all a result of bureaucracy, mismanagement, poor planning, and corruption on the part of the Vietnamese government.

A headline in the April 14 *Christian Science Monitor* summed it up: "Even Vietnamese blame food crisis and malnutrition on government mismanagement."

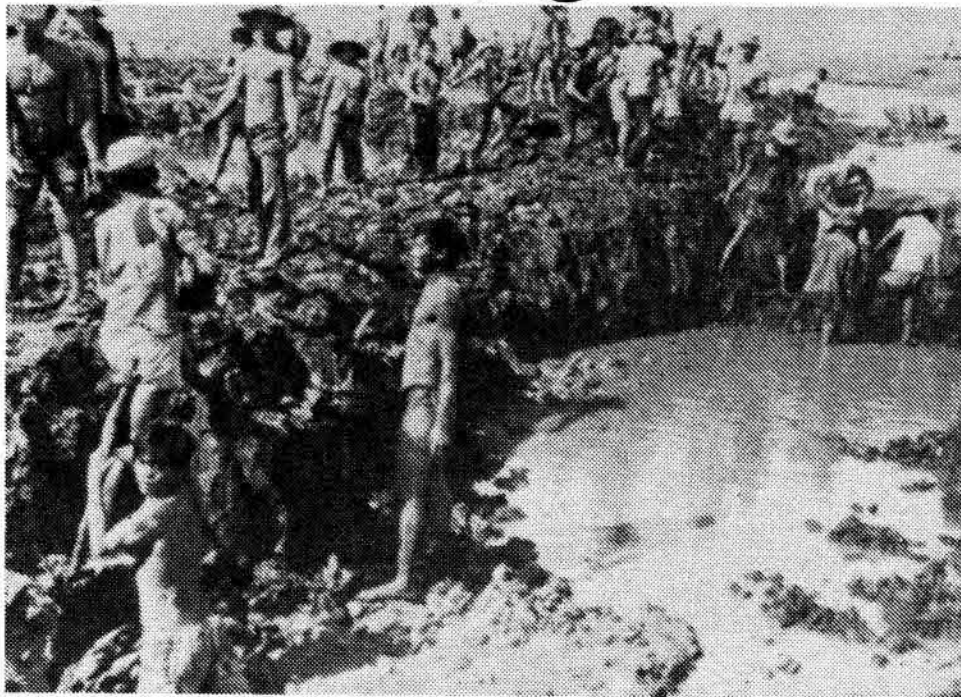
The article that followed did not back up this assertion, however. Instead, it quoted a State Department official who claimed credit for Vietnam's difficulties.

"Vietnam's food crisis suggests our policy may be working," this official was quoted as saying. "If it doesn't, we can find new pressure points."

One of these "new pressure points" was indicated May 2 when Reagan administration officials announced that they would provide open backing to a counterrevolutionary front against the Kampuchean government. The forces attempting to create this front are Prince Sihanouk, traditional right-wing politicians, and the commanders of the Khmer Rouge army headed today by Pol Pot.

The goal is to compel Vietnam to divert further resources to Kampuchea, where massive Vietnamese help—including food shipments—have played a vital role in beginning recovery from a decade of war, tyranny, and famine.

Another pressure point is the Chinese-Vietnam border. Peking boasted May 8 that its forces had killed 100



Repairing war damage is still high priority for Vietnam. U.S. bombers left country pockmarked with 26 million craters. Vietnam should be given all the aid it needs to restore agriculture and feed its 60 million people.

Vietnamese soldiers the previous day.

Despite media attempts to blame the Vietnamese victims for the food crisis, the record makes it unmistakably clear that the U.S. government and its allies are responsible.

War with U.S.

Vietnamese agriculture was shattered by a decade of massive U.S. bombing, north and south, and by the wide use of herbicides, search-and-destroy operations, and forcible relocation of entire villages in the south. From being an exporter of rice, South Vietnam was transformed into a food importer. The north's industrial base was virtually destroyed.

During the war Vietnam's food deficit was met by substantial food shipments from the United States to the south and from China to the north.

Nayan Chanda writes: "Since the war's end, not only has the food aid stopped but agriculture in the south, heavily dependent on imported fuel, fertilizer and pesticide, has declined." Behind the decline lies the ban on trade with Vietnam imposed by Washington within days of the entry of the liberation forces into Saigon.

Other factors that must be taken into account are the military attacks by the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea against Vietnam, which forced the evacuation of hundreds of thousands from key agricultural areas, and Peking's invasion of the north in February 1979. Washington was complicit in both these efforts to undermine the Vietnamese revolution.

The campaign to impose an economic quarantine on the Vietnamese revolution has escalated since the fall of the Pol Pot regime in January 1979.

One result was cited by Hiebert: "Dr. Hoa's hospital has less than 1/10th of the milk it needs to nurse its malnourished patients back to health. The hospital's milk supply was cut when the European Community suspended powdered milk shipments to Vietnam two years ago. . . ."

Economic, social problems

These factors also have seriously disrupted the fulfillment of Vietnam's economic projections. In a report to the National Assembly in December 1980, the chairman of the State Planning Commission, Nguyen Lam, admitted that the second five-year plan adopted in 1976 had failed. A plan covering 1981 only was put forward.

The 1976 plan was disrupted by the military mobilization imposed on Vietnam by the counterrevolutionary alliance of Washington, Peking, and Pol Pot. According to some estimates, defense expenditures now account for half the Vietnamese budget.

In shaping the plan, Vietnamese officials had figured on aid from the West. "We did count on the US\$3.2 billion reconstruction aid promised by Nixon," Lam reportedly told Nayan Chanda (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, February 27, 1981). But Washington reneged on this promise, which had formed part of the negotiations leading up to the Paris Agreement of January 1973.

"Our production is slumping in several ways," Chanda quoted a November 1980 party directive as saying,

and the livelihood of the labouring people . . . is deteriorating and encountering many difficulties. Negativism prevails in social life. The enemy and bad elements are taking advantage of this situation to incite the masses to sow division among us and attack our leadership in order to weaken the organisation of our party and state. [*Far Eastern Economic Review*, February 27, 1981.]

"Our party and state have committed the greatest shortcomings and mistakes primarily in economic planning," declared party General Secretary Le Duan. "Due to our shortcomings there continue to exist many problems which have caused the masses to be displeased."

Sporadic activity in the south by guerrilla bands led by former Saigon army officers and a group called Fulro (United Front for the Liberation of Oppressed Races) has been a source of tensions. Fulro is a counterrevolutionary organization set up by British and French imperialism during the war of independence. It is based among sections of the minority peoples of the central highlands.

Rising discontent

According to a 1980 interview with Vietnamese Communist Party official Nguyen Khac Vien, published by the English-language *Vietnam Courier*, "the security forces have their hands full" dealing with such reactionary units.

Nguyen Khac Vien concedes that growing numbers who support the revolution are voicing discontent with economic conditions, authoritarian high-handedness, and corruption.

According to Nayan Chanda, food riots occurred last autumn in Hai-phong and Nghe-Tinh province in northern Vietnam.

In the context of the difficulties imposed by imperialism on the Vietnamese revolution, a massive reorganization of the Vietnamese economy, state, and Communist Party is now being attempted.

According to Chanda, General Secretary Le Duan strongly criticized the government officialdom in a recent speech. "The most important thing

now," Le Duan stated, "is to perfect state organs from central echelons to the grass roots levels. [If this] is not improved, no economic policy can be carried out thoroughly . . . and no economic plan can be satisfactorily implemented."

Nguyen Khac Vien attempted to place the changes in a context broader than the immediate crisis:

Society today is nothing like the one we knew fifteen years ago. We have to change all our styles of work, management and even thought. A new generation has been born and is being brought up in our schools. Even the relationships between parents and children, relationships within the village have been changed. That's why, besides the economic reforms, we have to lead a series of reforms in other fields during the 1980s. . . .

Sweeping reform

Sweeping economic and political reforms have been undertaken. These are aimed at stabilizing living conditions, raising morale, and rallying the Vietnamese people in the face of continuing threats from imperialism and its allies in Peking.

A discussion has been spurred in Vietnam. "The atmosphere today is very different from that fifteen years ago, say," declared Nguyen Khac Vien. "The debates inside various organizations and in the Party are much more lively and impassioned, I would say, much richer than before."

Along with steps to break the power of the big capitalist traders in Ho Chi Minh City in the spring of 1978, the regime launched plans to move more rapidly to the establishment of cooperatives in the countryside.

In the rich Mekong Delta, zealous cadres hastily organized cooperatives, often forcing unwilling farmers to join in. This, however, led to passive resistance. The area under cultivation dwindled and in many cases peasants sold or slaughtered their animals to avoid collectivization. They also evaded agricultural taxes and avoided selling surplus grain to the state at low prices. According to a Hanoi-based analyst, the government could collect only 40% of its targeted food surplus from the south in 1979 [*Nayan Chanda, FEER*, January 9, 1981].

These methods were undermining the alliance of workers and farmers on which Vietnam's socialist revolution is founded. When this fact became apparent in practice, this course was reversed in favor of encouraging voluntary adherence to cooperatives where this would foster productivity.

As Nguyen Khac Vien put it, "the understanding and support of the people" is "especially important for forming agricultural co-operatives. . . . Many cadres have tried to go too fast and the co-operatives they have set up have failed."

Chanda reports that on January 13:

The central committee issued a directive on giving contracts for producing food and stock raising to groups as well as individual peasants. The directive said that land tilling, water conservation and other heavy works would be done collectively, then individual peasant families or groups would be given a contract over a small piece of land to sow, plant, tend and harvest crops for two or three years. On top of work points received, members can also get any surplus over the contracted quota. The directive also gives freedom to each cooperative to work out its own form of contract. [*FEER*, February 27, 1981.]

Government subsidies which held down food prices to consumers are to be reduced or eliminated in order to make it possible to pay farmers more for their produce. It is hoped that wage increases and increased food supplies will make up for the resulting price increases.

Problems in industry

One major difficulty in relations with the farmers is the regime's inability to provide farmers with consumer

goods and farm equipment.

Here the effects of the imperialist trade and aid embargo multiply the impact of Vietnam's underdevelopment—another gift from the former imperialist masters of the country.

Currently many of Vietnam's factories operate only part time. Dependence on foreign goods, which formerly could be imported, and power shortages are among the reasons.

To foster production, piece rates and other incentives are being introduced, replacing a previous policy that tended to hold wages to a minimum. "The past policy of an average wage was egalitarian in appearance but in fact set up inequality," Chanda was told by Hoang Tung, editor of the party daily *Nhan Dan*.

In some cases, early results have been promising:

A leading organisation in this experiment has been the Con Dao state fishing company in Hau Giang province in the Mekong delta. After each fishing trip the cost of materials and depreciation is deducted from the value of the catch, and the balance divided between the government and the crew. This more than doubled the catch in 1980—15,000 tons compared to 7,061 tons in 1979.

On January 19, the government introduced the same system for all fishing enterprises and has, in fact, increased the fishermen's share to 60% of the catch. [Nayan Chanda, *FEER*, February 27.]

A party directive has also forbidden party and administrative cadres from interfering in the decision-making powers of industrial and agricultural cooperatives. The hope is that this will create more room for initiative in meeting production goals.

Private shops

Small-scale private enterprise will also be encouraged. Chanda notes:

Ho Chi Minh City today has a much larger supply of locally made consumer goods than two years ago. Since the liberalisation of regulations concerning private enterprise in late 1979 more than 2,000 small family enterprises have sprung up in the city, making such things as plastic buckets, soap and electrical fittings. As long as the number of workers employed does not surpass 20 and the enterprise pays tax to the municipality, it is free to produce what it likes. [*FEER*, February 27.]

"But," Chanda noted, "capitalist traders, other than small family operations, will be prohibited from continuing their business." (*FEER*, January 9.)

These changes "created controversy within the party," Chanda claims. Seeking to overcome resistance, *Nhan Dan* declared January 22: "It is baseless to consider that by encouraging the legitimate interest of the labourer, our peasants will neglect the interest of the collective and of the whole society."

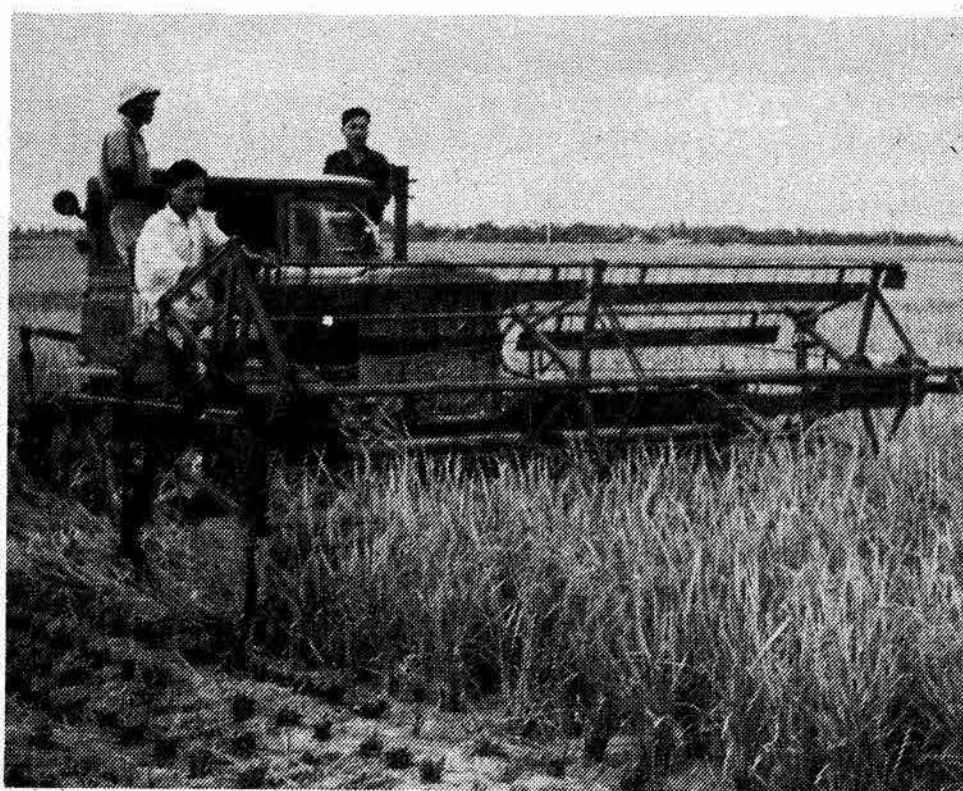
In the same vein, Nguyen Khac Vien said "there is no chance that capitalism will rear its head again in the present conditions of Vietnam. Individual and family production do not necessarily lead to capitalism."

Combating corruption

Since 1975, the problem of official corruption has been the subject of frequent complaints by the Vietnamese masses. This was one reason for the establishment in 1976 of People's Control Committees. These are described by Nguyen Khac Vien as bodies "elected by the citizens" which "have the right to make enquiries into the working of the administration each time they receive complaints from citizens."

A contributing factor to corruption in Vietnam has been the low living standard that much of the officialdom shares with the masses. "Records show that some of the malnourished children in Pediatrics Hospital No. 2 are from homes of low-level government employees whose salaries have not been increased," wrote Murray Hiebert.

"With an average salary of Dong 90," wrote Chanda in his January 9 article, "cadres find it impossible to



Rice harvest time. Typhoons destroyed 40 percent of north Vietnam's harvest last year.

make ends meet when a kilo of rice costs Dong 4 and a litre of *nuoc mam* (fish sauce) Dong 35. An additional job (or bribes) have become the most frequent way of survival."

In an attempt to reshape the party and improve its image, the Vietnamese Communist Party leaders have resorted to a massive re-registration. This has taken the form of issuing party cards for the first time. One result appears to be a massive shift in party membership with an emphasis on youth.

Nhan Dan editor Tung told Chanda that out of 1.6 million party members, 700,000 have so far been given a card. "The new recruits were mostly young men from the Communist Youth League and the army."

Chanda states that the re-registration is aimed at bringing in a new generation and clearing out the "incompetent and politically unreliable."

The re-registration may be aimed in part at pro-Peking or other elements within the party and government apparatus opposed to the leadership's course. In the April 1981 *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Patrick De Beer asserts that the February 3 *Nhan Dan* carried an editorial referring to "the struggle between two lines."

According to De Beer, opposition is being "encouraged by Peking, where resides Mr. Hoang Van Hoan who sends messages calling on his compatriots to resist." Hoan, a former Vietnamese ambassador to China who defected last year, is reported by De Beer as having "friends in the country, whom he is trying to regroup."

Shifts in Vietnam's internal policies will not put an end to its economic difficulties or definitively lift the shadow of hunger from the country. They are intended above all to demonstrate to the population that the government and party are moving decisively to ameliorate the situation, and to mobilize and reinforce the will of the workers and peasants to defend Vietnam and its allies in Laos and Kampuchea.

But as Nguyen Khac Vien said, "Not everything depends on us. Whether socialism is to be built with ease or with difficulty in our country depends not only on our own efforts, but also on the unfolding of our international relations."

Alignment with Cuba

Continued efforts to break through the imperialist economic embargo are being accompanied by moves to strengthen ties with other forces that are struggling against imperialism.

Ties between Vietnam and Cuba remain strong. Their foundation is the unshakable solidarity that the Cuban people have demonstrated toward the Vietnamese revolution. That solidarity was reaffirmed by Cuba's support to Vietnam in the conflict with Washington, Peking, and Pol Pot's Khmer

Rouge since mid-1978.

The Vietnamese have worked closely with the Cubans in the Movement of Nonaligned Nations.

With Cuban support, they have campaigned to expose Peking's alliance with U.S. imperialism.

Vietnam has also taken an interest in the revolutionary developments in Central America.

Shortly after the fall of Somoza, Vietnam sent a delegation headed by Premier Pham Van Dong to Nicaragua to express support for the revolution. The Nicaraguan invitation to the Vietnamese government was a major blow to imperialism's attempt to declare Vietnam a pariah nation in the wake of its move to topple Pol Pot.

Vietnamese diplomatic personnel have been frequent guests at meetings in solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution and the struggle in El Salvador. Most recently, members of Vietnam's



mission to the United Nations spoke at a Vietnam/El Salvador solidarity rally in New York City May 9.

Moscow cuts aid

At the same time, strains have appeared in Hanoi's relationship with Moscow. These have their origins in Moscow's fear of the Vietnamese revolution as an obstacle to the goal of détente with imperialism and closer relations with neocolonial regimes in Southeast Asia.

As during the Vietnam War, the Soviet government has provided Vietnam with decisive aid, but not enough to overcome the ruin brought by the war or to put a stop to the attacks of imperialism and Peking.

And as occurred during the Vietnam War, when the Hanoi leaders attempted to resist pressure by Moscow and Peking for concessions to Nixon, the reduction of aid is Moscow's way of

signalling displeasure.

Chanda reports that Soviet grain assistance to Vietnam dropped from 1.2 million tons in 1979 to 860,000 tons in 1980. There are indications that the Kremlin has also reduced shipments of oil to Vietnam.

"The Soviets are reported to have told the Vietnamese they want to provide 40% less aid than was given during the second plan period," reported Chanda February 27.

Both Moscow and Hanoi have good reason for not pressing differences to a break. For the Kremlin, an alliance with Vietnam is a source of international prestige as well as an important chip in bargaining with Washington.

The reasons given by Hanoi leaders for close ties with Moscow were summed up by Nguyen Khac Vien:

Material and technical aid and economic and scientific co-operation with the developed socialist countries are decisive factors for the modernisation of our economy. We entertain economic relations with many capitalist countries, but these economic relations are subject to the fluctuations of the market and to the more or less hostile policy of the governments. It is only in promoting organic co-operation with the developed socialist countries that we can build up our economy.

Afghanistan and Poland

Nevertheless, the experiences of the last several years appear to have made the Vietnamese leaders more critical of the policies and practices of the Kremlin and its East European allies.

"On other matters, too," wrote Chanda, *Nhan Dan* editor Tung "took positions different from the Soviets."

Asked if he saw any similarity between the Afghanistan and Kampuchean situations, he said there were certain similarities in the way the Chinese in Kampuchea and the US Central Intelligence Agency in Afghanistan had tried to use the Pol Pot and Hafizullah Amin regimes in their own interests. He added: "There are certain differences. Pol Pot attacked us [before the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea] but Amin did not attack the Soviets [before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan]. In Afghanistan, there are religious minority problems. In Kampuchea all the religions were suppressed and minorities like the Chams massacred."

Tung implied that unlike in Kampuchea, where the Vietnamese-backed government has won public support by reviving Buddhism, the Soviets have to cope with Muslim opposition. "I think that the situation in Kampuchea has improved very quickly. You cannot [say] the same thing about Afghanistan."

His analysis of events in Poland was sharply different from the Soviet view. Vietnamese embarrassment about Poland has been indicated by its silence about the crisis. However, asked to comment, Tung did not mention the "imperialist manoeuvre," the standard Soviet explanation of the Polish labour unrest but said the problem was that the Polish party had lost contact with the masses.

There has been economic development, but they lost touch with the masses, with the working class. If one loses contact with the masses one will lose everything," he said. "... One has to prepare in time, otherwise one can have a Poland on one's hands." [*FEER*, February 27.]

Food for Vietnam!

Nguyen Khac Vien warned against drawing pessimistic conclusions from the problems, recalling other difficulties imposed by imperialism which Vietnam overcame: "I remember that between 1965 and 1970 when we met foreign friends, we could tell that they had great sympathy and even compassion for us, but that they considered the cause was lost. After that came the great victory in 1975."

Imperialism's efforts to starve Kampuchea into submission during 1979 failed in the face of the massive international demand including in the United States, that food be sent to that country.

Today imperialism is using hunger as a weapon against Vietnam. A similar international outcry is needed today to demand massive shipments of food and other economic aid for Vietnam.

From Intercontinental Press



Europe: opposition to arms drive mounts

By Will Reissner

Since taking office in January, Ronald Reagan has accelerated the campaign, initiated under Carter, to pressure U.S. allies to shoulder a greater share of the military defense of imperialist interests around the world.

Washington's NATO allies have been urged to increase their annual military spending by 3 percent after inflation and to agree to the deployment of 572 U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe, targeted on the Soviet Union.

The imperialist powers in Asia—in particular Japan and Australia—are also being pressed to boost their arms spending and are being urged to increase military cooperation with the Pentagon.

While the governments involved have been willing to cooperate with Washington, the people in those countries have been considerably less enthusiastic. Reagan's problems in driving his policy forward were illustrated by a number of developments in May, beginning with the giant march on Washington May 3 against U.S. military aid to the murderous Salvadoran junta. That was the largest such protest in the United States since the end of the Vietnam War.

Soon after Reagan's weak position at home was brought to light, a storm of opposition was unleashed in Japan by the May 7-8 summit talks between Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki and Reagan. The very survival of Suzuki's government is at stake, owing to the prime minister's pledge to increase military cooperation with Washington.

Then, on May 10, French voters threw out President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, one of Washington's firmest allies. The new president, Socialist Party head François Mitterrand, is a NATO supporter but will be under considerable pressure from the workers and farmers who elected him to distance French foreign policy from Washington, especially in Central America and Africa.

The parliamentary elections in the Netherlands May 26 reflected the growing strength of opposition to deployment of NATO nuclear missiles.

The governing coalition of the capitalist Christian Democrats and Liberal parties was denied a parliamentary majority. It is now considered virtually impossible for the incoming government to get the votes needed to push through a decision to place forty-eight of the missiles in the Netherlands.

Finally, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has come under such heavy fire for his support to the missile deployment decision that he has threatened to resign in order to try to mute criticism within his own party.

Before arriving in Washington, Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki had warned the Reagan administration not to press too hard for an increase in Japanese arms spending. Suzuki explained that such a move would provoke strong opposition among the Japanese people, and he argued that any commitment the Reagan administration forced him to make could result in the fall of his government.

Arms spending in Japan now stands



The Netherlands. Some 58 percent of population rejects placing U.S. missiles in country.

at slightly less than 1 percent of the country's Gross National Product, compared to the Pentagon's 6 percent share of the U.S. GNP.

Because of Suzuki's resistance to any specific commitment to increase his military budget, the joint communiqué issued after his meetings with Reagan simply referred to Japan's commitment to make "even greater efforts" to increase its military capabilities. Suzuki did, however, agree to expand Japanese naval operations between Guam and the Philippines, in order to replace U.S. warships that have been shifted to the Persian Gulf area.

The communiqué also referred to "the alliance between the United States and Japan."

When Suzuki returned to Japan, however, he found that his meeting with Reagan had touched off a storm of opposition. One major Tokyo daily *Asahi Shimbun*, bluntly stated that "before the summit we cautioned Prime Minister Suzuki against involving Japan in the cold-war strategy espoused by the Reagan administration."

Faced with the huge public outcry over the joint communiqué's reference to the "alliance" between the United States and Japan, Suzuki backtracked rapidly. He categorically denied that there was any military alliance with Washington. He asserted that the meeting with Reagan had resulted in no new military commitment by Japan, and blamed the foreign ministry for the wording of the communiqué.

Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito and his top aide then resigned in protest against being blamed for the wording of the communiqué. Ito was replaced by Sunao Sonoda, whose first news conference on May 17 was devoted to an attack on the way the U.S. navy operates in Japanese waters.

In April a U.S. nuclear submarine

rammed and sank a Japanese freighter and left the scene without rescuing the survivors. Two Japanese sailors drowned. Then, on May 16, U.S. warships on maneuvers damaged the gear of Japanese fishing vessels.

"I cannot understand why U.S. naval vessels are freely cruising around Japan, causing damage to our people," Sonoda declared.

The biggest blow to U.S.-Japanese military cooperation, however, came on May 18. It was revealed that for more than two decades Japanese governments have been aware that U.S. warships bring nuclear weapons into Japanese ports, despite Japan's laws against the introduction of such weapons onto its territory.

Following those revelations, the Tokyo stock market suffered its biggest decline in six years. Investors feared the Suzuki government might fall. Antinuclear and socialist groups announced plans for massive protests against the U.S.-Japan mutual security treaty and the existence of nuclear weapons in the country.

Sentiment against the U.S. military is running so high in Japan that on May 20 Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced he was canceling plans to visit Japan in June.

One day after Haig called off his visit, Tokyo abruptly halted joint Japanese-U.S. naval maneuvers that were in progress.

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt arrived in Washington on May 20 for talks with Reagan. Schmidt is in serious political trouble at home, with opinion polls showing his support at an all-time low.

The immediate cause of Schmidt's problems is his support for the December 1979 decision by NATO to deploy 572 U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe, with a large percentage to be stationed in West Germany.

Within Schmidt's Social Democratic Party there is growing opposition to the NATO decision. Recently, for example, the party's Bonn organization called for a ban on all nuclear weapons and for nationalization of the arms industry. The state conference of the SPD in Baden-Württemberg also voted to review the missile decision, and the party's youth organization has called for cancellation of the deployment.

SPD member of parliament Manfred Coppel stated that the Reagan administration's opposition to serious arms limitation talks means that "in the present situation, the main danger to peace comes from the policy of the U.S. government."

One recent poll of West Germans found that 60 percent of those surveyed believed that West Germany should distance itself from the Reagan administration's "harder policies" toward the Soviet Union.

In an attempt to still his critics within the SPD, Schmidt threatened to resign if criticism of the missiles continues. But this is unlikely to silence opponents of the plan. Ulrich Lang, chairman of the SPD in Baden-Württemberg, has even argued that if a revision of the NATO decision "in the interests of peace" meant the collapse of the Schmidt government, "it would just have to collapse."

Hoping to strengthen Schmidt's position, the Reagan administration made some verbal concessions to the idea of arms limitation talks during the Washington meeting.

Schmidt then went home to Germany with the communiqué in hand to tell his critics that the Reagan administration is seriously committed to new arms negotiations with the Soviet Union. In reality, although Reagan and Haig may be forced by the pressure of their allies to begin such talks, even the appearance of arms restraint runs counter to Reagan's propaganda drive against Moscow and his attempts to jack up the military budget. That is why Reagan is refusing to go along with the SALT II agreement, even though the pact would have allowed continued growth of the U.S. nuclear arsenal.

Just one day before Schmidt arrived in Washington, the U.S. State Department issued a statement maintaining that "the United States has no legal obligation to abide by either [the SALT I or the SALT II] agreement." This confirmed a statement made by White House aide Edwin Meese on television on May 3; he declared that "we feel there is no legal or moral commitment to abide by SALT I and SALT II."

The Reagan administration has stated on numerous occasions that the 1979 SALT II agreement is dead. It has not withdrawn the treaty from the Senate simply in order to avoid cutting the ground out from under allied regimes like Schmidt's that are trying to sell the NATO missile plan by stressing a supposed commitment to arms control.

However, Reagan's cosmetic concessions to Schmidt are unlikely to fool anyone as to Washington's real policies toward the arms build-up. Opposition to this among the workers in the imperialist countries continues to be the single biggest obstacle to the rulers' militarization drive.

From Intercontinental Press

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Nine H-Block prisoners run for Irish parliament

By Will Reissner

The June 11 parliamentary elections in the formally independent twenty-six counties of Ireland offer a big opportunity for supporters of the republican hunger strikers in Northern Ireland to force the issue of the hunger strike into the political life of the Irish Republic. Nine republican prisoners, including four hunger strikers, will run in the June 11 elections.

Because the Irish constitution does not recognize the British-imposed partition of Ireland, residents of the British-ruled six counties of Northern Ireland have full rights to Irish citizenship, which includes the right to run in elections in the South.

In recent months H-Block hunger strikers and their supporters have scored several impressive electoral victories. The election of Bobby Sands to the British Parliament from Fermanagh/South Tyrone on April 10, after six weeks of his fast, conclusively demonstrated the support the hunger strikers have in the nationalist population of the North.

On May 20, activists supporting the H-Block prisoners scored some important victories in the local government elections in the six counties of Northern Ireland. H-Block activists won wherever they ran for election against the reformist and proimperialist Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP), which has been the traditional electoral vehicle of the Catholic population of the North.

The election victories significantly undercut the claim that the "moderate" SDLP really represents the nationalist population of the North. For example, Gerry Fitt, a member of the British Parliament and for twenty-three years a member of the Belfast City Council, lost his council post to Fergus O'Hare. O'Hare is one of the leaders of the H-Block campaign and is a member of People's Democracy, the Irish Trotskyist organization. Fitt, who claims his proimperialist position stems from his position as a socialist and supporter of working-class unity in the North, campaigned on the slogan that a vote for him was a "vote against the gunmen."

Members of the Irish Independence Party and Irish Republican Socialist Party, as well as nonaffiliated H-Block activists, were also elected to local council seats.

The H-Block prisoners plan to use the elections in the South to force the issue of the hunger strikers to the fore. Irish

Prime Minister Charles Haughey of the Fianna Fáil party, traditionally the more nationalist of the two leading bourgeois parties in Ireland, has been unwilling to take an explicit position in favor of the five demands of the hunger strikers.

Instead, Haughey has made much of his supposed special relationship with British Prime Minister Thatcher, claiming this could lead to progress on the reunification of Ireland.

The start of the hunger strikes in the North has been a great embarrassment to Haughey. The elections are taking place at a time of severe economic problems in the South, for which Haughey is being blamed by the opposition Fine Gael party led by Garret Fitzgerald.

The election campaign of the nine nationalist prisoners will try to force Haughey and his Fianna Fáil party to take a concrete position in support of the demands of the hunger strike and to force the prime minister to directly press Thatcher to grant those demands. The campaign also provides the H-Block movement with the chance to directly appeal to the ranks of Fianna Fáil and the entire population of the South to become more directly involved in the support for the hunger strikers.

Within Britain, Tony Benn, the leader of the left wing of the Labour Party, has called for an end to the British occupation of the North and for concessions on the status of the republican prisoners.

Merlyn Rees, who was the secretary for Northern Ireland under the Labour government of James Callaghan, stated on May 17 that Britain should reconsider its formal guarantee that the six counties of Northern Ireland would remain part of the United Kingdom as long as the majority of the population of that rump state wanted to preserve those links. Significantly, Rees was responsible for ending the special political status that republican prisoners in Northern Ireland had until 1976.

On June 13 there will be a national demonstration in support of the demands of the hunger strikers in London.

At present there are still more than 300 republican "special status prisoners" in Northern Ireland. These are prisoners who were incarcerated before the end of special status in 1976, and they continue to have the rights that the hunger strikers are demanding for all the republican prisoners.

From Intercontinental Press

Second break-in at New York SWP office

NEW YORK—The campaign headquarters of Wells Todd, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, was broken into, ransacked and vandalized June 2, for the second time in less than a week.

As in the earlier incident, which occurred May 28, campaign workers arrived at the headquarters in the morning to find files scattered on the floor, and sound equipment, calculators, and typewriters maliciously damaged. While a small amount of cash was taken, the fact that expensive equipment was destroyed but not stolen is evidence that harassment, rather than burglary, was the motive.

The only files that were rifled were those containing lists of campaign supporters (some of which were stolen on May 28), financial contributors, and

other information related to the 1981 election campaign.

Police were called three times that night by another tenant of the building who had heard and seen an intruder. They arrived too late, however.

Police arrived at the campaign office the next morning, in response to a call by campaign supporters. They left after less than fifteen minutes, declaring they had "no leads."

The police department states that there has been no further investigation of the May 28 break-in. The pretext for halting the investigation is that the socialists have refused to allow police to fingerprint their entire membership.

Two burglaries at the same office within six days, an eyewitness, and other clues such as fingerprints—and the cops say they have no leads!

Solidarity with Central America



and the
Caribbean

New York labor backs Mendoza

The New York Area Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador sent out the following letter to 150 trade union locals in New York and 100 other locals across the country.

"Once again a Salvadorean labor leader is in danger. But this time, the threat comes from the U.S. Government.

"Tulio Mendoza, an activist member of ANDES (The National Teachers Association of El Salvador) fled the death squads of that country and sought political asylum in the U.S. He is now faced with deportation, which would mean certain death for him and his family.

"We urge you to help save his life. First, we ask that you send a letter of protest to James O'Keefe of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and to Secretary of State Haig.

"We also ask your cooperation in circulating a petition to 'Stop the Deportation of El Salvadorean refugees' among your leadership and members, and send it to the above persons.

"This is a chance to stand up for the free labor movement in El Salvador. Won't you help.

"Fraternally,

Sol Stetin, senior executive vice-president, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; Victor Gotbaum, executive director, District Council 37, AFSCME; Ida Torres, vice-president Store Workers, Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union (RWDSU); Edward F. Gray, director Region 9, United Auto Workers; John Hudson, vice-president, United Hatters Union; Moe Foner, executive director, District 1199, RWDSU."

Nicaragua women's association launched

Gioconda Belli, a poet and member of the Nicaraguan government, was in New York June 1 to help inaugurate the Women's Association of Casa Nicaragua.

Belli was in the United States to attend a symposium on Latin American poetry at Dartmouth College. She is the director of programming for Sandinista Radio and Television.

The association is named "Arlene Siu" after a Sandinista woman who died fighting Somoza in 1975. It will seek to inform the public of the leading role women are playing in the Nicaraguan revolution.

The celebration also included revolutionary songs by Nicarahuac, Casa Nicaragua's musical group, and traditional dancing.

Javier Chamorro, Nicaraguan ambassador to the UN, also attended.

Teachers oppose military aid to junta

Samara Jarosh reports that the following resolution was passed unanimously at the 1981 New Mexico Federation of Teachers State Convention:

"Whereas, the situation in El Salvador threatens to escalate into another Vietnam; and,

"Whereas, the people of El Salvador are Hispanics and working people and are the brothers and sisters of New Mexico working people; and,

"Whereas, U.S. big business may have an interest in intervening in El Salvador but U.S. working people do not; and,

"Whereas, the U.S. government is supporting and supplying an inhuman and undemocratic Junta in El Salvador;

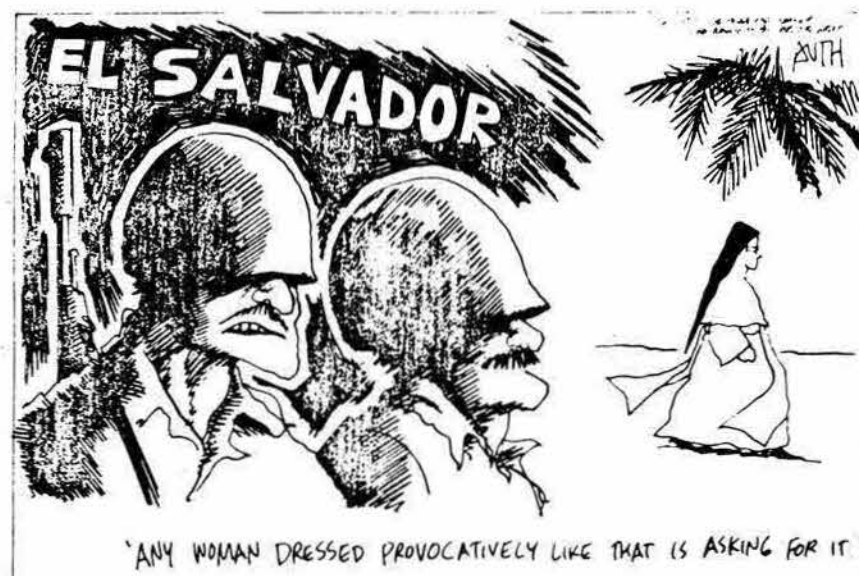
"Now, therefore, be it resolved by the 1981 convention of the New Mexico Federation of Teachers that we oppose any further military aid to or involvement in supporting the El Salvador junta and that we encourage New Mexico locals and the National Organization to oppose such involvement."

For baseball fans

The following is quoted from the April 4 *San Francisco Chronicle*:

"Al Williams, the Minnesota pitcher who faces Matt Keough today, is a 26-year-old Nicaraguan who was released by the Pirates' system in 1977 when his government wouldn't grant him a visa. Williams spent the next sixteen months as a guerrilla fighter for the Sandinista National Liberation Front, and finally got back into baseball in 1979. The Twins brought him up late last year, and he responded with a 6-2 record."

—Nelson González



Va. Dems reject union-led reform effort

By Miguel Zárte

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—“Politics has become one of our many priority activities,” declared Russ Axsom, Political Action Committee chairman for United Steelworkers of America Local 8888, in a front-page article in the May 14 issue of the *Voyager*, the local’s monthly newspaper.

Local 8888, along with members of the Teachers, Communications Workers, Firefighters, and Laborers unions formed a coalition to capture seats for the May 29 and 30 Democratic Party state convention.

In Hampton and Newport News, the coalition won nearly all the seats. More than a quarter of all the delegates from the two cities were members of Local 8888.

On May 16, the Democratic Party delegates met from the First Congressional District, which includes Newport News and Hampton.

There the labor coalition put forward a nine-point program, including demands for:

- “Civil Rights, Women’s Rights, Civil Liberties, Human Rights.” For passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, and “support of school desegregation, Voting Rights Act, and . . . affirmative action.”

- “Labor Rights”—including “collective bargaining rights for public and private employees.”

- “U.S. Foreign Policy” of “peace,” “support for arms control and nuclear disarmament agreements,” and opposition to “colonialism, imperialism, policing the world.”

This program sent other delegates into a tizzy.

A young Black delegate reported: “Not one of these points was adopted! Not even the one for civil rights!”

Why? The reason given by party hacks was, “This would be a millstone around our necks.” In other words, get workers’ demands off the Democratic Party platform.

The labor coalition had enough delegates to be close to a mechanical majority at the first district convention. But they collapsed in the face of rigid opposition to their program from party officials.

The delegates remained as a group for the state convention two weeks later. Their plan was to push the nomination of a liberal Democratic candidate, Ira Lechner, for lieutenant governor.

The real purpose of the state convention was to nominate Charles Robb for governor. Robb is currently the lieutenant governor. His political career was launched by marrying the daughter of ex-President Lyndon Johnson.

There was no challenge to Robb. But



Newport News, April 1979: Virginia Democratic Governor John Dalton teamed up with shipyard employers in attempt to break this strike by Steelworkers Local 8888. Strike won anyway.

the lieutenant-governor slot was contested. Lechner had campaigned aggressively, especially among union officials throughout the state. Lechner told workers that if he were lieutenant governor, he would actually participate on union picket lines.

This made him sound very radical compared to Robb and the other Democrats. Robb is an open supporter of

Virginia’s right-to-work law. He supports the strike-breaking role of Republican Governor John Dalton. Dalton used the state police against the Newport News strikers a few years ago, and is using them against coal miners right now.

Lechner played a role in getting the labor coalition formed in the first place.

Steel union district elections

By Stu Singer

The United Steelworkers union held elections May 28 for directors of thirteen of the twenty-four districts in the United States and Canada. Directors of the other districts plus the five international officers, and the national director of Canada, ran unopposed.

In six of the districts there were contests involving reform candidates advocating more democracy within the union, a more combative approach against the companies, and for more union involvement in political and social issues. Two of these candidates, Dave Wilson in District 8 in Baltimore and Dave Patterson in District 6 Ontario, won.

But incumbent director Jim Bala-noff, from the union’s largest district, 31 in the Chicago-Gary area, was defeated. The other reform candidates who lost were Ron Weisen in District 15 Pittsburgh,

Marvin Weinstock, District 27, Canton, Ohio; and Joe Samargia in District 33, the Iron Range.

Samargia came in second, about 800 votes behind staffman Eldon Kirsch. Incumbent Director Linus Wampler came in fourth. Kirsch won with only 35 percent of the vote.

The election results will be interpreted by the steel industry to mean the union leadership will put up even less resistance. Industry officials announced months ago they would wait for these election results before renegotiating the Experimental Negotiating Agreement which expires this year. The companies have been complaining they cannot afford the wage hike guarantees contained in the no-strike deal.

Coming issues of the *Militant* will carry more articles concerning these elections and issues facing steelworkers in general.

But he had no chance at the convention. The former mayor of Portsmouth, Richard Davis, was selected as the candidate for lieutenant governor.

Lechner accepted a post as vice-chairman of the state party. He boasted that the labor coalition would remain active in the party.

But the workers who got involved are rethinking their experience.

Not one of the points in their program was adopted by the Democratic Party in Virginia, except for verbal support to the Equal Rights Amendment. It is the Democratic Party controlled Virginia legislature that has refused to ratify the ERA.

To campaign for Charles Robb for governor means supporting an openly anti-labor and anti-civil rights campaign.

Robb said recently: “I am opposed to any civil rights legislation because it discriminates against Virginians.”

This is the exact opposite of the strongly worded civil rights plank the labor coalition tried to get adopted.

The idea that the union should get directly involved in politics is a good one. But this experience with the Democrats confirms that the party is run by the bosses. They will not let it be taken over by workers.

Trying to participate in the Democratic Party is not the only kind of political activity workers in Local 8888 are involved in.

Meisa Patterson, a young shipfitter in the yard, is running for governor of Virginia. Her platform includes the most important points the labor coalition tried to get the Democrats to adopt.

Meisa Patterson is the Socialist Workers Party candidate.

“The effort to reform the Democrats reminds me of another experience workers in the yard went through a few years ago,” Patterson said. “The fight for our rights as workers began inside the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, the company union. But when the PSA proved itself to be beyond reform, the workers left. We formed our own union, the Steelworkers.”

“I think we need to do the same thing in the political arena. Neither of the bosses’ parties, the Democrats or Republicans, will fight for our needs. We need to form a labor party.”

“I think this recent experience with the Democrats will get a lot more workers thinking along these lines.”

“I will use my election campaign to publicize the labor party idea throughout the state. And I urge working people who agree to support my campaign.”

...contract

Continued from back page

muscles early in the negotiating process.

The Reagan budget calls for slashing black lung benefits, which miners fought long and hard to win.

Reagan was answered by a two-day UMWA work stoppage and a large demonstration in Washington March 9.

Also while negotiations were in progress, miners helped organize the March 28 demonstration against nuclear power in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, the day after the contract expired.

Strikes began throughout the coal fields to protest company attempts to arbitrarily impose changes in the workweek and work rules.

These moves forced the operators to retreat on some of their demands, like the seven-day week.

But the first contract contained other takebacks. And after miners studied it, they decided to vote it down. Most saw

it as a threat to the survival of the union.

Cecil Roberts, the vice-president of UMWA District 17, spoke at a miners’ support concert in Charleston, West Virginia, May 29. He pointed out that when the miners rejected the first contract they were denounced for being immature and greedy.

Roberts said that, by staying on strike for two months, they succeeded in getting a contract twice as good as the first one. “That must make us twice as smart” as those who criticized the miners for rejecting the first contract, he remarked.

I spoke to miners who attended local meetings today to hear explanations of the new contract. They indicated some issues that generate opposition.

Article IA makes it easier for the operators to open nonunion mines and hire nonunion contractors for construction and trucking. Although improvements were made in the wording of this section since the first contract proposal, IA still represents a take-

back. It is partly based on court decisions won by the operators. UMWA construction workers are jeopardized by these provisions.

There is also opposition to maintaining past decisions of the Arbitration Review Board.

Miners’ safety rights are weakened. There is a new absentee program that would set industry-wide standards that are stricter than the policies of most companies. This would make it easier to fire miners.

The new contract proposal covers forty months, not the usual thirty-six. It puts the expiration at the end of October in 1984, a less strategic time of the year in terms of coal usage than the current expiration date of the end of March.

Miners are discussing the fact that there is no cost-of-living escalator.

Solidarity

Solidarity activities in support of the miners strike have just begun. But the

potential to organize mass support is clear.

For example, two District 29 officials who went to California, raised thousands of dollars and won the backing of virtually the entire union movement.

The companies are hurting from the strike. They lose millions of dollars a day. Coal stockpiles of the electric utilities are getting low, as electricity demand goes up. Steel production is threatened by shortages of metallurgical coal for the coke ovens.

This article is being written before the miners vote on the contract.

The miners alone will decide, not the union officials or the coal operators.

Whether the contract is accepted or not, it marks a victory over the bosses’ union-busting.

If the miners reject the contract, they will enter a fierce battle. Every worker will have a direct stake in this fight.

Either way, the UMWA is an example. It is possible to fight and win.



The march of culture—The new "defense" budget includes \$91 million for military bands, more than the entire amount proposed for the National Endowment for the Arts.

Bright prospects—The nation's lone producer of cannons, government-operated, is doing nicely. "Our major mission here is to be ready to go to war," one exec explained. "Manufacturing cannon is not a viable peacetime proposition," another added.

For cloudy days—Manufacturers of bulletproof clothing are enjoying in-

creased sales to public figures. Some companies now also feature a range of accessories. Like umbrellas—\$900 to \$1,200—"good for shielding submachine gun fire," and a fake armcast and sling with a .357 magnum molded into the cast. \$1,000.

P.S.—Don't bother about the above mentioned attire. A supplier to DuPont says they sell only to "people with real businesses. DuPont doesn't want the vests to get into the wrong hands."

A distinction—When the Reagan

administration said it wanted to postpone UN talks on shifting resources from rich nations to poor ones, some observers saw this as a sharp shift from the Carter policy. Not so, said the *New York Times*. "Under Carter," an article explained, "officials engaged in futile talks; under Reagan, they do not talk at all."

Plain talk—A Florida woman was convicted of publicly cursing a self-described "southern gentleman." She had helped oust him from the Callaway city commission. She said, "My dictionary defines 'SOB' as 'a person

... regarded with contempt, anger, etc.' I think that fits him."

Fire retardant too—The Waterbed Manufacturers Association says 85 percent of landlords discriminate against people who want to use their product. They say this is ridiculous since \$25 will buy \$100,000 insurance covering damage from leaks, collapsed floors, etc. Also, they argue, landlords don't realize that today's waterbed users aren't your "long-haired hippie types with drugs and sex on their minds."

Union Talk

Linda Nordquist, who wrote this article, is a laborer at the Basic Oxygen Furnace at the U.S. Steel Edgar Thompson mill in Braddock, Pennsylvania, near Pittsburgh.

Running, scared, down the steel pouring platform. Light everywhere—it's raining molten steel, must be seventy-five feet in the air. In front of me, behind me, on top of me. I can hear it hitting my hard hat, see it splashing on my face shield. The light is blinding, or am I blinking from the splashing steel drops? Then, I can smell it burning.

"This is it, it's all over. Where's Ernie, can't see him. I must be on fire. I can smell it burning. When do I get out from under, where's the end? I'll have to roll on the ground. Better take this coat off, throw the hat off, get this head scarf off, it's burning."

Finally I'm out from under the rain of steel. Ernie is safe at the end of the platform. Some men are standing on the ground yelling up, "Are you OK? Are you burned?" "I don't know, can't tell—smell

something. . . ." "What happened?

"I bent down to move the hose off the fourth mold and the third one exploded, just blew up. I heard that hissing, sucking sound but before I could move there was a flash of light in my face. I just started to run."

They check me over. The head scarf is full of little burn holes, but I'm OK. They leave. Ernie and I look at each other as if to confirm we are both still alive. "Ernie, I've never had that 'this is it' feeling." He looks relieved, "Me neither. I ran right into the wheelbarrow and I was thinking, 'This is it . . . you like making this extra money but you never wanted to die for it.'"

We talk, relive it several times. "Sheer luck that steel went straight up instead of coming back at you, it could have blown backwards." "If they'd put more hoses up here we wouldn't have to go back and move them." Materials on the opposite platform are on fire. Our heat still needs to be worked.

The foreman comes up. "Are you OK? What happened?" We retell it, but with caution, he might be looking for someone to blame. "Sure you're OK?" "Yep." He leaves. We stand there. Neither one wants to go back and finish the heat. We understand that mold blew up for unknown reasons, not because of something we did. If one can blow, so can another.

* * *

Recently the new head of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration outlined his philosophy as follows: "Hazards are here to stay, they're part of the American enterprise system. It only serves to give Management a black eye when we keep pointing them out. How can we expect business to expand when they have to keep investing in expensive public relations campaigns in order to make an uneducated public understand that hot molten steel spills are simply a necessary cost of doing business?"

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

LABOR VS. NUCLEAR POWER: THE UNION MOVEMENT MUST LEAD THE FIGHT FOR SAFE ENERGY. Speakers: Jane Perkins, chairperson, Central Pennsylvania Union Coalition for Safe Energy and Full Employment, secretary-treasurer of Pennsylvania Socialist Services Union; Fred Decker, district organizer, United Mine Workers District 29. Sat., June 13, 7:30 p.m. Service Employees International Union Local 99, 2724 W. 8th St. Ausp: Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment. For more information call (213) 385-5555.

SAN DIEGO

POLITICAL POLICE PUT ON TRIAL BY SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, witness in trial of socialists against INS, FBI, CIA, and other government agencies; Rodney Johnson, defendant in frame-up trial of unionists at NASCO shipyard; Fred Halstead, plaintiff in socialists' suit; Kevin O'Connor, Irish Rights Committee; Bill Roe, Committee Against Registration and the Draft; Eleanor Richmond, New American Movement. Sat., June 6, 7:30 p.m. Golden Hill Community Center, 2220 Broadway. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

SAN FRANCISCO

AN EVENING IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE FIRST GREAT CIVIL LIBERTIES BATTLE OF THE '80s. Speakers: Mary-Alice Waters, Socialist Workers Party witness in suit against the government; Lester Cole, screenwriter, one of Hollywood Ten; Rev. Moriarty, chairman, Commission on Social Justice, Archdiocese of San Francisco; Kay Wiley, Equal Rights Committee, San Francisco National Organization for Women; Randall Stallings, coordinator, Unitarian Universalists Service Committee; John P. Hunter, cochair, San Francisco Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Hrair Balian, activist, Armenian Solidarity Movement, victim of INS harassment; Bill May, National Lawyers Guild; José Gutiérrez, Guatemalan News and Information Bureau; Paul Kangas, Peace and Freedom Party. Sat., June 13, 8 p.m. Olive Oyl's Bar and Grill, 50 China Basin. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

SAN JOSE

POLITICAL POLICE ON TRIAL: SOCIALISTS VS. FBI, CIA, INS. Speakers: Mary-Alice Waters, plaintiff in Socialist Workers Party suit; Hrair Balian, activist in Armenian Solidarity Movement, harassed by Immigration and Naturalization Service; representative from Guatemala News and Information Bureau; others. Sun., June 14, reception 6 p.m., rally 7 p.m. 44 Race St., near the Alameda. Donation: \$3; \$2 for rally only. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

CHILD MURDERS: WHAT CAN WE DO? A report back on May 25 demonstration in Washington, D.C. Discussion of what to do next. Speakers: André Kahlmorgen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; Reba Williams, volunteer, Committee to Stop Children's Murders; Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party National Committee and member Teamsters Local 528. Sat., June 6, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. N.E. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

FIRSTHAND REPORT ON EL SALVADOR. Hear Father Ray Bourgeois, Maryknoll priest recently returned from El Salvador. Sat., June 13, 2 p.m. Coral Room, Lawson YMCA, 30 W. Chicago Ave. Ausp: Veterans for Peace. For more information call (312) 922-0065.

INDIANA GARY

RALLY TO DEFEND POLITICAL RIGHTS AND STOP GOVERNMENT SPYING. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, trial witness and 1980 Socialist Workers Party candidate for president; Ron Cohen, president, Calumet chapter, Indiana Civil Liberties Union; Ed Whitlock, president, Citizen's Action Coalition of Northwest Indiana; Jack Weinberg, community activist; representatives from National Organization for Women, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., June 6, reception 6 p.m., rally 7:30 p.m. 745 E. Ridge. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

H-BLOCK AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN NORTHERN IRELAND. Speakers: Rich Cahalane, member of Socialist Workers Party and longtime activist around the issues in Northern Ireland; others. Sun., June 14, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

VIETNAM SIX YEARS LATER: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. Slide show. Speaker: Prof. Alan Hooper, University of Minnesota. Fri., June 12, 8 p.m. 508 N. Snelling. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI ST. LOUIS

RALLY TO SUPPORT CIVIL LIBERTIES. Speakers: Don Bolef, vice-president, Coalition for the Environment; Harry Ring, reporter for the *Militant*; Robert Tibbs, business manager, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 5-6; Betty Thompson, councilwoman, University City; Joseph Lapofsky, president, Lawyers Guild. Sat., June 13, reception 7 p.m., rally 8 p.m. First Unitarian Church, 5007 Waterman. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NORTH CAROLINA PIEDMONT

POLITICAL RIGHTS DEFENSE FUND RALLY IN SUPPORT OF SOCIALISTS SUIT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT. Speakers: Irv Joyner, member, North Carolina Association of Black Lawyers, staff attorney of National Prisoners Project, and former lawyer for Wilmington Ten; Lee Faye Mack; Clifton Graves; Doug Jenness, trial witness for Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 13, reception 6:30 p.m., rally 7 p.m. Benton Convention Center, 5th and Cherry St., Winston-Salem. Donation requested. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OHIO CINCINNATI

POLAND IN REVOLT. Speaker: Rachel Knapik, Socialist Workers Party and United Steelworkers union. Sun., June 14, 7 p.m. Militant Labor Bookstore, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

OREGON PORTLAND

POLAND: WORKERS AND FARMERS FIGHT FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. Speakers: Curt Johnson, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., June 7, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

RALLY IN DEFENSE OF POLITICAL RIGHTS. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, witness in Socialist Workers Party suit against the government and 1980 SWP candidate for president; others. Sun., June 14, 7 p.m. NW Service Center, 1819 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

PLANT SHUTDOWNS IN MON VALLEY STEEL. A panel discussion. Speakers: Bill Kalman, member United Steelworkers Local 1397 and Young Socialist Alliance; others. Fri., June 12, 8 p.m. 1100 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

WASHINGTON

POLAND: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT. DeAnn Rathbun, member United Mine Workers Local 1190 and Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh. Sat., June 13, 7 p.m. YWCA, 84 W. Maiden St., Washington, Pa. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

PITTSBURGH

POLAND: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT. Speaker: DeAnn Rathbun, member United Mine Workers Local 1190 and Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh. Fri., June 19, 8 p.m. 1100 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

UTAH SALT LAKE CITY

EVOLUTION VS. CREATIONISM. Speakers: Pam Burchett, member, Socialist Workers Party; Chris Allen, assistant director, Utah chapter of American Atheists. Sat., June 13, 7 p.m. 677 S. 700 E. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON SEATTLE

THE FIRST GREAT CIVIL LIBERTIES BATTLE OF THE '80s. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, witness in trial of Socialist Workers Party suit against the government; Lyle Mercer, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation; Elmer Dixon, Sydney Miller Community Services Center; Santiago Juarez, legal services coordinator, El Centro de la Raza; representative of National Organization for Women. Sat., June 13, 7 p.m. live jazz and refreshments after rally. Mayflower Park Hotel, 4th and Olive Way. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

GRENADA: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT. Slide show by Debbie Tarnapol, recently visited Grenada. Fri., June 12, 7:30 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 957 University Ave. Donation: \$1.50, strikers free. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

In Review

'Rosie the Riveter'

The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter. Produced and directed by Connie Field. 1980.

Connie Field's film *The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter* is the story of women who went to work in the defense industry during World War II. They were actively recruited by the United States government as replacements for the men who were sent to fight the war.

Since its premiere in September at the New York Film Festival at Lincoln Center, *Rosie* has won prizes in festivals in Chicago, Houston, and Florence. It has been bought by four foreign TV sta-

Film

tions, and been seen in this country by scores of labor, community, and women's groups. It is being adapted into six languages, and has never had a bad review.

The way this film has been received illustrates how hungry people are for an honest slice of history.

The film uses interviews and documentary footage to make its point, counterposing reality with government propaganda.

In the film, Field interviews five women who worked in the foundries, shipyards, and assembly lines of the defense industry. The interviews are alternated with clips from government newsreels manufactured to recruit the women. The propaganda is so patronizing and sexist that the whole audience often hissed and booed energetically.

These five women welcomed a chance to make a better living for themselves and their families; to learn skills that they hoped would serve them throughout their lifetimes. They speak with pride about the abilities they discovered they had. They point out that rapid war-time training of women belied the necessity for the long apprenticeships that male workers were subjected to.

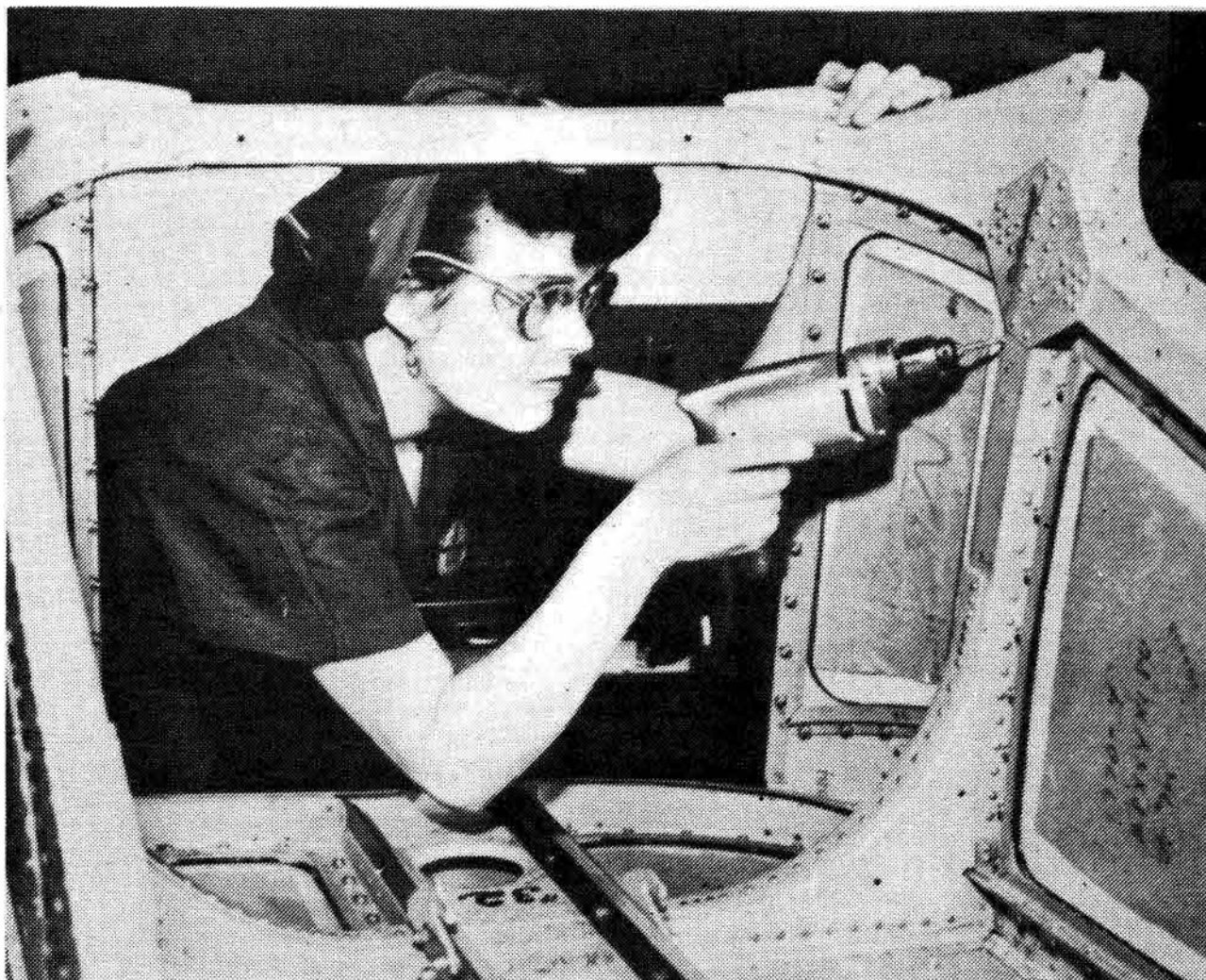
Their pride and confidence in their jobs expose the fiction about transferring homemaking skills to the plants.

The official film clips also show well-rested young mothers dropping off their kids at government-sponsored childcare centers.

What emerges from the interviews is another story. One woman tells of the emotional turmoil she went through when she had to leave her daughter with her mother in another state for almost five years. The woman says, "Daycare centers? They may have had some, but we were never told about it." In the 700 interviews conducted by Connie Field, she found sixty-five women who had children in these daycare centers, and only ten more who had heard of them.

Three of the five women in the film are Black, and they graphically recount their experiences with racism.

Wanita Allen was trained to be a welder, then put to work in the plant's foundry, where the overwhelming majority of workers were Black.



One of four million 'Rosies' who joined the workforce during World War II.

Lyn Childs, who was a burner in a California shipyard, tells of turning up her torch and brandishing it at a naval officer in order to compel him to stop harassing a Filipino co-worker.

These women demonstrate that in addition to rapidly learning their jobs, they learned to recognize company harassment and racism and how to fight against it. They would have been invaluable union militants had they become a permanent part of the country's workforce.

However, Uncle Sam had other plans for his industrious nieces once the war was won. These newly-skilled workers were now expected to return home. Without missing a beat, the newsreels reverse their position, and homemaking once again becomes an all-day affair. Supposedly there are only enough jobs for the returning GIs. The women are presented as relieved to be back in their kitchens.

Lola Weixel, former welder, says, "I thought that all this was going to continue after the war. I thought that this was just a prelude to a lifetime of productive work. It was a shock to me when I realized that was not going to be so."

Today's Rosies, in smaller numbers, broke into industry in the late 1960s and early 1970s as a

result of the fight for women's equality. There have been no newsreels to urge us on, no government funded childcare. We have been viewed by industry as an evil that must be endured due to affirmative action laws. We have been accused of working for "pin money" and taking jobs from male workers.

And now as the economy enters a period of crisis, we are being laid off in droves. As I watched *Rosie*, I felt a real kinship with these women in their anger and dismay at being denied a chance to use important skills and make a decent living. Those of us who have been recently laid off from jobs in industry have the same reactions.

But today's generation of women workers stand on the shoulders of the women who came before us. Our unions have an important role to play in fighting for the gains made through affirmative action programs, as well as protecting the jobs of all workers. And this generation of workers is very clear about another thing. Like Lola Weixel, we want to go back to work, "but not because of a war."

Go see *Rosie the Riveter* and discover a piece of our hidden history.

—Diane Shur

'Lion of the Desert'

Lion of the Desert. A Falcon International Production. Starring Anthony Quinn and Oliver Reed. Produced and Directed by Moustapha Akkad.

Lion of the Desert is an eloquent and moving condemnation of decades of imperialist domination. The film deals with the latter part of a twenty-year struggle by the Libyan masses against colonial rule by Italy, which conquered their land in the early part of the twentieth century.

Film

On one side is the fascist regime of Mussolini. Leading the Libyan masses is Omar Mukhtar. In the early 1930s Mukhtar was captured by the Italian fascists. They hanged him publicly as an example to any who dreamed of liberation.

The film version of this struggle ends as Mukhtar's supporters, despite much suffering, refuse to accept continued foreign domination and decide to fight on.

Special note should be made of the work of producer-director Moustapha Akkad and actor Anthony Quinn. The advantages of having an Arab producer making a film about the history of the Arab people is demonstrated in *Lion of the Desert*.

Akkad avoids the stereotyped and humiliating portrayals of Arabs as dirty savages, or as shiekhs with harems, or of Arab women as docile slaves of their masters. *Lion of the Desert* provides a look at Arab people more as they were and are.

The Bedouin is shown as a proud person. Arab women are portrayed as fighters, an aspect often covered up. For a change, we did not have the distorted picture of Arabs as seen through the eyes of imperialist and Zionist propagandists.

Anthony Quinn makes an outstanding attempt to portray the real Omar Mukhtar, as he was seen by the Libyan masses. Quinn is at his best in this performance.

Lion of the Desert shows how, in order to crush an occupied nation, imperialism has to use the most barbaric methods.

Arab lands are burnt, their villages and towns razed to the ground. The people suffer indiscriminate murder. And when all else fails, thousands are driven into concentration camps where they are hanged or starve to death.

The point of the film is driven home when Mukhtar rebuffs the attempts by his captors to buy him off. "No nation can justify its occupation of another," he explains. Whether it is the white man's burden or the Bible that is used as justification, the aims and savagery of imperialism are the same. The way forward for the oppressed, as *Lion of the Desert* presents it, is to continue the struggle. As Mukhtar says, "We win or we die."

Modern day parallels are easy to make. Most clear is the parallel with the colonial settler state of Israel—the seizures of Arab lands by Europeans; the driving out of the civilian population; the denial of the population's existence as a nation; the indiscriminate military strikes at refugees; and the heroic resistance of the Palestinian population against seemingly insurmountable odds.

—Georges Sayad

Letters

Evolution by 6 to 1

A *Los Angeles Times* clipping shows that only one in twenty Californians is really a stone fundamentalist.

The May 16 article cited an April poll that showed that "the evolution theory is favored 6 to 1 among those surveyed, although about half said they believe it would be all right to teach both views."

Only 6 percent said creation should be taught instead of evolution.

The telephone survey contacted 1,015 people.

D.S.
Hollywood, California

concerning inmates and prisons should be written and printed, so that more light may come to shine on all the barbaric things within the states-system.

I think that it's a shame and a waste for a man to have to pay his life for a crime committed in terror and haste. The men on death row will always be sorry and paying for their crimes, no matter how long they live.

Being sorry and bothered with conscience won't bring their victim back, but neither will their death!

Brother Larry Day
Boydton, Virginia

Fast for peace

A Hudson County Committee Against Registration and the Draft activist, Gil Corby, went on a week-long fast starting May 22 to focus attention on U.S. military involvement in El Salvador. He and his supporters distributed thousands of leaflets highlighting the Carter and Reagan administration's aid to the right-wing junta. Corby's fast was an appeal to support House Resolution 1509, a bill calling for a cutoff of all military aid to El Salvador. The favorable response to Corby's appeal in Jersey City is another sign of the deep opposition in this country to

the government's militarization drive.
K.C.E.
Jersey City, New Jersey

More on Asian-Americans

Your paper usually does a very good job of reporting on minority affairs in the U.S. However, I do not understand why you give so very little coverage to the affairs of East Asian Americans.

It would be nice to see more coverage on Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and IndoChinese

Americans. Chinese-Americans are under attack in the Los Angeles busing dispute and Vietnamese-Americans are being attacked by racist fishermen and the KKK in Southeast Texas.
Ch'en Yi

I would like information about reduced rates for inmates.

In struggle and solidarity,
A prisoner
New Haven, Connecticut

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Likes our coverage

I am presently incarcerated at the Community Correctional Center in New Haven, awaiting trial. It appears that I will be spending the better part of seven months before I even appear in court.

As you probably realize, the newspaper distributed at this institution is that of the capitalist press. A few inmates receive some newspapers from the left, but none the *Militant*.

Having been involved and active within the left for some years, I am familiar with the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* and value its objective, non-dogmatic style of reporting.

I value mostly the coverage on the Cuban revolution, which has never varied from a pure Marxist analysis that no other left newspaper can boast. Year in and year out the *Militant* reports all the news that's fit to print.

Correction

A typographical error appeared in the June 5 *Militant* in the article "FBI Target: The Black Rights Struggle." In referring to the civil rights demonstrations in 1963, the sentence should have read:

"From May to August, 978 demonstrations occurred in 209 cities."

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.

A shame and a waste

I am attempting to establish a newsletter that will deal with present prison conditions in the United States. I need comments, ideas, short stories, anything that deals with the realities of prison life.

Forward all articles and letters to: Brother Larry D. Day #114594, Mecklenburg Correctional Center, Post Office Box 500, Boydton, Virginia 23917.

I've a dear friend on death row now, just waiting. I've read a lot of articles on death row, and nothing is good about such a place. I feel more articles

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VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.
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WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

Second coal contract: the miners decide

By Stu Singer

June 3—After over two months on strike, negotiators for the United Mine Workers union and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association announced a second proposed contract on May 28. Miners voted down the first one by a two-to-one margin March 31.

The new contract proposal is being voted on June 6, after miners have had time to read the full text and hold meetings in every union local to discuss it.

The two-month strike forced the operators to back down on some of the worst features of the first contract.

The first proposal included a forty-five day probation period for new miners. This was dropped. Royalty payments on nonunion coal, dropped in the first contract, were put back and even increased in the second. The Arbitration Review Board was supposed to continue functioning for ninety days according to the first contract. It is dissolved immediately in the second, but its previous decisions remain intact. Minor concessions are made to union demands for job security when mines are leased or construction work is contracted out.

Other points that were gains for the union in the first proposed contract, remain in the second. These include wage and benefit hikes of 10 to 12 percent a year; a dental program; and pensions for the first time for the widows of miners who retired before 1974.

In a cheap shot, the operators got this pension lowered from \$100 to \$95 a month in the second contract.

Chrysler

Since the mid-1970s, the American ruling class has been on an offensive against workers and their unions. That offensive keeps claiming new victims.

It began with the city workers in New York. A "budget crisis" was proclaimed. The union leaders accepted wage freezes, loss of jobs, and productivity concessions. Everyone suffered from service cutbacks.



At April 30 miners' demonstration in Pittsburgh

Militant/Joey Ryan

Under the cover of a threatened Chrysler bankruptcy, the auto barons convinced the United Auto Workers leadership to accept one concession after another.

Now the leadership of twelve of fourteen rail unions has accepted a \$200 million takeback by Conrail.

But the mine workers refuse to make the concessions demanded by the companies. In 1977-78 it took a 111-day strike to force the mine operators to retreat. In 1981, the operators have

been forced to back down again on some of their main union-busting demands.

What is different about the UMWA?

In a virtual revolution starting in the late 1960s, the miners threw out their old bureaucracy. They instituted the most democratic procedures in the American union movement. The ability of the rank-and-file miners to read, discuss, and vote on their contracts has prevented the companies from imposing the kind of take-back con-

tracts that are being imposed on other unions.

When the first contract was being negotiated, the operators wanted a seven-day workweek, destruction of the health and pension fund, and an end to the safety rights miners have established in union mines.

Black lung protests

But the miners started flexing their

Continued on page 24

Black United Front backs Grenada revolution

By Diane Wang

NEW YORK—"It's the ideas of the revolution the U.S. government is afraid of," Adeyemi Bandle of the Black United Front explained. "And Grenada is exhibiting an example. When people see what can be done—that's what influences them."

To show people what can be done—what has been done in Grenada—the BUF is planning several activities.

On July 19 the BUF, along with several other groups, will cosponsor a rally in defense of Grenada. The rally, to be held at Brooklyn's Medgar Evers College, will start at 7:00 p.m. Speakers will answer the series of local CBS news programs that falsely portrayed Grenada as a police state.

At the end of August the BUF will sponsor a tour to Grenada (see box), with a brief visit to Trinidad and Tobago also.

Solidarity with Grenada has been a priority for the BUF, Bandle explained. "We realize the amount of pressure Grenada has been put under and the importance of that revolution, the first revolution in the English-speaking Caribbean."

Those who go on the tour "will learn about Grenada, about the tangible kinds of successes that have been made," Bandle said. In Grenada, "it wasn't just a change of government, with a new prime minister, a new cabinet, a new parliament, but conditions that remained the same. Clearly, in Grenada there has been a qualitative improvement in people's lives."

Even Grenada's enemies, Bandle said, "have to admit at every turn that the people are benefiting from the revolution—scholarships, free education, medical service that has been improved," and so forth.

Nonetheless, the U.S. government has gone on a campaign against Grenada. "Grenada's government, the People's Revolutionary Government, has taken a position of self-determination. They plan to determine who they'll be friendly with, who they plan to ask for aid and support." Washington "can't allow that kind of example to remain so close to what the U.S. calls their 'backyard.' What they realize, even though they always talk about the Cubans sending arms and

stuff like that, that it's the ideas of the revolution that are most dangerous."

On the tour people will learn the truth. Moreover, said Bandle, "we're going to be engaged in actual work projects in Grenada. Everybody who's going is an activist." The tour will also take down much-needed educational supplies.

The group will spend three days in Trinidad-Tobago, where a government favored by Washington is in power. "We have extremely good relations

with the National Joint Action Committee, which has been struggling since 1970," Bandle explained. "The trip takes on even greater importance now because they are going to contest the upcoming elections, and they stand a fairly good chance. We think our presence there can be of some inspiration."

"Also," Bandle continued, "we will begin to show the kinds of glaring comparisons between Trinidad and Grenada."

Visit Grenada—see for yourself!

The Black United Front International Affairs Section is organizing an educational visit to the Caribbean island of Grenada August 27 to September 8. This is the perfect way to find out the truth about the Grenadian revolution—in contrast to the lies told by the media when it mentions Grenada at all.

The BUF brochure states: "Join us as we engage in work projects, building of the international air-

port in Grenada, lectures, meetings with government officials and the people, a visit to the home of Malcolm X's mother, and other activities. . . .

"Visit and see for yourselves!"

The cost will be \$550 per person. For more information or to make the requested \$150 deposit, contact Black United Front International Affairs Section, 415 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, New York 11217, telephone (212) 596-1991.