

## Big leap in arms budget proposed

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

The Reagan administration announced massive new social cuts and record military spending in its budget proposals released February 6 for fiscal year 1983.

Reagan said he will increase military spending to at least \$216 billion — a rise of more than 19 percent — next year. But he asked authority from Congress to raise the war budget even higher — to the gigantic sum of \$257.5 billion.

The proposed budget as a whole will further shift the burden of the current economic crisis onto the backs of the working class and working farmers. As is always the case, it is doubly and triply exploited workers who will suffer most — Blacks, Latinos and women.

With unemployment over 10 million and rising, Reagan proposed no measures to provide jobs. On the contrary, he pressed ahead with attacks on the very social programs that shelter the unemployed from total destitution.

### Praises Congress for cuts

In his message to Congress, the president noted with satisfaction how that body has already reduced the growth of social programs by \$41 billion for the next three years.

Reagan pointed out that eligibility standards for food stamps and student loans have been tightened. He proudly pointed to cuts in the school lunch program and Medicaid.

"The \$4 billion make-work CETA public sector jobs program was abolished," he noted. In the agricultural field, "dairy subsidies have been cut substantially." He added that "twice-a-year cost-of-living adjustments for Federal retirees have been eliminated."

He then proposed to push ahead with deeper cuts for 1983.

The plan is to reduce absolutely — not just slow down the rate of increase — in the funding for many social programs.

Take Medicaid. The proposal is to spend \$17 billion on this program in fiscal year 1983, about \$1 billion less than will be spent during the current year.

Reagan proposed spending only \$10.3 billion for food stamps. That is \$902 million less than will be spent in fiscal 1982.

Under current legislation, food stamp recipients are not expected to spend more than 30 percent of their income on food. Reagan proposed raising this to 35 percent. The deduction for establishing food stamp eligibility — under which 18 percent of gross earnings are disregarded — would be abolished. As if that weren't enough, Reagan urged that energy assistance payments be counted as "income" for purposes of determining food stamp eligibility.

For fiscal year 1983, Reagan proposed spending only \$5.4 billion on welfare, down from \$7.8 billion this year. Most of this would come from the Aid to Families With Dependent Children program, which would be slashed by \$2.2 billion.

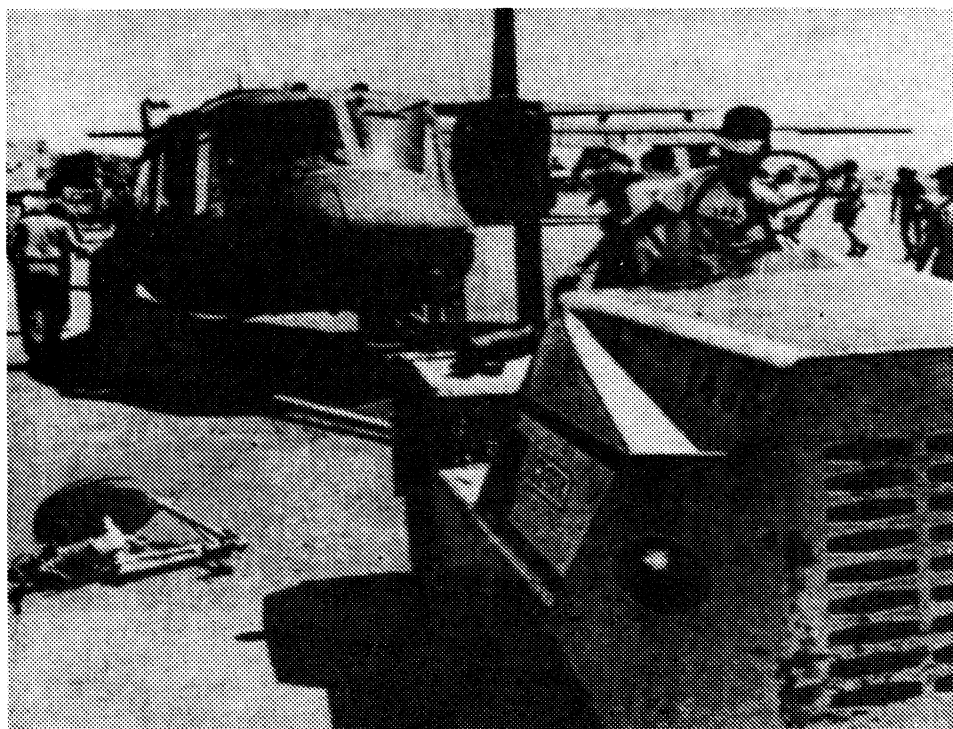
### 'Workfare' programs imposed

States would be required to have so-called workfare programs for welfare applicants. Welfare recipients would have to demonstrate that they were diligently searching for work. Income and assets not previously counted would be taken into account when determining welfare eligibility.

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## Reagan plunges deeper into El Salvador war

### U.S. tries to save junta as rebels gain



U.S. helicopter arrives at Ilopango Air Base outside San Salvador February 6. Reagan has rushed \$25 million worth of aircraft to dictatorship in last week.

BY HARRY RING

FEBRUARY 10 — In the face of growing opposition, the Reagan administration is deepening its intervention in El Salvador's civil war.

In an interview published in the February 8 *New York Times*, Secretary of State Alexander Haig declared that as far as the administration is concerned the stakes in Central America today are higher than they were in Vietnam.

"This is a profound challenge to the security of our hemisphere," Haig told the *Times*.

"We are talking about the growing vulnerability of other states in the Central American complex," he added.

"We are, in effect, at the very core of United States hemispheric interests."

When Haig speaks of U.S. "interests" being jeopardized by the spread of the Central American revolution, he doesn't mean the interests of U.S. working people. His concern is the tiny capitalist class that has exploited that area so brutally and so profitably.

Because the colonial system that feeds the capitalists' profits is now seriously threatened, military support for the beleaguered Salvadoran junta is being rushed in at an expanded rate.

Military helicopters, a key weapon for government forces, are being shipped to El Salvador to replace those blown up in a daring rebel attack on January 27. To replace the five or six copters, and a similar number of planes, destroyed in that raid, the Pentagon is sending twelve new helicopters, eight jet fighters, three or four troop transport planes, four spotter planes, and other equipment.

### More advisers

A Pentagon official told a congressional committee that the expanded shipment would mean that it may be necessary to send more "advisers" to El Salvador to supervise transfer of the warplanes.

Meanwhile, the administration is moving ahead with plans to sell \$615 million worth of advanced fighter aircraft to Venezuela.

James Buckley, an under-secretary of state, told a Senate committee that

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## Antiwar demonstrations are set for March 27 and June 12

Two national actions are scheduled for this spring that deserve the full support of everyone who opposes Washington's military buildup and its drive toward war.

The first is a national demonstration to be held in Washington, D.C., on

### EDITORIAL

March 27 against U.S. military intervention in El Salvador. A parallel action is scheduled to take place in Los Angeles the same day. These actions, called by a coalition initiated by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), will occur on the eve of the election fraud being staged by El Salvador's military junta.

Then, on June 12, a national demonstration for disarmament is to be held in New York. This action has been called by a wide range of organizations. It reflects the growing opposition to the terrible threat to humanity posed by the U.S. government's gigantic nuclear arsenal.

The call for the June 12 action grew out of protests in this country last year, in which thousands participated in campus teach-ins against the danger of nuclear war, and demonstrated against the MX missile and the draft. It was also inspired by the massive marches in Europe last fall against stationing new NATO nuclear missiles on European soil.

These spring actions were called just days before President Reagan asked Congress to spend more than a trillion-and-a-half dollars on the armed forces in the next five years.

Reagan proposed beefing up the Pentagon's gigantic arsenal of nuclear war-

heads, missiles, long-range bombers, and submarines, and driving ahead with plans to station more of these weapons in Western Europe.

Plans to double the amount to be spent in the next year on chemical and biological weapons, including a new nerve gas, had already been announced.

Reagan also called for substantially expanding the ability of U.S. conventional forces to intervene in other countries. "Improvements in our airlift and sealift forces to transport equipment and soldiers rapidly to counter military aggression anywhere in the world, are moving forward," his budget message stated.

The proposal to concentrate more resources on conventional forces reveals

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## Salvador protest called for D.C.

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A national demonstration against Reagan's escalation of support to the junta in El Salvador was announced at a news conference in the House of Representatives here on February 5.

A national demonstration scheduled for Washington, D.C., March 27 — the eve of the phony elections to be held under the junta's bayonets — was announced by Heidi Tarver, national coordinator of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

CISPES, one of the largest anti-intervention organizations in the United States, is the initiator and proposed coordinator of a broad coalition of religious, solidarity, Black, community, and radical organizations that are the initial sponsors of this action.

"This is a critical moment," said Tarver. "Twenty years ago, President John F. Kennedy promised no U.S. ground troops would ever be sent to Vietnam. Now is the time people of this country must stand up and say, 'No, we won't allow another Vietnam.'"

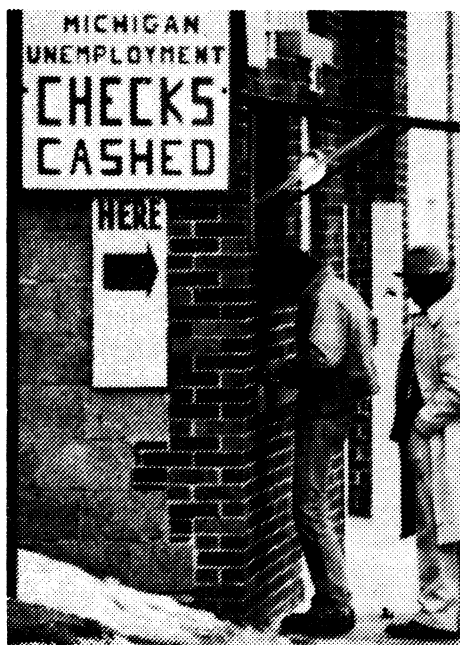
The formal written call and initial leaflets for the action are expected to be ready for distribution at the end of this week.

Meanwhile, activists on the West Coast are already in the midst of planning meetings to prepare for a West Coast March 27 demonstration in Los Angeles, in coordination with the Washington march.

Solidarity activists in the Southwest have scheduled a February 14 planning meeting in San Antonio to organize a regionwide demonstration on March 27.

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# Reagan proposes big leap in arms budget



**Detroit unemployed. New Reagan budget slashes programs jobless rely on.**

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The administration proposed to virtually halt the construction of public housing and replace it with payments to private landlords — the so-called voucher system. In determining a family's eligibility for vouchers, even the skimpy food stamps allowance would be counted as income. All in all, housing subsidies for 3.4 million families would be cut by \$3 billion.

Reagan proposed spending only \$2.2 billion in fiscal year 1983, down from \$4.3 billion, on job training programs.

He proposed cutting \$300 million out of mass transit funds. Federal operating subsidies will be only 62 percent of the 1982 subsidies. Reagan wants to abolish these subsidies completely by 1985. This means that there will be sharp upward pressure on transit fares around the nation.

Reagan is proposing to eliminate \$185 million from the Amtrak budget. This would reduce Amtrak service to the Northeast Corridor and lead to layoffs of thousands of railworkers. In addition, he is pressing ahead with his plan to sell off Conrail.

He proposed to abolish the Legal Services Corporation, which pays legal fees for poor people in civil cases.

Even where Reagan is proposing to increase the amount of funding, the result will be cuts in services.

## Medicare cutbacks

For example, Reagan is proposing to increase Medicare spending from \$49.9 billion to \$55.4 billion. This skimpy increase actually means that there will be

a flat 2 percent reduction in reimbursements to hospitals with Medicare patients.

The amount paid for physician services will rise only in line with the consumer price index, not at the much faster rate of increase for medical costs. Medicare recipients will have to pay 5 percent of the costs for home services. It is worth noting that Medicare is part of the Social Security system, and these cuts set a precedent for attacks on Social Security.

## Tax giveaways for the rich

Working people are seeing social programs further devastated, the rich are benefiting through huge tax cuts and giveaways. Writing in the February 8 *Wall Street Journal*, Norman C. Miller noted that rich people like himself "get our income taxes cut 10% this year and next, plus inflation-indexed cuts forever. The wealthiest among us get their tax rates cut to 50% from 70%."

"We get a sizable cut in our capital gains taxes," Miller continued. "We can shelter substantial sums in IRAs and Keoghs and get big annual tax deductions to boot. We can invest in tax-free 'All-Savers' certificates paying premium interest rates. . . . The corporations we work for and invest in will get stunning profit gains from liberalized depreciation rules and tax-rate cuts."

"Even if corporations lose money," he added, "they can cut losses by leasing unused tax credits to profitable companies, which can then lower their tax payments even more."

"The leasing gimmick is akin to food stamps for the corporations," he noted.

## Unprecedented military buildup

One group of corporations stands to draw special benefits — those that have military contracts. This is one market that looks bullish.

Reagan wants to spend \$1.64 trillion dollars over the next five years for the war budget. In fiscal year 1983, he proposes to spend \$216 billion, an increase from \$183 billion that the administration plans to spend this year.

Ominously, Reagan is asking permission to spend an additional \$40 billion on war, for a grand total of \$257.5. In the past, such a large gap between budget authorization and actual proposed expenditures has only existed when the United States is actually at war. The proposed figures don't count \$5.5 billion spent on nuclear weapons that is not included in the Defense Department's budget.

On strategic nuclear forces, the budget calls for a rise of almost \$7 bil-

lion from the current fiscal year. The increased funds would be spent on the B-1 long-range bomber, Trident 2 and cruise missiles, and the MX land-based missile system.

By far the lion's share of the increase goes to increases in "conventional" forces. Getting special attention are the Rapid Deployment Force and a big increase in naval expenditures.

The February 7 *New York Times* explained what the U.S. warmakers intend. Under the guise that Soviet forces might invade the Persian Gulf region, the *Times* said, Defense Department officials want "the United States [to] have the capability to hit back there or in Cuba, Libya, Vietnam or the Asian land mass of the Soviet Union itself." Especially ominous is the reference to Cuba, in light of sharpening U.S. threats against the revolutionary island.

The combination of huge tax cuts for the rich and an unprecedented "peacetime" military buildup means gigantic budget deficits.

Reagan has given up all talk of balancing the budget by fiscal year 1984, which is what he originally promised. He estimates that the budget deficit will be \$91.5 billion in 1983, on top of an estimated \$98.6 billion deficit for this year.

The high government deficit tends to keep interest rates high, making it more difficult for workers to get loans for mortgages, autos, and other consumer goods. It directly contributes to unemployment in these industries.

Even some circles on Wall Street are

concerned about the implications of this. Analysts at Aubrey G. Lanston & Company, a Wall Street firm specializing in government securities, wrote that the huge borrowing by the federal government to finance the deficit "has the potential for creating an all-out credit crisis in the not-too-distant future."

Such a credit crisis would mean that millions of additional workers would be thrown onto the streets to join those that are unemployed already. If the Federal Reserve tries to finance the deficit by printing additional money, runaway inflation could also result.

Reflecting increased fears of a depression, the Dow Jones industrial average dropped 17.60 points following the release of the Reagan budget.

Wall Street is not concerned about the Reagan budget for the reasons working people are. Instead, the bankers want even deeper cuts in social spending. They fear that Reagan is not going far enough!

## American Labor Struggles 1877-1934

By Samuel Yellen

416 pp., \$6.95

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## June 12 antiwar rally is under way

BY NORTON SANDLER

On June 12, antiwar forces from around the country will gather in New York for a demonstration at the United Nations.

The demonstration will focus on the UN's second Special Session on Disarmament, where the question of nuclear weapons will be debated.

The demonstration is inspired in part by the massive anti-nuclear-weapons protests that rocked Europe last fall.

Meetings held in New York to map out plans for the demonstration and for other activities to be held during the UN session have been attended by many groups and individuals.

Bruce Cronin, an organizer for the Campaign for the Second UN Special Session on Disarmament, told the *Militant* that the January 29-30 meetings were attended by representatives from the National Black United Front, the National Black Independent Political

Party, Harlem Fightback, Mobilization for Survival, the War Resisters League, the World Council of Churches, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, United Auto Workers District 65, Hospital Workers Union 1199, the U.S. Peace Council, S.A.N.E., Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the Communist Party, the Communist Workers Party, and many other organizations.

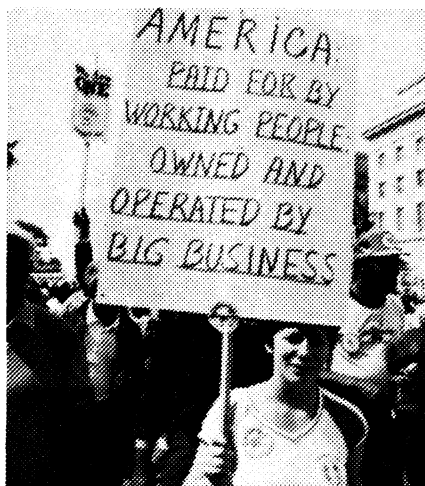
Cronin said the organization welcomes the participation of groups and individuals from across the country.

He reported that organizing is under way in a number of cities including Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, St. Louis, Chicago, and Minneapolis.

For more information on the demonstration contact the Campaign for the Second UN Special Session on Disarmament, 853 Broadway, Room 2109, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 460-8980.

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# Now Ford workers face giveback demands

## Company seeks cost-of-living and work-rule concessions



Ford workers leaving Mahwah, New Jersey, plant when it shut down in 1980. Ford is using threat of more closures to blackmail auto workers into concessions.

BY ELIZABETH ZIERS

DETROIT — Concession talks between Ford Motor Company and the United Auto Workers continue here as Ford seeks to score a victory where General Motors failed. Vocal opposition among the UAW rank and file to givebacks convinced the UAW's bargaining team that they could not sell the members on GM's plans for a \$5-to-\$6-an-hour reduction in wages and benefits.

Ford's initial proposal was turned down by the UAW negotiators. It included the following: a fifteen-month freeze on future cost of living raises, elimination of paid personal holidays, one week less vacation time, and five years' seniority before a worker would get full wages and benefits.

Ford also demanded concessions in relief time and work rules, supposedly to achieve greater productivity and "full utilization of the workforce."

In return, they offered to pay Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) for a longer period to workers with at least ten years' seniority, and to close no more plants for a year.

General Motors management is anxious for Ford to get its concessions. To

back them up, GM announced the permanent shutdown of the Fisher Body Trim Plant in Euclid, Ohio. Both GM and UAW Vice-President Owen Bieber blamed the shutdown on GM workers' refusal to accept concessions.

Ford is banking on workers being convinced the company is in worse financial shape than General Motors. The auto industry giants are playing a game of divide and conquer against the auto workers. The end of an industrywide contract weakens the union.

A "highly regarded" Wall Street analyst, Maryann Keller, said in Detroit February 3 that because Ford has been closing plants, a Ford worker "may be a little more receptive to the idea of concessions. He has seen his company deteriorate."

The latest episode in Ford's poverty plea has been the sudden announcement that the SUB fund is running dry. Workers with less than ten years' seniority at Ford (about 60,000 of us) will receive no SUB.

Ford's demand for concessions are falling on ears that heard it all during the Chrysler crisis.

"Sure, I would give up a few concessions," said Duncan Harrison, laid off from Ford's Dearborn Stamping plant with nine years' seniority, "if they could guarantee me I would still have my job. Even if they guarantee it, what does that mean? Look at Chrysler. They're still closing plants."

*Elizabeth Ziers works on the line in the Dearborn Assembly plant at Ford Rouge near Detroit. She is a member of UAW Local 600.*

## Affirmative action is a casualty of latest round of auto layoffs

BY SUSAN ANMUTH

NEWARK, N.J. — The letter from Ford Motor Company began, "It is with deep regret and personal concern that I must announce that production operations on the afternoon shift are discontinued at our Edison facility."

Fifteen hundred people at Ford's Metuchen assembly plant in Edison, New Jersey, were laid off at one stroke.

Rumors about eliminating a shift had circulated for months. But no matter how much we expected the ax to fall, it felt awful when it did.

A woman with eight years' seniority who'd worked beside me says she can't believe how depressed she is. And how horrible the atmosphere was when people went to pick up their final paychecks.

People still working at Metuchen say conditions are much worse. The foremen are nastier, the line speed is faster. And, of course, the threat of Ford's shutting down the entire plant hangs over everybody.

Also, there are very few women left. Before the shift elimination, 250 people, or about 10 percent of the workforce were women. Many were Blacks and Latinas.

Ten percent is not a whole lot when you consider that half the population is female, but it was a start. It took the movement for women's rights, building on the victories of Blacks who won affirmative action, to force Ford to hire women. Eight years ago, around half a dozen brave pioneers cracked the Metuchen plant. Most of the rest of us were hired within the last three years.

Now, of course, a layoff back to April 1973 means we've been wiped out. Affirmative action may as well have never been; the discrimination which kept Ford from hiring us in the first place is being perpetuated.

The seniority system cries out to be modified to protect union members from discriminatory layoffs. The United Auto Workers (UAW) does support certain modifications of seniority. For example, one woman at Metuchen is keeping her job because she was elected recording secretary of the union local, and officials don't get laid off whatever their seniority. This makes sense, because the union would be weakened if our officials got tossed out every layoff.

Another modification of seniority won

by the union is affirmative action for women, Black, and Hispanic workers to enter the skilled trades.

But we need to go further to protect the gains of affirmative action from being destroyed.

There's another aspect to discriminatory layoffs. At Metuchen, women have been among the most militant, serious fighters on every issue that's come up. The Local 980 Women's Committee was the strongest, best respected body in the local. It defended women from management harassment. The Women's Committee got officials of the local to distribute a newsletter explaining the UAW's stake in the air controllers' strike and to invite a Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization representative to address two union meetings.

The Women's Committee organized ten buses to the September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration.

With only four women left at the plant, you can bet Ford management is heaving a huge sigh of relief.

The seniority system should be modified so that after a layoff the proportions of women, Hispanics, and Blacks remain the same as before a layoff. This is a simple assertion of equality, of the right of every segment of workers to have access to jobs in bad times as well as good.

Seniority was originally won to protect the militants, the "troublemakers" who built the unions in the first place.

Affirmative action deepens the

UAW's tradition of defending the interests of its members most in need, and therefore strengthening the union as a whole. Any contract negotiations should modify the seniority system to protect members against discriminatory layoffs.

Local 980 at Metuchen held a union meeting January 31. Around 300 showed up, an unusually large number. People were eager to find out what's going on and how to make sense of it all.

In his opening report the local president stressed seniority, and the need to grant Ford wage and cost-of-living freezes to save jobs. During the discussion, a few people cited the Chrysler disaster and explained that givebacks will not save jobs. The room was perfectly silent as people listened.

One laid-off member, a man, raised the idea of opposing discriminatory layoffs. He was heckled by an older right-winger, but later other workers said they appreciated his remarks.

Workers and ex-workers at Metuchen are sorting out the attacks we're experiencing. More people are concluding that our lives need not be at the mercy of the tiny minority who own Ford Motor Company.

We're going to have to transform our union back into the fighting organization it started out as.

*Susan Anmuth, a member of UAW Local 980, worked at the Ford Assembly plant in Metuchen, New Jersey, for three years.*



## Contract coverage boosts 'Militant' sales to auto workers

Recent *Militant* articles concerning the auto industry have sparked wide distribution among auto workers.

Seventeen single copies and three subscriptions were sold to United Auto Workers members attending meetings in Washington, D.C., around the contract reopenings.

In northern New Jersey, twenty-one workers at the Ford plant in Edison and eleven at the General Motors plant in Linden bought copies.

The next week, twelve copies were sold to workers at the Hyatt Rollerbearing factory in Clark, New Jersey. That issue featured an article on their plant.

In Detroit, despite extremely bad weather, sales of the *Militant* at auto plant gates increased.

Members of the Kansas City, Missouri, branch of the Socialist Workers Party made photocopies of the contract reopening article, attached a *Militant* subscription form, and handed out 1,000 to workers at two General Motors plants.

In Euclid, Ohio, near Cleveland, 1,500 auto workers recently learned they will lose their jobs as GM phases out its Fisher Body plant during the next year. Around 1,000 of them came to a union meeting on February 7. Supporters of Alicia Merel, a UAW member running for U.S. Senate on the SWP ticket, distributed hundreds of campaign statements about the attacks against auto workers. Nine *Militants* and two *Young Socialists* were sold.

Two socialists who work at the GM plant in Tarrytown, New York, sold eight copies of the *Militant* to co-workers. They also sold six copies of the *Education for Socialists* bulletin that explains why socialists support the National Black Independent Political Party.

In Philadelphia, thirty copies of the *Militant* were sold in one day to members of UAW Local 92 at a Budd railcar plant.

# Nicaraguan foreign minister blasts U.S. slander campaign as cover for war moves

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

NEW YORK — Charging that Washington was pursuing a "dangerous and reckless policy" which threatened to spark a war throughout Central America, Nicaragua's foreign minister declared that his country wanted peaceful relations with the United States, but would not be bullied or intimidated.

Rev. Miguel D'Escoto, a Sandinista leader and Maryknoll priest, appeared at a crowded press conference here February 4. That night, in a TV debate, he defended the Nicaraguan revolution against scurrilous slanders by Jeane Kirkpatrick, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

At the press conference, D'Escoto rebutted the charge that Nicaragua was being used as a conduit for arms to the Salvadoran rebels and branded the charge a smokescreen for U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

"I have come to the United States to speak directly to the American people," the Nicaraguan leader declared, "to say that the U.S. government is making these false charges now to help provide a pretext for their increasing armed intervention in a losing battle in El Salvador."

Despite Nicaragua's efforts to normalize relations with the United States, D'Escoto said, "the Reagan administration continues to provoke us. A leading member of the administration, Ambassador Kirkpatrick, said recently that she in many ways prefers the former Somoza regime to the present Sandinista government."

"That was a regime that had the highest infant mortality rate in Latin America, one of the highest illiteracy rates in this hemisphere, one of the largest landless populations, and the most corrupt government in the region."

"It was a completely undemocratic dynasty installed by the U.S., which refused to hold legitimate elections for fifty years."

He added, "If this is what the Reagan administration prefers, then we understand why they don't like what we are doing in our country."

Detailing some of the impressive social gains of the Nicaraguan revolution, D'Escoto added: "We are accused of being a militarist nation. . . . It is true that we are increasing our armed forces, which we regret the necessity of doing, but which we must do so long as the United States threatens us with blockade or invasion."

He charged: "The U.S. government knowingly makes false accusations about us. They publicly yearn for a return to a murderous regime in our country. They block our loans. They let our enemies train openly on their territory. They threaten us with blockades and invasion."

Assailing the hypocrisy of U.S. charges against his country, D'Escoto revealed that six months ago Nicaragua and Honduras had agreed to set up a joint patrol of their common border to verify that arms are not crossing into Honduras on their way to El Salvador. Honduras has done nothing to put the

agreement into effect and Washington has done nothing to persuade it to do so.

In his debate that night with Kirkpatrick on the MacNeil/Lehrer show, Kirkpatrick repeated the allegations that Nicaragua was serving as a conduit for Cuban arms to the Salvadoran guerrillas.

Aware that Honduras recently denied that any large arms shipment had passed from Nicaragua through Honduras, Kirkpatrick switched the story and claimed the guns were being shipped across the Gulf of Fonseca.

Pressed by D'Escoto for proof, she mumbled about secret satellite photos and "confidential" sources.

At one point, she actually stated that U.S. policy in El Salvador was supported by "all of the democratic governments of Latin America, quite literally." D'Escoto reminded her that neither Mexico nor Panama supported U.S. policy and many of the governments which she claimed did support the policy did not define their position that way.

Rebutting Kirkpatrick's unsubstantiated charge that the Sandinista government was "totalitarian," D'Escoto pointed out that Amnesty International and the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists, as well as the Inter-American Human Rights Commission of the Organization of American States, had certified in recent reports that there were no human rights violations in Nicaragua.

On one of her charges, Kirkpatrick



In a televised debate, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto (left) answered lies of U.S. ambassador to United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick (right).



did not evoke a denial from the Nicaraguan foreign minister. When she accused Nicaragua of complete support to the Salvadoran rebels, D'Escoto responded:

"Officially our government, and generally our people, have reiterated our solidarity with all people who are fighting for their liberation."

"After all, we know what it means to live under oppression. We lived under seventy years of oppression since the United States intervened in Nicaragua, occupied our country, and then created the Somocista national guard to keep

our people under control.

"So," D'Escoto declared, "we can sympathize with those like the Salvadoran people who have been suffering a similar type of agony for so long. . . ."

"It is understandable that we would manifest our concern, our spiritual and moral solidarity with these people."

As he had pointed out at his press conference earlier that day: "The United States is very wrong if it thinks it can commit troops to El Salvador, Guatemala, or any other country and that the other nations of Central America will stand idly by."

## Socialist confronts prowar opponent

BY RICHARD CAHALANE

ALBANY, New York — Sam Stratton, Democratic congressman from the twenty-eighth congressional district in New York, is a member of the House Armed Services Committee and chair of one of its subcommittees. When Stratton held a "town meeting" here January 22, over 100 people showed up and the event was broadcast live over cable TV.

The crowd included members of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, who passed out leaflets opposing U.S. support to the military junta in El Salvador, and the local NAACP Youth Council, among others.

Pat Mayberry, Socialist Workers Party candidate challenging Stratton, and her campaign supporters were there with a statement condemning Washington's war drive in Central America and the Caribbean.

The audience raised a broad range of issues, questioning Stratton on U.S. involvement in El Salvador, Social Security cuts, layoffs, and nursing home deregulations. Stratton's answers were met with hissing, booing, and derisive laughter.

He stated that "there is no military junta in El Salvador. The 30,000 killed there were killed by the guerrillas, not the government. This war [in El Salvador] is a deliberate attempt to take over Central America, to move into Mexico, into the soft underbelly of the United States. This is proven by the evidence laid out by Secretary Haig."

Stratton further explained, "the reason there's a weapons gap between us and the Russians is because for too many years military dollars went to social programs."

Pat Mayberry was one of those who took the floor at the meeting. "I'm a railworker and a socialist, and I'm the only announced opponent of Stratton," she said.

"We need jobs," she continued. "Stratton avoids this issue. Many workers are being threatened with layoffs, including myself. The Amsterdam area alone has lost 14,000 jobs in the last fourteen years. General Electric, 6,000 in a decade.

"How can you say that you bring home the jobs?" she asked Stratton. "How can you say that military spending creates jobs? It hasn't."

The crowd responded with enthusiastic applause. Stratton answered, "I'm only a congressman, not god. . . . People think that because I'm for big business that I'm against the consumer. . . ."

Mayberry interrupted him, "Maybe that's what's wrong here. You can't be for two different things at the same time. It's like Reagan saying he supports the Polish workers. Reagan's a union-buster. He busted the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization. He's no friend of labor, here or in Poland."

When the meeting broke up Mayberry spoke to many of those leaving. Several wished her luck. "Anyone like you, run-

ning against Stratton, gets my vote," one young man said.

That same evening socialist campaign representatives attended a gathering sponsored by the National Organization for Women and distributed an open letter from Mayberry entitled, "What will it take to win women's rights?"

The semester's first Young Socialist Alliance forum at the State University of New York was held January 28 and featured Geni Abrams of Planned Parenthood and Pat Mayberry discussing the women's movement and the attacks on abortion rights.

The Mayberry for Congress Campaign Committee is having its first public meeting at 7:30 p.m., on March 3 at its headquarters, 323 State Street, Schenectady. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

## 'Not a single penny to El Salvador!'

**Meryl Lynn Farber is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the fifth congressional district seat in North Carolina. Farber is a twenty-four-year-old assembler at Gilbarco, Inc., in Greensboro and a member of Teamsters Local 391. She is also a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance. Farber released the following statement at a news conference held February 3 in Winston-Salem to launch her campaign.**

I am running for this office to raise the central idea that working people need our own political party — a labor party based on the trade unions. A labor party could work for the formation of a workers government that would put human needs before profits. This is the only way out of the crisis we face today.

The U.S. government and its parties are going to take us to war. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been sent to prop up the bloody Duarte dictatorship in El Salvador. An additional \$55 million was approved by Reagan yesterday and he is requesting Congress to approve \$100 million more. El Salvadoran

troops are being trained by the U.S. right here at Ft. Bragg — trained to better massacre the Salvadoran people.

This is done in the face of the worst recession for working people since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Thousands of textile workers in North Carolina have been thrown out of work. Basic democratic rights, like the right of Blacks to vote or the right of women to abortion, are being attacked daily. The government will not even grant us basic equality through the Equal Rights Amendment.

The Socialist Workers Party campaigns against sending a single penny, a single adviser, or a single weapon to El Salvador. We call for the removal of all Salvadoran army troops from Ft. Bragg, and any other U.S. base, immediately.

We call for channeling the billions of dollars in the war budget into a massive public works program aimed at providing a job for everyone able to work. Social programs aimed at meeting the needs of the elderly, poor, or disabled should be vastly expanded. This is what a workers government could accomplish.

From Pathfinder

### Nicaragua: An introduction to the Sandinista Revolution

By Arnold Weissberg, Managua correspondent for *Intercontinental Press*.

A clearly written description of pre-revolutionary Nicaragua, the insurrection, the far-reaching social measures taken by the Sandinista government and the U.S. government's response.

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# Reagan plunges deeper into Salvador war

Continued from Page 1

Venezuela needed the planes to defend itself from a possible attack by Cuba. The latter, he asserted, could use the new airport being built in Grenada as a launching pad for such an attack.

The fact of the matter is that it's Cuba and Grenada that are threatened — both by a big U.S. naval buildup in the Caribbean and, now, by the beefed-up Venezuelan air force.

In addition, Washington this year is doubling its military aid to the government of Honduras. This is the government that has given counterrevolutionary Nicaraguan exile gangs a border haven for murderous forays into Nicaragua.

Former members of Somoza's national guard and others have made raids into Nicaragua from Honduras that have left sixty Nicaraguans dead since November. The raids have been marked by robberies, kidnappings, rape, and murder.

The stepped-up flow of U.S. arms, coincident with these sanctioned provocations, indicates Washington would like to find a pretext for Honduras "defending" itself against Nicaragua.

## 'Strong pressure'

Reaction against Washington's military escalation is increasing. This was reflected in a February 8 meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The *New York Times* reported that the chairman of the committee, Illinois Republican Charles Percy "said in introductory remarks that Congress was under strong public pressure to reject the Administration's certification that El Salvador was making progress on human rights."

The *Times* report continued: "Senator Claiborne Pell, Democrat of Rhode Island and the ranking minority member of the committee, added that public opinion was becoming increasingly inflamed on the issue. He cited a demonstration last Friday by several hundred people outside his office in Providence."

And on February 9 the National Conference of Catholic Bishops called on the administration to end all military assistance to the Salvadoran government.

The bishops declared that increasing U.S. involvement there "is a dangerous course, with a result potentially as damaging to us as it is to the Salvadorans."

A similar warning was offered by the *Los Angeles Times* in a January 31 editorial that declared the crisis in El Salvador has reached "a critical juncture for the United States." The editorial termed the situation a "bloody quagmire."

Meanwhile, a February 5 *New York Times* editorial flatly stated: "One point seems beyond dispute. The battle is going against [Salvadoran] President Duarte's right-center coalition."

Indeed it is. On a single day, February 2, fighters of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front routed government troops from their posts in two provincial towns and, at the same time, mounted a daytime attack on military installations in Usulután, the country's fourth-largest city.

The guerrillas are able to strike such blows, despite the government's preponderance of arms, because popular sentiment is with them and against the tyrannical regime.

The growing strength of the rebel forces was demonstrated when they began conducting political activity along major highways in Usulután province during the first week of February. Here's an account from the February 6 *Washington Post*:

"At 8 a.m., a squad of five guerrillas was openly, even casually, stopping all traffic at Kilometer 83, 50 miles from the capital on this main national highway. They were accepting whatever donations anyone wanted to give. . . .

"A bus full of peasants stopped at the guerrillas' signal. A couple of the insurgents walked beneath the open windows. Some of the passengers were

throwing coins and small bills. The driver made a contribution.

"And if there is no contribution? 'We just let them go,' said one of the guerrillas."

## A different scene

Compare that with a scene on the same highway reported February 6 by the *New York Times*:

"About midday . . . Government troops were stopping buses. About 20 or 30 men stood outside one of the buses, their hands over their heads, as the soldiers searched them and then asked to see their identification cards.

"Women and children stood on the shoulder in the shade as soldiers went through their possessions and the overhead metal racks inside the bus. Another soldier searched the rope bags on the roof."

Along with the isolation of the regime, there is deep bitterness among the Salvadoran people over the U.S. role in their country.

An official of Socorro Juridico, a church-related human rights body, spoke sharply to a *Los Angeles Times* reporter about the Reagan administration's "certification" of human rights progress by the junta.

He said: "We invite Ronald Reagan to come here and walk the streets of San Salvador early in the morning, to see the cadavers, and then tell us that there is progress in human rights."

Reagan's human rights "certification" is not being bought in this country either.

It's not just Senator Pell's Rhode Island office that's being hit by protests against U.S. involvement in El Salvador. Such sentiment is spreading more widely as American working people, hit by a major economic crisis, confront a big-business administration that refuses to lift a finger to help them, while stubbornly allocating billions for weapons of death.

Reagan addressed the Indiana legislature on February 9. Despite a heavy snowstorm, 400 central Indiana unionists and their families gathered outside the capitol in Indianapolis to protest the administration's reactionary domestic policies.

The whole crowd took up the chant, "Money for jobs, not war! U.S. out of El Salvador!"

And there was a good response from the crowd when Noel Beasley spoke. He's a business agent for the Indiana-Kentucky region of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers. Condemning U.S. intervention in El Salvador, Beasley declared, "There's something wrong with this system when it supports a regime in El Salvador that

slaughters trade unionists."

The previous day, Reagan was guest of honor at a \$500-a-plate Republican dinner in Bloomington, Minnesota.

A coalition sparked by the American Indian Movement and the National Black Independent Political Party called a protest demonstration outside. The AFL-CIO sent a letter to Minneapolis unions urging them to participate.

Some 4,000 people responded. They included auto unionists, PATCO strikers, municipal workers, and more. Three busloads of steel unionists came down from the Mesabi Iron Range.

The demonstrators chanted, "We want jobs!"

They also chanted: "One, two, three, four — U.S. out of El Salvador!"



Salvadoran liberation fighters. February 15 *Newsweek* quoted military observer: "The left is running circles around the army, and the army is getting dizzier and dizzier."

## Terrorists hit Nicaragua's coast

BY ARNOLD WEISSBERG

MANAGUA — A virtual invasion of the northern part of the Nicaraguan Atlantic Coast Province of Zelaya by counterrevolutionary terrorists has left sixty Nicaraguans, including fifteen civilians, dead since last November.

The terrorist bands, operating out of Honduras, have carried out a campaign of murders, rapes, and robberies along the Río Coco, which divides the two countries. They have also established at least one base within Nicaragua.

The attacks, which reached a ferocious level in December, were aimed at disrupting life along the river, which is the principal means of transportation in this zone, driving the population, chiefly Miskitu Indians, into Honduras.

Coupled with the military activity, there has been an increase in anti-Sandinista propaganda both inside and outside Nicaragua, the purpose of which is to portray the revolutionary government and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) as "oppressing" the Miskitus. A completely fictional account of a Nicaraguan army attack in Honduras that allegedly killed 200 Miskitus, which received worldwide press coverage, was part of that propaganda campaign.

Within Nicaragua, the counterrevolutionaries, led by Steadman Fagoth, a former Miskitu leader, sought to win support among the Indian people by claiming their goal was a Miskitu state.

The dimensions of the counterrevolutionary challenge were made public in a news conference February 3 by Capt. Roberto Sánchez, head of public relations for the Nicaraguan army.

The Somozaists' contempt for the welfare of the native peoples, and their true goal — the destruction of Nicaragua's revolutionary government —

is revealed by their actions, which consist chiefly of attacks on government offices. The terrorists carry off cash, food, vehicles, boats, and other equipment earmarked for use by the Miskitus.

In one particularly grisly episode three days after Christmas, the counterrevolutionaries kidnapped Dr. Oscar Hodgson, head of the Bilwaskrma Hospital, Dr. Mirna Cunningham, and Regina Lewis, a nurse. Hodgson managed to escape, but the two women were carried off to Honduras and gang-raped.

Some of the forty-five dead Sandinista soldiers had been kidnapped, carried off to Honduras, savagely tortured, and then murdered. Bodies of many victims have yet to be found.

Roberto Sánchez told reporters that "we have significant evidence that logistic support was offered by certain Honduran army officers, among them Maj. Leonel Luque, military chief of the Miskitu region of that country, and certain Argentine military advisers."

Some 100 people are now in custody, Sánchez said. So serious has the situation become that the government has been forced to move many residents out of the area, as the armed forces have been unable to protect them against the marauders. Sánchez noted that many were now receiving medical care, decent food, and other social benefits for the first time.

Also on February 3, in a speech to the closing session of the Second Assembly of the Association of Cultural Workers, Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce revealed that Nicaragua has proof of U.S. government involvement in the counterrevolutionary terror. Arce pointed to an intensification of slanders against Nicaragua in the recent weeks by the Reagan administration, and noted that neither Secretary of State Alex-

ander Haig nor Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders had the least hesitation in declaring to the U.S. Congress that they would not exclude any type of action against Nicaragua, even military action.

Arce said that the White House campaign against Nicaragua "might be considered by some to be only verbiage, but when it begins to turn into aggression, we must take it seriously."

From Intercontinental Press

## March 27 rally in D.C.

Continued from Page 1

At the Washington news conference, an announcement was also made of a North Carolina statewide action on Saturday, February 27, at Fort Bragg.

Fort Bragg is one of the military bases where Reagan is providing 1,000 Salvadoran troops and 500 officers with training in techniques perfected by U.S. "counterinsurgency" commanders in Vietnam.

The North Carolina action is sponsored by the February 27 Fort Bragg Coalition, an array of church, community, and political organizations. Speaking for the February 27 Coalition were Henry Atkins, chaplain at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro; Sister Margaret Grabarek, director of the Peace and Justice Commission of the Catholic Church of Raleigh, North Carolina; and W.W. Finlator, pastor of Pullin Memorial Baptist Church in Raleigh.

National CISPES has endorsed this action and has called for local protest actions nationwide on this date as part of the effort to build the March 27 march in Washington.

# Socialist nominee for governor joins Georgia protest demonstrations

BY GARRETT BROWN

ATLANTA — Maceo Dixon opened his socialist campaign for governor of Georgia here with spirited participation in four demonstrations in eight days around key issues facing working people.

The theme of the Socialist Workers Party candidate's campaigning at the protests was the need for a workers government and a labor party to fight for this perspective.

The four actions included a march of 500 in Atlanta January 15 on Martin Luther King's birthday, a 1,200-strong January 16 "Solidarity Day" rally called by the state AFL-CIO and civil rights groups, a demonstration of 500 on the state capital steps January 18 demanding passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, and a militant January 24 march and rally at Fort Benning protesting the training there of 600 Salvadoran army officers.

Dixon, the only Black and worker among the twelve announced candidates for governor, was the only candidate to join the march demanding Martin Luther King's birthday be made a national holiday.

Dixon issued a statement blasting President Ronald Reagan's hypocrisy in sending a message to the Atlanta rally praising King, while at the same time attacking school desegregation, voting rights, affirmative action programs, and refusing to establish King's birthday as a national holiday.

The socialist candidate also hit the Democrats who run Georgia, including Black Democrats like Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, noting, "the lynching of a Black soldier in Monroe is ignored by authorities."

The following day Dixon joined angry Georgia unionists on a march

on the state capitol demanding jobs, justice and an end to social service cutbacks. In a statement distributed by his campaign supporters, Dixon declared, "We need our own party, our own candidates, independent of both the big-business Republican and Democratic fakers who pretend to be 'friends of labor.'"

"As a chemical worker and member of Teamster union Local 528, I've seen how Democrats in Georgia and the rest of the South have treated their 'friends.'"

"Siding with corporations who move here in search of cheap and 'compliant' labor, our friends the Democrats have kept Georgia a right-to-work-for-less state, crippling the efforts of unions to organize workers who are among the lowest paid in the nation."

"There are those who urge us to support union-backed Democrats, like Andrew Young, hoping that if we pour enough of our hard-earned dollars into their pockets, they might agree to be our friends."

"Brothers and sisters, it's time to tell the business-owned politicians of this state and the nation: 'We won't beg anymore.' There is only one solution: a new, workers government that will take control of the wealth our labor has created."

Immediately after the Solidarity Day rally, Dixon was joined at a Militant Forum by Atlanta Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization leader Bob Arnold.

Arnold, a striking air traffic controller with seven-and-one-half years experience, told the forum he found it "highly ironic that the workers of Poland were jailed over there for the same things we were jailed for over here."

"We shouldn't have been jailed and neither should they," Arnold declared. He noted the national and Georgia Solidarity Day rallies showed "there is a unity between white and Black working people which is going to kick the government's tail."

Socialist campaign supporters were among the 500 people who marched on the state capitol building again, two days later, in support of the Equal Rights Amendment.

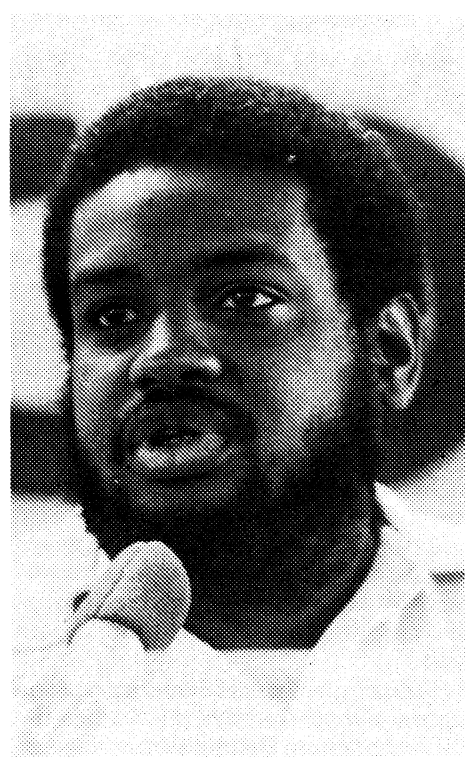
Despite polls showing Georgia residents favored the ERA by a two-to-one margin, the overwhelmingly Democratic state House of Representatives crushed the ERA 116 to 57 in a critical vote January 20, ending hopes of Georgia ratification of the women's rights bills.

In addition to distributing Dixon's statements and selling the *Militant* at the rallies, campaign supporters also collected over 350 signatures in defense of the fifteen fired socialist unionists at Lockheed-Georgia's Marietta aircraft plant.

On January 24 Dixon joined the protests outside the gates of Fort Benning in Columbus against the training of 600 Salvadoran army officers at the Georgia base and the training of 1,000 troops at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. The rally was sponsored by numerous religious, labor, and solidarity organizations.

Dixon was interviewed by reporters from two television stations and a half-dozen radio stations and newspapers.

The working-class candidate called for an immediate halt to all U.S. intervention in and aid to El Salvador and declared his opposition to a new military draft or new Bay of Pigs-type invasions against Cuba, Nicaragua, or Grenada.



Militant/Lois Howort

Maceo Dixon

## Ga. march will demand action on slain Black GI

BY MACEO DIXON

ATLANTA — A march and rally have been called for February 20 to protest the lynching of a Black GI near here.

The GI, Lynn Jackson, was found hanging from a tree, eighteen feet off the ground, on December 8 near Social Circle, Georgia. He had been on leave from Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

Local authorities are calling Jackson's death suicide, but his family thinks otherwise. They have asked Tyrone Brooks, a leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and Georgia state representative, to help force the authorities to carry out a real investigation.

Social Circle is located in Walton County, just east of Atlanta. Walton is noted as the site of the last lynching of Blacks at a public rally. This was in 1946.

In a phone interview with the *Militant*, Brooks stated that in the 1940s, "Walton County was known as headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia."

The march and rally are also to protest a series of unsolved murders of Blacks in the county. Four Blacks were lynched in 1946. Another, James Gover, was shot dead in 1972. Evertine Taylor was hit by a car and run over repeatedly in 1974. And in 1976 a Walton County home was firebombed, killing five Black children.

As Brooks explained, "The whole area has a history of violence against Black people."

Recently, after seven years, a suspect, Jerry Danny Stowe of Covington, was arrested for the murder of Evertine Taylor. Charged with vehicular homicide, Stowe is currently free on \$25,000 bond.

The *Militant* asked Brooks why it took so long to arrest Stowe. He explained, "They [the police] knew all along who killed Taylor since October 6, 1974. On December 29, 1981, we had a meeting on all of these cases. The local media covered the meeting. The very next day, Stowe was arrested."

The names of two other whites have been given to police as possible accomplices of Stowe. Brooks also said that the names of six people have been given to police in connection with the lynching of Jackson.

The February 20 march begins at 12 noon in Social Circle, and ends eleven miles later in Monroe, Georgia. It is sponsored by the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement, the Walton County SCLC, the Walton County Community Organization for Progress in Education, and the Walton County Ministerial Alliance.

Speakers will include members of Jackson's family.

For further information call Tyrone Brooks at (404) 524-5531.

## W. Va. socialists' campaign office attacked

BY CHRIS HORNER

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — On Saturday evening January 30, the 1982 Socialist Workers statewide campaign headquarters here was attacked.

Large plate glass windows were smashed. Cast iron bars and brick shattered glass all over the front window display of political books and pamphlets. Hundreds of dollars of damage was done.

This was the fourth act of vandalism against the newly opened Socialist Workers headquarters in the past five weeks and clearly the most serious.

The socialist campaign office is located at 1584 A Washington Street East, Charleston, just three blocks from the state capitol. The Militant Bookstore and Young Socialist Alliance offices are also located there.

This attack took place while many Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters were in Morgantown, West Virginia, attending a statewide meeting to choose candidates and map out plans to launch the biggest socialist election campaign that West Virginia has seen in decades.

The party plans to run Bill Hovland, a coal miner who works at the Republic Steel mine in Phillipi near Morgantown, for U.S. Senate against Democratic Minority Leader Robert Byrd. Hovland is a member of United Mine Workers (UMW) Local 2095. The party will also run Adrienne Benjamin, a leader of the YSA from Charleston, for the third congressional district seat, now held by Republican Mick Staton. The candidates will hold a news conference to formally launch the campaign in Charleston on February 18.

In response to the terrorist attacks, West Virginia campaign supporters went on an immediate drive to build support for the SWP's right to participate in the election and run a public campaign office free from intimidation

and harassment. At the same time over a dozen prominent West Virginians joined together to send an open letter to West Virginia Governor John D. Rockefeller IV and Charleston Mayor Joe Smith urging them to publicly condemn the attacks and take steps to apprehend and punish those responsible.

Among the signers were Larry Harless, general counsel for District 17 of UMW; Betty James, past president of the Charleston NAACP; Bettijane Burger, president of Charleston National Organization for Women; Trudy Herod, executive director of the West Virginia Civil Liberties Union; and leaders in

the religious and academic community.

The Sunday, February 7, Charleston *Gazette*, the state's largest newspaper, ran a lead editorial titled "Blasphemy in a free society." The editorial condemned the attacks and read in part, "More than half the states in the nation have approved the SWP to offer candidates for election. This coming year the party plans to meet the essential legal requirements to permit it to have candidates appear on this state's ballot."

West Virginia campaign supporters plan to continue their vigorous campaign in defense of their right to participate in the election.



Militant/Wayne Glover

Vandals shattered front window display of political books and pamphlets during January 30 attack on socialist campaign headquarters in Charleston, West Virginia.





Soho News/Allen Arpadi



Militant/Howard Petrick



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky



Militant/Lou Howort

Left to right: speakers Susan Sontag, Pete Seeger, Gregory Pardlo, rally chairman Ralph Schoenman.

# Debate takes place at Poland rally

## Writer Susan Sontag declares 'communism is fascism'

BY SUZANNE HAIG

NEW YORK — A sharp debate broke out here at "An Evening for Solidarity" rally held February 6 around the events in Poland.

The meeting was organized by a group called American Workers and Artists for Solidarity, with the support of the P.E.N. American Center and the Nation Institute. A leaflet for the meeting said, "American Workers and Artists for Solidarity has been organized to promote solidarity between American and Polish workers — to give aid and to draw conclusions."

The invited speakers included anti-communist liberals, trade union militants, writers and artists, and social democrats.

The audience of well over 1,000 was also mixed, including liberals, unionists, radicals, and activists in the movement to stop U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Chairman Ralph Schoenman, the organizer of the meeting, said the program's aim was to build a broad coalition for the Polish workers, composed of "those who have been consistent in their support of workers' rights, radical causes, and democratic liberties everywhere."

"We don't feel that Reagan and Haig, who go on television with the prime minister of Turkey . . . are in any way entitled to defend the Polish workers," he stated.

American Workers and Artists for Solidarity intends to carry out ongoing activities, he stated.

### 'Villainy of communist system'

Early in the program, writer Susan Sontag spoke, shocking some in the audience with her remarks.

"I think the principal lesson to be learned from the Polish events is the lesson of the failure of communism, the utter villainy of the communist system," she declared.

In the past, "we were unwilling to identify ourselves as anticommunists because that was the slogan of the right, the ideology of Cold War American imperialism," she continued.

"Why were we wrong? Our priorities were wrong. Many of us, and I include myself, did not understand the nature of the communist tyranny."

"We tried to distinguish among many communisms. We spoke of Stalinist tyranny, as if that were an aberration. And we praised other regimes, outside Europe in particular, which had essentially the same character."

"The similarities between the present Polish government and the techniques used by the right-wing dictatorships in Chile, Argentina, and elsewhere in South America are obvious. Indeed, future fascist coups will certainly imitate the Polish junta."

Sontag even went so far as to state that the Polish events illustrate "a truth we should have understood a long time ago: that communism is fascism."

"Not only is fascism and overt military rule probably the destiny, the future of all communist countries . . . but communism is in itself a variant of fascism, fascism with a human face," she said.

She concluded her speech by saying that abandoning "many of the commonplaces of the left and challenging what we have meant for many years by [the terms] radical and progressive . . . may be the best way for us to express solidarity" with the Polish workers.

*An editorial on Sontag's speech appears on page 18.*

One section of the audience applauded these reactionary remarks, while there were also some boos and silence from others.

The Marxist viewpoint was not represented on the platform. The Socialist Workers Party had requested to have a speaker, but was denied. Many SWP and Young Socialist Alliance members participated in the meeting. They also sold the *Militant*, *Young Socialist*, and pamphlets, and distributed a statement on Poland by Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California.

Daniel Singer, author of *The Road to Gdansk*, and Jerzy Milewski, a Polish Solidarity leader, spoke on the fight of the Polish workers for the right to determine how the economy is run.

Soviet dissident Joseph Brodsky also spoke. Earlier, a message had been read from Carlos Fuentes, who said he couldn't be present at the rally due to his meeting with Salvadoran freedom fighters. Irritated at the applause Fuentes and others had received when they mentioned El Salvador, Brodsky urged those present to focus on what he said was the most important issue in world politics — fighting the Soviet Union. He called for Reagan to slap an embargo on Poland. This reactionary proposal was never answered during the evening's meeting.

Paul Robeson, Jr., told the crowd: "Solidarity's courageous struggle has given the world movement for socialism an opportunity to re-identify socialism with democracy and workers power."

"It has given those who really believe in the working class a chance to recapture the banner of socialism from the party bureaucrats who have usurped the slogan 'All power to the soviets' in order to administer a political system based on 'zero power to the soviets.'"

"[Solidarity's struggle] calls on all those who believe in socialism to restore true internationalism and to reject once

and for all the poisonous legacy of Josef Stalin, who was responsible for the deaths of so many millions of his own people in the name of 'socialism in one country.'

"One thing has been proven conclusively. If, after making a successful revolution, the workers are deprived of political power, for whatever reason, that power will never be given back to them. They can only conquer it by making another revolution."

"Solidarity is the harbinger of an idea whose time has come," Robeson told the crowd.

Robeson spoke shortly before the bulk of the union speakers, most of whom had been shunted to the latter part of the program.

In contrast to Sontag and Brodsky, who urged Reagan to do more against the Polish and Soviet workers states, the union speakers directed their fire against Reagan's assault on workers in the United States.

"I am not from Poland or in Solidarity, but I have experienced martial law," Gregory Pardlo, president of PATCO Local 238 in Newark, New Jersey, told the audience, referring to government attacks against his union.

"I know what it's like to be tried and convicted of a felony, to be shown on T.V. dragged off in chains, and to have your neighborhood canvassed by FBI agents. I know what it's like to be prohibited from unemployment benefits, from food stamps, and home mortgages."

"I come here today in solidarity with the labor movement and the movements of all oppressed peoples, and with the fight for what was euphemistically guaranteed by our constitution — life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Whenever people join together to challenge injustices, you'll find me from now on."

### Hypocrisy of union bureaucrats

Joan Teolis, from the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants and an active PATCO supporter, told the audience, "I am here because I am sickened by a president who hypocritically extols the virtues of a free trade union movement in other parts of the world, while attempting to snuff out 12,000 of his employees who were doing nothing more than exercising the right of a free trade union."

"I am here because I am disheartened most of all by the many so-called trade unionists who talk big about Poland, knowing they don't have to deliver, while standing silently by on PATCO when they could have really done something to help their fellow trade unionists."

Teolis was followed by Alicja Weiss, representing Solidarity International, a reactionary group with no connections

to the Solidarity organization in Poland. She called for economic sanctions, saying, "We have the power to destroy the Soviet system economically."

Ben Zemsky, a national organizer for the American Postal Workers Union, addressed the hypocrisy of those who say they support the Polish workers but are rabidly antilabor. If a union like Solidarity existed in the United States, he said, "do you know what this would do to those who claim to be in solidarity with the Polish workers? They'd cry help and bring out the troops and the National Guard, the Marines, and the Air Force."

"We need a solidarity movement in America in the same proportions [as in Poland]. . . . Whenever anything progressive is attained, it is by the workers, the producers, not by the cops, the White House, or the press."

Performer Pete Seeger said, "I've been for fifty years and still am a supporter of socialism. I want to add my voice in support of the right of Solidarity to exist above ground."

"I must confess to a sense of shame to see that a government I once hoped would bring better times to Poland has decided that the only way it can keep the wheels of industry turning is to call out the troops."

Other speakers included Ed Sadlowski of the United Steelworkers, Pete Camarata of Teamsters for a Democratic Union, Kurt Vonnegut, E.L. Doctorow, Gore Vidal, and Allen Ginsberg.

## POLAND Workers in Revolt



By Dave Frankel,  
DeAnn Rathbun,  
and Ernest Harsch

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# N.Y. rights fighters blast phony 'red squad' deal

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — Substantial opposition is developing here to a proposed settlement of a damage suit against the police department. If permitted to take effect, the settlement would sanction illegal spying and disruption activity by the police.

Rejection of the settlement was urged by attorneys and others at a news conference here February 4. It was convened by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is supporting the Socialist Workers Party suit against the federal government for illegal secret police activity.

At issue in the New York case is an agreement arrived at between the Police Department and lawyers for the New York Civil Liberties Union. It would settle, out of court, a long-pending class action suit against the cops on terms totally favorable to them.

Filed a decade ago, the suit stemmed from an unsuccessful 1971 frame-up trial of twenty-one members of the Black Panther Party.

The suit was intended to make public the scope of illegal police activity and to bring it to a halt. The projected settlement does neither.

Apparent in the terms of the agreement itself, this became much more evident when the police responded, under court order, to written questions from attorneys opposing the settlement. So far they have replied to questions submitted by the Socialist Workers Party and by attorney Victor Rabinowitz on behalf of several civil liberties groups and the National Lawyers Guild.

At the news conference, Wells Todd, 1981 Socialist Workers mayoral nominee, branded the proposed settlement "a fake and a fraud."

He pointed to a proviso that permits police surveillance and infiltration of organizations when the operations are "consistent with the law." "For over forty years," Todd declared, "the FBI, CIA, and local red squads have spied on and attempted to disrupt my party, civil

rights activists, unionists, and others. They have always claimed their actions were 'consistent with the law.'"

Michael Ratner, an attorney for the Center for Constitutional Rights and a leading figure in the National Lawyers Guild, characterized the projected agreement as "a very bad settlement."

He noted that it is opposed by such organizations as the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Black Economic Survival, the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression and the Mobilization for Survival.

One of the purposes of the suit, Ratner explained, was to bring a halt to the practice of using people's beliefs as a basis for investigating them. The settlement, he said, provides that beliefs can still be probed.

Further, he added, the suit was supposed to stop infiltration of groups for purposes of disruption. "Nothing in this settlement," he said, "bars this."

The proposed deal was sharply assailed by Robert Boyle, attorney for Dhoruba Moore, a former Panther member now imprisoned on a frame-up.

Moore had been one of those acquitted in the unsuccessful frame-up trial of the Panther 21.

Shortly after, Moore was indicted on new trumped-up charges and railroaded to prison. In prison, he has read the terms of the settlement and is strongly opposed to its going through.

Attorney Boyle said that police dossiers obtained under the Freedom of Information Act show that a file was opened on Moore September 5, 1968, assertedly because "there was reason to believe" he had committed, or might commit a crime. What was this based on? The sole fact, Boyle said, that on that date, according to a police informer, Moore had attended a meeting of the Black Panther Party.

The very same police procedure language that made this possible, Boyle emphasized, is in the proposed settlement.

Afeni Shakur, another of the Panther

21, also spoke out against the settlement.

For one thing, she stressed, it includes no admission by the police of illegal activity. Further, it would make possible destruction of police files going back to the 1950s. This would prove an enormous obstacle to victimized citizens seeking damages for illegal police activity against them.

Marshall Perlin, a long-time civil liberties lawyer, branded the agreement an "obscurity." He charged it was "illegal and improper" and had been "secretly arrived at." This is particularly out of order, he noted, since its terms would bind all police targets, now and in the future.

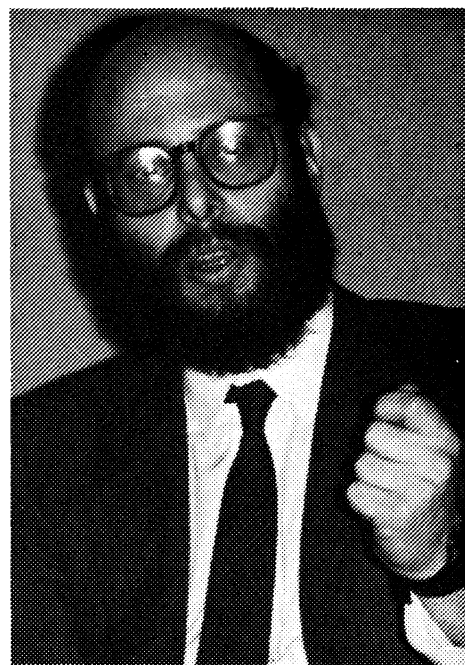
Perlin said that while he had opposed the settlement as initially presented, it was not until he saw the police response to the questions that he fully realized "the impropriety and indecency of it."

He pointed out that since the terms of the settlement have begun to become better known, more than a hundred groups and individuals have objected to it.

The issue of availability of secret police dossiers was focused on by Dr. Ann Mari Buitrago of the Fund for Open Information and Accountability. She said that in addition to destroying pre-1955 files, the agreement would permit a three-member board to decide which of the remaining files could be released. Two of the three members of the board would be appointed by the police department and the third by the mayor. This, she said, would lead to the further chocking off of such information.

John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund, pointed out the agreement would permit warrantless wiretapping "and other dirty tricks." It does not even purport, he said, to require "probable cause" to justify investigation.

All the participants in the press conference emphasized the urgency of mobilizing maximum public sentiment to prevent imposition of the agreement.



Militant/Harry Ring

Michael Ratner

## Demonstrators protest Calif. nuke lab

BY HAYDEN PERRY

LIVERMORE, Calif. — Over 500 antinuclear protesters demonstrated at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory in Northern California February 1. They were demanding that the facility — which has developed such weapons as the neutron bomb — be converted to peaceful use.

Protesters came from as far away as Oregon. Several picketed in wheelchairs. Children carried antinuclear signs taller than they were. Members of Japanese Peace March, who have traveled here from Hiroshima and will march across the continent to the United Nations, added their drum beats to the chorus of songs and slogans.

The pickets handed out leaflets to workers as they entered the laboratory. Several took the literature and others honked their horns in support.

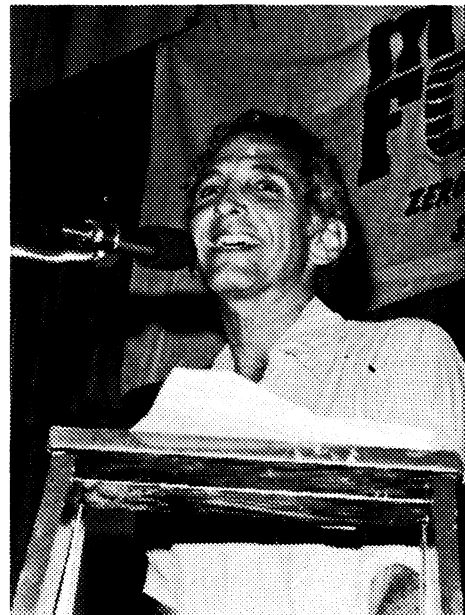
To add emphasis to their demands, some of the protesters sat down in front of cars entering the plant. More than 170 were arrested and charged with blocking traffic.

Among those taken away by the cops was Jackie Kilman, a seventeen-year-old worker at the laboratory, who said she joined the sitdown action because "morally, I'm opposed to nuclear war."

Also arrested was Daniel Ellsberg, who blew the whistle on the Pentagon Papers.

The demonstrators arrested were held overnight in the county jail. A judge sentenced them each to seven days in jail or seven unpaid days of community work.

The Livermore demonstration was preceded by a number of mobilizations by students and others against war and nuclear weapons. In a mood reminiscent of the Vietnam era, 1,200 students jammed into a hall at the University of California at Berkeley January 26 for a teach-in on El Salvador. More than 800 people attended an antinuke rally in downtown Berkeley January 30.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Daniel Ellsberg

## Students hit racist fraternity party

BY LORRAINE SOCKACI

CINCINNATI — Over 500 angry students attended a news conference at the University of Cincinnati January 28 to protest a racist "Second Annual Martin Luther King Trash Party." The party was held by the Sigma Alpha Epsilon (SAE) fraternity on campus on January 17.

Represented at the news conference were the U.C. United Black Association;

the Alliance of Black Greek Letter Associations; United Black Association of Faculty, Administrators and Staff; and the Cincinnati chapter of the NAACP.

The fraternity party invitation asked guests to bring items that are racially insulting. The invitation stated in part, "You must bring one of the following: your father if you know who he is, a cancelled welfare check, a radio bigger than your head, food stamps, a KKK hood,

stolen hub caps, etc."

Some of the 100 persons attending the party came in Black face and even dressed as Martin Luther King, with a fake bullet in the neck.

The fraternity party invitations were supposed to be destroyed as soon as they were received, but some white students turned them over to campus Blacks. That triggered the investigation and protest of the racist party.

The fraternity was suspended indefinitely on January 22. After the suspension was imposed, the fraternity's president wrote a letter of apology to the university president, referring to the party as "insensitive, reprehensible and in incredibly poor taste."

But so far, no public apology has been made by Sigma Alpha Epsilon, and no letters of apology have been sent to any campus Black organizations.

Chris Mack, president of the United Black Association, voiced the demand of campus Blacks and many white students when he said, "SAE must be permanently suspended. If this means that the Black community and student organizations must present the largest protest that this city and campus have ever seen, so be it."

Alan Costner, president of the Black Greek Letter group, reported that he had filed charges against SAE with the Interfraternity Council, and that he is demanding 50 percent Black representation on the council's investigating body.

## Colo. prisoners on hunger strike

BY BERNIE SENTER

DENVER — A hunger strike by four inmates at Centennial Correction Facility near Canon City entered its third week February 6. They have vowed to continue their fast until their grievances are met and the public takes note of the deplorable prison conditions.

The four inmates are Pete Cordero, Rudolf Montoya, Henry Tafoya, and Gregory Wells. They have been on strike since January 17.

The prisoners are protesting poor medical and dental treatment, harsh disciplinary procedures, lack of access to the prison law library, and inadequate clothing.

"Since I've been on this hunger strike," Pete Cordero told the *Militant*, "I couldn't sleep, my bones ache. It really had adverse effects on me."

Cordero reported that the strikers

have received no medical attention. "I've lost twenty pounds already."

"The prison officials have refused to do anything for me," he said. "There isn't any response. None whatsoever."

The hunger strikers have widespread support from fellow inmates. "They are all for us," Cordero reported. "In fact two more are ready to start."

Prison spokesman Jack Weber said that he has received three grievances from Cordero. He indicated that the Department of Corrections has thirty days to review the complaints. By that time the fasting inmates will be close to death.

"Basically all we are asking is to be heard," Cordero stated.

To send messages of protest to the Department of Corrections, write: Canon City State Penitentiary, West Main, Canon City, Colorado 81212.



# Challenges facing oil industry workers

## Interview with refinery worker who is socialist candidate for Congress

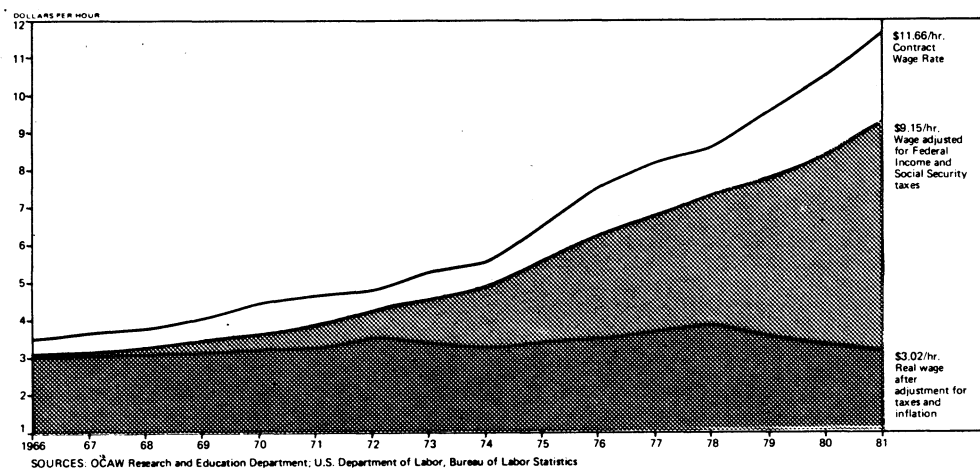


Chart from December OCAW Union News. Although wages are relatively high, oil workers have not kept up with inflation. Pay hikes in new contract will not do any better.

The following interview was done with Sue Skinner the last week in January. Skinner works at the Sohio refinery in Toledo, Ohio, and is a member of Local 7-346 of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union (OCAW). She is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from Ohio's Ninth District.

**Question:** What do you think are the main issues in this year's contract talks between OCAW and the oil companies?

**Answer.** The biggest issue is similar to what other unions face — preventing the companies from weakening our union. The companies are demanding that OCAW give up seniority and bidding rights, sick pay and maternity benefits, and accept second-class status for newly hired workers.

**Q.** At what stage are the current negotiations?

**A.** This week many refineries ratified new contracts. Texaco and American Petrofina are on strike in Port Arthur, Texas, and none of the other Texaco refineries have contracts yet. A few other contracts expire next month, like the Teamsters at Exxon in New Jersey.

But most OCAW locals have ratified new contracts. They include takebacks, although we were not forced into pay cuts like some other unions.

**Why the takebacks now?**

**Q.** Why do you think the oil companies are demanding takebacks now?

**A.** Big oil thinks this is a good time to attack us. They figure we're scared by what Reagan did to the air controllers and what the auto companies are doing to the United Auto Workers. Also, in my plant, most of the people I hired in with have already gone through a layoff and we know how hard it is to find another job.

**Q.** Are the oil giants claiming poverty like the auto companies?

**A.** They don't pretend to be losing money. They're still raking in huge profits. But they're not exempt from the current economic mess. They can't sell all the gas they can produce. Their profits are declining as a percentage of sales.

Labor costs are estimated to be about 1.5 cents in the price of a gallon of gasoline, so it is hard to blame us for their business problems.

But they fear organized oil workers, like in OCAW. The potential for us to exercise our power threatens their profits. They are out to weaken and ultimately break the union.

Our conditions are bad enough as it is. Can you imagine what it would be like without a union?

**Q.** If OCAW went on strike, wouldn't management keep the refinery running?

**A.** That's what happened in 1980. The oil companies promote a lot of workers to be foremen, so that they have

ready-made scabs who know about the refinery operation. In my plant, there is almost one foreman for every two OCAW workers.

The company really prepares for a strike. Supervisors, engineers, and front office people are given crash courses to run different units. Before the contract deadline, they bring in cots, bedding, house trailers, steaks, and other food. Sohio even erected a basketball court and laundry facilities in the warehouses to make the scabs more comfortable.

The companies also stockpile things like oil, coke, catalyst, and other necessary supplies.

But during the 1980 strike, their stockpiles started to run down and the scabs began to wear out after weeks of twelve-hour days, every day. More accidents happened. Maintenance fell behind. A lot of production was off specifications and had to be dumped, rerun, and some was probably sold illegally.

They don't prefer running the refineries that way — otherwise they'd do it all the time.

**What can OCAW members do?**

**Q.** What can OCAW members do under these circumstances?

**A.** To win, we have to be just as prepared as the company.

For one thing, we need a massive organizing drive. Only 60 percent of refinery process operators and maintenance workers are in OCAW.

## Texas workers on strike since Jan. 8

BY NORMA SALDAÑA

PORT ARTHUR, Texas — In this Gulf Coast town near the Louisiana border, 4,000 refinery workers have been on strike since January 8. The strikers are members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) and work at the American Petrofina and Texaco refineries here.

The strike began at the expiration of the previous contract, but it was not directly over failure to agree to a new contract. As Larry Stefflen, chairman of the workmen's committee at Local 4-23 at Texaco, explained, "the central issue is the lump sum pension plan which goes back to the 1962 contract."

The strikers are protesting Texaco's refusal to abide by contract agreements that prohibited Texaco from arbitrarily decreasing benefits to workers in the midst of a contract.

This is exactly what Texaco did concerning lump sum pension payments. The union has been fighting it for several years and has an open and shut case against the company.

The union protested through the company grievance channels. When this approach was exhausted they went into federal court. A jury ruled in favor of the union after a trial last year.

But this made no impression on the

A few refineries are organized by unions like the Teamsters and Operating Engineers. We need solidarity with them.

An increasing amount of work is done by outside contractors, many of which are nonunion. Drilling, pipeline operation, and some parts of oil transportation are not unionized at all.

We have to organize the unorganized workers and get together with the other unions that are involved in the oil industry.

Even if we shut the refineries down, we would still need public support. The oil companies are not popular. No one likes their high gas prices, fake energy crises, or their political power. We should demand to open the company books. Let the public know the truth about how oil workers and everyone else are ripped off by these giants.

Taking on the oil companies is a political question. The Democrats and Republicans are owned by these companies. In 1980, the politicians let every refinery on strike run illegally — violating every pollution and safety rule in the book. At the same time, they didn't hesitate to use cops and injunctions against our picket lines.

So, to take on the oil companies we have to be ready for a political fight as well.

**Q.** As a candidate for Congress, what can you do?

**A.** I stand up for my union and for other workers: for the air controllers and the auto workers, public employees and others. No other candidate or elected official in this district supports our unions, including the ones elected with union backing.

Through this campaign, we'll let the public hear the point of view of an oil worker, not Sohio.

But one candidate can't solve this mess. I'd like to see our unions run our own candidates. We should band together into a labor party, a workers political party based on the unions. The unions are the strongest workers organizations we have.

**Q.** What other issues will your campaign focus on?

**A.** Oil workers' concerns are the same

as for other workers.

The socialist election campaign will be an opportunity to discuss the big questions confronting all working people.

For example, revolutions are being fought out in El Salvador and Guatemala. Our government is supporting the dictatorships. The people in those countries are fighting against unemployment and inflation, for civil liberties and human rights. Our government is threatening to drag us into wars against people fighting for the same things we are for here.

**Revolutions in Iran and Poland**

When the government told us that the overthrow of the shah of Iran was a defeat, they were speaking for the oil companies. The revolution in Iran was no defeat for the workers there or for workers here. If it hurt oil company profits, that's tough.

We have the example of the Polish workers. It's easy to see through the hypocrisy of someone like Reagan: breaking the PATCO strike and then pretending to support strikers in Poland. My campaign will also draw some conclusions from the fact that the Polish workers are not asking for Sohio or Exxon or General Motors to come over to run their industry for them. They're fighting for democracy under socialism, not for capitalism.

We will talk about the examples of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, and why we should defend these governments there against attacks from Washington.

We are living in a country where the government is carrying out unprecedented cuts in social programs and is attacking civil rights.

As workers we have a point of view on all political questions that's different from the owners of the oil companies and their politicians. That's why we need to construct a labor party. Such a party will have to fight for a workers government.

It's a big challenge. But nothing short of it addresses the issues: from El Salvador to the budget to what to do about takebacks in the oil workers' contract.

oil giant, the fourth largest industrial corporation in the United States. Texaco is appealing the court decision to a federal appeals court.

To drive the point home, Texaco added the pension issue to the 1982 contract negotiations: they are demanding the union drop the case.

Stefflen told us that one part of the

pension issue especially angers the workers.

The company Board of Directors passed a motion to add a special, supplemental pension plan for the company's top sixty executives.

The payment difference is staggering. A person retiring in 1976 with thirty-five years at Texaco could have

Continued on Page 17



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky  
Support for Port Arthur strikers is high. A victory will benefit pension rights of all refinery workers.

# Vietnam's revolution still under

## Embattled country faces U.S. attempts to block food aid, increa



Saturation bombing of North Vietnam during war with U.S. destroyed most electrical generating, transportation, and port facilities; and most light industry. In the south, use of chemical defoliants by U.S. (above) contaminated more than one-third of cultivated rice paddies.

BY DAVID FRANKEL

Vietnam today is a country under siege.

It is almost seven years since the final defeat of the U.S.-backed dictatorship in South Vietnam, but Washington has never given up its vendetta against the Vietnamese revolution.

John Holdridge, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for East Asian affairs, summed up the Reagan administration's policy to an audience of American businessmen in Peking last June by saying that "we will seek . . . ways to increase the political, economic, and, yes, military pressures on Vietnam." (*New York Times*, June 18, 1981).

Included in these pressures is a systematic attempt to starve out the Vietnamese by denying them desperately needed food aid.

Virtually every observer who has been in Vietnam over the past year has commented on the effects of this campaign to strangle the Vietnamese revolution. To give one of the more recent examples, *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Weinraub reported in the December 28 issue:

"Food rations in many parts of the country, especially the north, have been cut from an average of 31 pounds a month to 25.5 pounds, far below the 33 pounds considered the minimum subsistence level necessary before the onset of serious malnutrition. Fish, which used to be plentiful, is now in short supply, partly because fuel is scarce and many boats have sailed away with refugees."

Weinraub quoted the testimony of Nina McCoy, an American teacher working with a Swedish aid group. "My students sit and stare and clutch their stomachs with hunger. People are lucky if they have rice and maybe a boiled vegetable twice a day. There's no fish, no high protein, and the malnutrition among children scares me."

"I'm seeing people shrink before my eyes," she added. "It's unbearable. Whatever food people have they try to give to their kids."

### 'A whole generation is at stake'

Author William Shawcross, reporting on a trip to Vietnam in the September 4, 1981, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, quoted Dr. Duong Quyen Hoa, a pediatrician who found that 38 percent of the children in Ho Chi Minh City are suffering from malnutrition. And things are worse in northern and central Vietnam. "Half of the population is permanently

undernourished. A whole generation of Vietnam is at stake," Hoa told Shawcross.

According to the U.S. rulers and the U.S. big-business media, the hunger in Vietnam is the fault of the Vietnamese government. As *U.S. News & World Report* put it in a November 23 article, "Vietnam's socialist economy has floundered under Hanoi's mismanagement at home and costly military adventures abroad."

A more cynical and self-serving lie would be hard to find.

The Vietnamese themselves are the first to admit that their economy has suffered from mistakes in management and bureaucratism. But these ills are hardly the root of Vietnam's economic problems.

Vietnam is one of the poorest countries in the world, with a per capita income of just \$160 per year — less even than Haiti.

Nor is there any mystery about the cause of the poverty. Vietnam was ravaged by eighty years of French colonial rule, followed by forty years of war. As a World Bank report quoted by Shawcross notes:

"In the three decades following the end of [World War II], almost every country has enjoyed substantial economic growth and an improvement in the welfare of its people. . . . [But] when the war in Vietnam finally ended in 1975, per capita production of major commodities had changed little, or fallen, since the 1940s."

The report put the standard of living between those of India and Bangladesh.

### What Washington did

Far better, from Washington's point of view, to talk about "Hanoi's mismanagement" than to recall the real record of the U.S. rulers and their responsibility for Vietnam's plight.

In the seven years from 1965 to 1971, U.S. military forces exploded 26 billion pounds (13 million tons) of munitions in Indochina — a total equivalent to the energy of 450 nuclear bombs of the type dropped on Hiroshima. This does not include the figures from 1972, which saw the heaviest bombing of the war against North Vietnam.

By the time the Pentagon was finished, South Vietnam had been hit with two and a half times the tonnage of bombs dropped worldwide from U.S. planes in all of World War II, and the North had been hit with three and a half

times what all the allied powers together had dropped on Germany.

All told, 15 million Vietnamese were left homeless.

Food production had also been devastated. By 1972 there were an estimated 26 million bomb craters in South Vietnam alone. Of the 3.5 million hectares [1 hectare = 2.47 acres] of rice paddy cultivated in 1960, 1.3 million were contaminated by U.S. defoliants. An estimated 300 million pounds of explosives are still dug into the ground, waiting for the tractor of an unwary farmer or the spade of a construction worker.

Most of North Vietnam's electrical generating capacity had been destroyed, its railroad lines and highways cut in hundreds of places, its docks and port facilities badly damaged, its light industry bombed to pieces, and its cities choked with rubble.

And after all this, Vietnam was left to rebuild on its own. Washington, which had promised \$3.2 billion in reconstruction aid, never came through with one cent. The U.S. rulers even refused to provide equipment to clear buried bombs from Vietnam's fields.

But if Washington refused to aid the Vietnamese people, it also refused to leave them in peace.

### Attack by Pol Pot forces

For the past four years, Vietnam has been under constant military attack. In April 1977, the genocidal Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia) launched a series of raids deep into southern Vietnam, burning towns, destroying bridges and roads, and disrupting agricultural production.

The attacks continued despite continual Vietnamese appeals for a ceasefire. In February 1978, for example, the Vietnamese urged negotiations to settle the dispute and called for the establishment of a demilitarized zone along the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border. The Pol Pot regime rejected this offer.

In March and July 1978, the Vietnamese sought to negotiate a peaceful solution to the conflict through the Movement of Nonaligned Nations, but were rebuffed both times.

After more than a year and a half of repeated attacks by the Pol Pot forces, the Vietnamese army invaded Kampuchea in December 1978 — January 1979, along with thousands of Kampuchean exiles who had fled the reign of terror in their homeland.

The overturn of the murderous Pol Pot regime provoked a flood of protest

from Washington and its allies. Vietnam was condemned as "expansionist" and "imperialist." Australia, Japan, Britain, and others cut off their aid programs. NATO governments were unanimous in their demand that Vietnamese forces be withdrawn.

### Pressure from Peking

Military pressure from Peking is one aspect of the U.S.-orchestrated campaign to strangle the Vietnamese revolution. On the same day that State Department official John Holdridge gave his June 1981 speech promising to increase the pressures on Vietnam, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced that Washington would sell arms to Peking.

During their 1979 invasion, Donald Wise points out in the December 25, 1981, issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "the Chinese utterly destroyed or removed all mining, industrial and other equipment or installations along a 30-mile belt south of the Sino-Vietnamese border which had been spared bombing by the US in the earlier war because of its proximity to China."

In addition to this initial destruction, the Vietnamese have had to contend with continual economic disruption in the northern provinces due to the military threat from Peking. Tran Quoc Hoan, a member of the Political Bureau of the Vietnamese Communist Party, told the Cuban magazine *Tricontinental* (no. 4, 1981) that Chinese forces "have made 3,000 armed attacks with units that range from a platoon to a regiment" since March 1979.

The Hanoi monthly *Vietnam Courier* (no. 10, 1981), reports that "where after the February-March 1979 aggression 12 points [within Vietnam] were still occupied by the Chinese side, now the number has increased to 38. Some of them lie about 1500m inside Vietnamese territory, and often are heights used as springboards for another aggression. . . ."

"Groups of Chinese scouts have been constantly sent into Vietnamese territory to conduct sabotage or reconnaissance activities."

This kind of constant military pressure has forced the Vietnamese to maintain a huge standing army in the border region. According to the Vietnamese, there are seven army corps — twenty-eight divisions — stationed in the area between Hanoi and the northern border.

Vietnam has also been hurt by the complete cutoff of Chinese aid. Although this was always inadequate, it was still an important source of food and consumer goods.

### Thai regime reactivates U.S. bases

While urging on the bureaucrats in Peking, the U.S. rulers have also been squeezing Vietnam on other fronts.

Thailand, along with the other capitalist regimes in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which also includes Indonesia, Singapore, the Philippines, and Malaysia), has been playing a key part in Washington's campaign.

"ASEAN has quietly doubled its defense spending since the 1975 fall of South Vietnam," Arnold Brackman reported in the July 9, 1981, *Christian Science Monitor*. "Last year ASEAN spent \$5.5 billion on arms, up 46 percent from the previous year."

A recent editorial in *Vietnam Courier* (no. 11, 1981) detailed some of the steps taken by the Thai regime in October:

"Thai Premier Prem Tinsulanond went to the USA and received a pledge from the Reagan Administration to increase its arms aid in 1982 by 60% com-



# 'siege from Washington

## sed military pressure

pared with 1981 and to boost it in the future, in exchange for Thailand's commitment to let the USA reactivate the military bases of Sattahip, Korat, Ubon and Udon which they had been compelled to close in 1975 [due to mass opposition in Thailand]. After that, Thai and US troops carried out joint exercises of sea landings in the Gulf of Thailand, at the same time as the maneuvers of US-Japanese troops, of US-British-Australian-New Zealand troops, and the arms build-up at Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean."

### U.S. warplanes return

In addition to the four bases named by *Vietnam Courier*, aircraft of the U.S. Seventh Fleet have been authorized to use the Utapao air base in Thailand, according to the December 26, 1981, issue of the Thai newspaper *The Nation*.

Utapao was one of the main U.S. bases in the air war against Vietnam. It was the only place, aside from the U.S. bases in the Philippines, that B-52 bombers operated out of. U.S. and Thai officials confirmed that the base had been reopened to U.S. planes in November.

According to Kampuchean Vice-minister for Foreign Affairs Hor Nam Hong, during 1981 there were 445 violations of Kampuchean air space by Thai planes, 6,307 incidents of artillery shelling from Thai territory, and 1,337 incursions by Thai warships into Kampuchean territorial waters. On December 28, eight Kampucheans were killed when a Kampuchean patrol boat was sunk by Thai warships.

These incidents flow from the Thai regime's policy of support for the Khmer Rouge guerrillas. The Pol Pot forces are assured of base camps in Thailand and are supplied with arms and food through the cooperation of the Thai government. In some cases, Thai forces go even further in aiding Pol Pot's war against the Kampuchean people.

### 'Enlightened rule'?

All this, of course, is done with the support and approval of the U.S. rulers. "Behind the scenes, however, the Reagan administration also appears to be weighing the possibility of supplying arms and political support to leaders trying to field resistance movements against the Vietnamese," the *Wall Street Journal* noted in a July 24, 1981 editorial.

"The central thrust of [U.S.] policy," the *Journal* editors declared, "should be to bring the tormented people of South Vietnam and Cambodia under more enlightened rule."

And what is the "enlightened" alternative being backed by Washington? None other than Pol Pot and his genocidal Khmer Rouge.

Not surprisingly, the Khmer people are having none of this. The November 23, 1981, article in *U.S. News & World Report* that complains about Vietnamese "military adventures abroad" admits:

"Contrary to a belief held by many outsiders, most Cambodians welcome the presence of the 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers. . . .

"The reason is 30,000 to 40,000 Khmer Rouge guerrillas in the countryside. They have vowed to regain the power wrested from them by the Vietnamese."

But surely the most despicable aspect of the imperialist campaign has been the attempt to systematically starve the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples into submission through a total economic blockade and the denial of desperately needed humanitarian aid.

"Even humanitarian aid to Vietnam today, in the wake of last year's disastrous typhoons and crop failure in the north, is frowned on as a possible contribution to the Vietnamese involvement in Cambodia," John Montagu reported in the December 3, 1981, *Los Angeles Times*. "In the United States, so much as a tractor given to Indochina as a component of disaster relief may be an offense against the Trade With the Enemy Act."

"The European Economic Community foreign ministers have also recently turned down a proposal for humanitarian aid. . . .

"Britain's aid program in Vietnam was run down rapidly after December, 1978, when Vietnamese troops first entered Cambodia."

Kampuchea, unlike Vietnam, has been getting some humanitarian aid through the United Nations as a result of the worldwide outcry over the prospect of millions starving to death there during the famine of 1979-1980. But even this has been used as a weapon against the Kampuchean government.

Thus, as William Branigin explains in the January 19 *Washington Post*: "Southeast Asia's noncommunist nations and Western countries have insisted on separate aid for the border area to feed Cambodian followers of resistance groups battling the Vietnamese occupation forces. . . .

"Western aid alone last year totaled \$100 million for the interior and \$88 million for the border feeding program, refugee holding centers and affected Thai villages."

In other words, almost as much aid went to the rightist guerrillas in the border areas as to "the interior" where more than 90 percent of the Kampuchean people live.

### CIA disinformation campaign

The United Nations continues to extend official recognition to the Pol Pot gang as the legitimate government of Kampuchea. A UN aid program for the Thai-Kampuchean border area — i.e., for Pol Pot — has already been approved for 1982, but aid officials are dragging their feet on approving further aid to be distributed inside Kampuchea.

The pretext for this vile policy is summed up in the headline of Branigin's January 19 article: "Western Donors Fear Vietnamese Seizing Aid for Cambodians."

But field workers from virtually every religious and charitable agency that has undertaken relief projects in collaboration with the Kampuchean government give the lie to this claim.

*Wall Street Journal* reporter Barry Wain, for example, filed a dispatch from Phnom Penh that appeared in the December 22, 1981, issue of that big-business daily. According to Wain:

"Cambodia's Heng Samrin regime, installed by the Vietnamese in 1978, has been able to get the country almost back to normal after the famine and upheaval that followed its rise to power. . . .

"International-aid workers say that in the past year the central government has overhauled provincial administration and improved the distribution of rice to needy families. . . .

"Visitors from the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization were impressed to find that seed, fertilizer, equipment and food were being distributed to all the provinces they visited in October and November. 'The policy of the authorities seemed to be dominated by humanitarian concepts,' they wrote in a report."

The only ones cited by Wain who disagree with this assessment are "Western officials based in Bangkok." The

same anonymous officials in Bangkok are also quoted by Branigin. Neither Wain nor Branigin bother to mention that Bangkok is the headquarters for the CIA destabilization campaign against Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea. No aid for the interior of Kampuchea goes through Bangkok.

### 'Mean-spirited policy'

In a July 3, 1981, column in the *New York Times*, Elizabeth Becker reported:

"Late last year, T. Berry Brazelton, a Harvard pediatrician, traveled to Indochina, where he discovered that the Cambodian children so recently subjected to famine were faring far better than Vietnamese children. He made the rounds of pediatric wards in both countries and found in Vietnam that 'the overwhelming reason for the children's illnesses was malnutrition.' He said: 'The health system is good but they just don't have enough to eat.'"

U.S. officials responded to an emergency appeal for milk for the children of Vietnam by saying the Vietnamese should use the money spent on military operations in Kampuchea to buy milk. The European Economic Community, which cut off food shipments to Vietnam in 1979 following the entry of Vietnamese forces into Kampuchea, also refused to ship supplies of powdered milk.

As Becker noted, "The sanctions campaign has been pursued beyond the bounds of decent behavior."

American Friends Service Committee leader James Matlack also blasted the U.S. government's "extraordinarily mean-spirited policy toward acute food shortages in Vietnam" in an August 6, 1981, article in the *Christian Science Monitor*.

"There are a number of basic points on which field workers and agencies engaged in Cambodian famine relief would agree," Matlack said. "Whatever military and security concerns led the Vietnamese to invade Cambodia, they have supplied large amounts of food and other relief aid to the Khmers despite existing shortages in Vietnam."

Matlack noted that the Kampuchean people "are nearly unanimous in welcoming the overthrow of the murderous Pol Pot regime," and pointed out that "efforts to punish Vietnam for the invasion and occupation defy the evident wishes of the Cambodian people."

### Extent of recovery in Kampuchea

Although the food situation in Kampuchea is now better than it is in Vietnam, the gains that have been made are only a first step. The country's roads and utilities are crumbling. Bridges have collapsed; water and electrical systems are in desperate need of spare parts and new equipment; and Phnom Penh, a city of 500,000, has no sewage system.

"If nothing is done, the electricity network will collapse within six months,"

**Continued on next page**



Peasants in southern Vietnam mobilize to build irrigation canal in rice-growing lowlands area. Washington is blocking international relief efforts in an attempt to starve revolution into submission.

Continued from previous page

Wall Street Journal reporter Barry Wain was told in Phnom Penh. Blackouts there are already common, and the pumps in the water system depend on the supply of electricity. Meanwhile, spare parts for the U.S.-made electrical generators cannot be imported because of the imperialist embargo against trade with Kampuchea.

But the basic political fact is that for the Kampuchean people, things have gotten steadily better since the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime three years ago. "Urban and village markets are stacked with poultry, pigs, fish, fruit and vegetables," Wain reports. "General merchandise ranges from generators to motorbikes, clothes to cameras."

The Kampuchean government allows unrestricted private trading in local foodstuffs, handicrafts and consumer goods. It has also encouraged the establishment of small shops that furnish consumer goods and services that the government is unable to provide. These shops also serve as a vital link in the chain of production — for example, through the building of boats, and farm tools, and through repair services.

Kampuchea is recovering from such absolute devastation that reestablishing even the most basic forms of economic activity makes a big difference.

Both the French colonialists and the Pentagon used the historical divisions between the various ethnic groups in Indochina as a basis for organizing counterrevolutionary armies. These forces continue to operate in parts of Thailand, Laos, and even Vietnam.

Nayan Chanda reported in the October 30, 1981, *Far Eastern Economic Review*:

"How seriously the government takes its minority problems can be seen by the staging in August of the first conference of Hmong people in Ha Tuyen province bordering China. Later on, a Hmong delegation was brought to Hanoi and met Premier Pham Van Dong. . . .

"Another indication of increasing awareness by the government of the minority problem was the appointment in July of a minority leader from the Central Highlands, Y Ngong Niek Dam, to the powerful State Council and other tribal leaders Y Mot and Cam Ngoan as vice-chairmen of the National Assembly."

The government's official stance toward the minority peoples in Vietnam was presented in the report on a family planning conference that appeared in *Vietnam Courier* (no. 5, 1981). In general, the Vietnamese are trying to encourage a reduced birthrate. But Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, who spoke at the conference, stressed:

"Especially in areas inhabited by small ethnic minorities where there is a need for population growth not only should we not launch a movement to reduce population growth, but we must increase our all-round support to help women to give birth and take good care of their children so that the population in these areas actually increases. This conforms with our Party and State's attitude and policy concerning the ethnic minorities of our country."

#### Stop the embargo!

Because of the objective circumstances facing Vietnam, the army newspaper *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* declared last September, "It is impossible . . . to avoid economic and personal difficulties. In order to overcome these difficulties, there is no alternative other than to demand extraordinary efforts of our entire party, people and army" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, October 30, 1981).

Due to shortages of fuel, spare parts, and raw materials, planning chief Nguyen Lam reported in his December 1981 review of the economy, "The output of many essential consumer goods such as cloth, fabric, paper, rush mats, bicycle accessories and medicine decreased."

However, thanks to favorable weather and a new system of economic incentives to farmers, Vietnam reaped a record 15-million-ton harvest, according to Lam. The success was achieved despite the fact that the country's lack of

foreign exchange reserves made it impossible to import as much fertilizer, pesticides, tractor fuel, and other supplies as was needed.

The record 1981 harvest has coincided with some gains for Vietnam on other fronts. Diplomatic ties with Sweden have been improving, and some aid has come from that quarter. In addition, in December the French government agreed to provide Vietnam with \$35 million in aid.

Nevertheless, the blockade continues. Last November, the World Food Program refused, under U.S. pressure, to grant \$5 million worth of credits for the construction of a canal irrigation system.

It is necessary to demand an end to the shameful use of food as a weapon against the peoples of Indochina.

It is necessary to call a halt to the criminal policy of arming the Thai military dictatorship and the rightist forces of Pol Pot against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea.

It is necessary to rally world opinion against the denial of aid to Vietnam. The U.S. refusal to provide the \$3.2 billion it promised for reconstruction in Vietnam is especially glaring in light of the hundreds of millions of dollars Washington is pouring into El Salvador to back up the murderous junta there.

The Vietnamese people have struggled against overwhelming odds for the past forty years simply for the



Harvard pediatrician T. Berry Brazelton toured Vietnam and found that 'the overwhelming reason for children's illness was malnutrition.' He added, 'The health system is good, but they just don't have enough to eat.'

right to control their own country and to build a better society.

They have given and continue to give an almost superhuman example of courage, self-sacrifice, and revolutionary determination.

With the solidarity of working people

throughout the world, the Vietnamese people will win against the most recent attempts to strangle their revolution, just as they won against the French colonial empire and the war of genocide waged by Washington.

From Intercontinental Press

## War 'finally stops' for four vets

Four U.S. veterans of the Vietnam war spent six days visiting Vietnam in December. "The war finally stopped in my mind," said Tom Bird, a former infantryman, as he flew home after the trip.

The four veterans were invited to come to Vietnam by the Vietnamese government. One official noted as the veterans arrived in Hanoi on December 18, "It was sensible to invite the veterans to come here. They were victims of the war like many of our people were victims."

This theme was repeated by Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach when he met the veterans' delegation on December 22. "Tell your people that, between Vietnam and the American people, there was no victory or defeat. We were all victims," he said. "It was a war of Johnson and Nixon against the American people."

Thach's words have a particular meaning for Vietnam veterans. A 1978 U.S.-government study found that the suicide rate for soldiers who had served in Vietnam was 23 percent higher than it was for nonveterans in the same age group.

Moreover, some 2.4 million Vietnam veterans have been exposed to the lethal Agent Orange, used to defoliate forests and destroy crops during the war in Indochina. Agent Orange has been identified as the cause of various cancers, liver dysfunctions, and birth defects. The fight to get the U.S. government to help veterans who are victims of Agent Orange is still going on.

Thach said that Vietnam would welcome specialists who want to study the effects of Agent Orange, and that it would deal with the veterans' group in trying to resolve the fate of Americans missing in action.

"The Vietnamese government will cooperate with you on the missing in action on a humanitarian basis without any conditions," he said. "We will cooperate with you, not with Reagan and the administration. They have repaid our humanitarian activity with hostility."

Washington has repeatedly claimed that the Vietnamese have bodies of American war dead that they have not returned, and the charge has even been made that Vietnam is still holding U.S. prisoners of war.

But the Vietnamese have nothing to gain from such a course. "I get the distinct sense that the Vietnamese want to have good relations with the United States government," said Robert Mull-

er, executive director of the Vietnam Veterans of America. Muller, a former Marine officer who was crippled in the war, led the group of visiting veterans.

The Vietnamese, who hardly have enough fuel to run tractors and irrigation pumps, explained that they have great difficulty in sending out helicopters and search parties to hunt for the remains of U.S. soldiers in the jungles.

"It's so quiet, and the primitive level of everything here is stunning," Muller told *New York Times* reporter Bernard Weinraub after he had been in Hanoi for two days. "When you see this place it's almost obscene to think what we dumped on these people. There's nothing here."

Bird called the response of the Vietnamese to the veterans "incredibly warm and sensitive and friendly."

As he was leaving Ho Chi Minh City on December 24, Muller remarked: "If I said what I truly feel it would be a problem at home. As veterans, each of us have undergone a profound experience."

## Grenada takes over phone company

BY PAT KANE

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — The People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) of Grenada is now the sole owner of the telephone company on this Caribbean island. The formal transfer of ownership took place at a ceremony here January 19.

The PRG came to power in Grenada following the March 1979 overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Eric Gairy.

The company — Grenada Telephones — was jointly owned by the PRG and a giant U.S. company, Continental Telephones, Ltd. Negotiations with the company followed a proposal by Continental that the PRG buy Continental's 50 percent shareholding. Because of the poor state of the telephone equipment and the level of company debts the PRG would have to repay, the government bought all of the Continental shares for the price of one dollar.

The government's final decision came after it informed Continental that the sale would have to meet the total approval of the telephone workers and staff.

Minister of Communications and Works Hudson Austin explained the background to this historic move and the government's decision to respect the views of the workers concerned. "After discussion with the workers," he said,

"they were informed that if the workers did not agree to the transfer we would not sign the agreement. But we have the support from all the workers that the government should take over."

Frederick Grant, a telephone worker, expressed the feelings of the other workers when he spoke at the formal ceremony. "The workers are glad that the government has taken over the company," he said. "We feel that for once in our lives we realize that what we put into the company, we will get out. We realize that we have to put in an extra amount of production, but we will be able to call it our company."

"Our company must be run by us. We feel strongly, and we appreciate the stand that the revolutionary government has made, and the preparations in sending four of our engineers away for training in advance of a new system coming. We want to make this company a success, because it now belongs to us."

The PRG has already begun to implement plans for the upgrading of the island's telephone system, and is installing a new system from the German Democratic Republic. People are optimistic that under government control the company will be able to give more reliable service. The service has been run down over the past few years, and is now considered obsolete.



# Why unemployment will not go away under capitalism

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

According to the U.S. Labor Department 16 million workers were either totally or partially unemployed in December. Not since 1939 have so many people been without work. As the recession deepens, unemployment continues to rise week by week.

The current generation of workers has never faced an unemployment crisis as acute as the current one. Yet unemployment is not a new problem. Even during the boom-Vietnam War days of the 1960s "full employment" was defined by capitalist politicians and economists as 3 to 4 percent unemployed. The urban uprisings that swept the cities in 1965-68 were sparked, in part, by high unemployment rates in the Black and Latino communities.

Why must millions of people be constantly unemployed? Why are there recessions with massive layoffs like today? Is it perhaps because there is just not enough work that needs to be done?

This is clearly untrue. Even in America, the richest country in the world, the cities are in a state of decay. Poverty is widespread and getting worse. On a world scale poverty is truly monstrous. And what is poverty if not the absence of material wealth? The only way to end poverty is to produce more goods. And this means work.

Is unemployment perhaps caused by a lack of the means to be able to produce goods? Not in the United States. Even government officials admit that almost 30 percent of U.S. plants and equipment are lying idle.

## What does cause unemployment?

So if unemployment is not caused by either a lack of work that needs to be done or a lack of the means to do it with, what does cause it?

It was Karl Marx who discovered the answer in the last century. Marx made a thoroughgoing study of the capitalist system. He demonstrated that unemployment was the inevitable result of the operations of capitalism. The more capitalism developed, Marx explained, the worse the problem of unemployment would tend to become. Why is this so?

Let's first look at an expanding capitalist economy. Business is good and various capitalist enterprises are eager to take advantage of the opportunities for increased sales and profits. They expand production and hire additional workers. The number of unemployed declines. It looks as though the problem of unemployment is on the way to being licked. Yet it never is.

As employment rises workers are generally in a better position to fight for higher wages and better conditions. If a worker gets laid off at one factory he or she can usually get a job somewhere else, possibly at higher pay. Employers even begin to compete with one another

for labor. This kind of competition for labor among capitalists tends to push wages higher, even in the absence of unions.

## Capitalist production for profit

But higher wages (all things remaining equal) mean lower profits. And capitalist production is production for profit. How do the bosses react to the threat to their profits that come from higher wages and better working conditions generally?

They introduce new machinery at an accelerated pace. The higher wages are, the more attractive it is for the capitalists to expand production by increased use of labor-saving machinery rather than by hiring additional workers. The bosses pit machines against workers. They say to the workers, either hold your wages down, accept dangerous working conditions, and work long hours, or we will eliminate your jobs through automation.

Unemployment is thus reinforced by increased use of machinery, as well as by overtime and speedup. The more production that can be gotten out of the existing workforce, the less need there is to hire additional workers.

Production expands faster than employment. For example, between 1958 and 1979 production increased by 181 percent in the U.S. ball and roller bearing industry. In the same period, however, the number of employee hours put in by production workers increased by only 42 percent. The introduction of electronic control equipment to run machinery, along with general improvements in the machinery, meant that for each 3.5 percent increase in output achieved, the ball and roller bearing industry used only .8 percent more employee hours (including nonproduction employees) in the period 1958-79.

This is quite typical for capitalist industry taken as a whole. Between 1969 and 1979 the gross product of all manufacturing in the United States increased about 33 percent. Manufacturing employment, however, grew by only 10.5 percent.

If it weren't for the growth of jobs in government, retail and wholesale trade, banking, and other so-called service trades, unemployment would assume catastrophic proportions in the very midst of capitalist prosperity. Capitalist industry is unable to absorb workers at anywhere near the rate of growth in the population, even when it is expanding. Things get much worse for workers when capitalist industry contracts like it is doing now.

## What causes recessions?

Modern industry is based on continuous improvements in machinery. It thus has an almost infinite capacity for expansion. Yet far from expanding constantly, capitalist industry shows a pattern of expansion and recession. Why is this?

In order to insure profits for themselves, the capitalists must greatly limit the income of the great mass of people. Most of the people in the capitalist world actually live in extreme poverty.

As a result, when production expands rapidly a gap develops between the growing volume of goods produced and the ability of the market to absorb them at prices that are profitable for the capitalists. How do the capitalists get out of the profit crisis that is caused by this "overproduction"?

They get out of it by reducing production. Production remains depressed until the mass of "overproduced" commodities are absorbed by the market. This sometimes takes years.

When production is slashed workers



Some 2,000 people waiting to apply for fifty-eight jobs at an Oklahoma City Western Electric plant.

are expelled en masse from industry. On the one hand there are huge stockpiles of unsold commodities gathering dust in warehouses; on the other there is mass unemployment and poverty. A crazy situation? Yes, but absolutely unavoidable under capitalism.

When the great mass of "overproduced" commodities are finally sold off workers are only very slowly called back to work. Why is this?

During the recession, profits have fallen. Many smaller capitalists have gone out of business or been bought out by more powerful firms. Business monopolies are strengthened. As business begins to improve and money becomes somewhat easier to come by, surviving firms introduce new efficient machinery to slash costs even more and thus boost profits. Only those firms that do this survive capitalist competition and grow in the long run.

At the same time, during and after recessions corporations close down their old higher-cost, labor-intensive plants. Even when business is booming again many will not be reopened.

## Unemployment used for blackmail

When jobs are scarce workers are generally more cautious about challenging their employers. The capitalists take full advantage of this situation to hold down and even cut wages. When business begins to pick up they prefer to lengthen the hours and intensity of work of the existing labor force rather than hire new workers.

Meanwhile more and more young people are entering the labor market. The result is that even when the capitalist economy has passed the low point of a recession unemployment declines very slowly. A good example is the Great Depression of the 1930s. The low point of the depression actually occurred in 1932-33. Yet as late as 1940 the rate of unemployment was still in the double digits, though production by then was greater than it was in 1929 when the depression began.

The same phenomenon is observed in lesser recessions as well. Unemployment climbs steeply when business slumps, and it declines only gradually when business recovers. Every recession adds to the "reserve industrial army," as Marx called it.

The reserve industrial army provides a pool of workers who can be drawn into industry when an extraordinary demand for labor develops. In addition it serves to hold down wages and working conditions.

The huge mass of unemployed workers that resulted from the Great Depression, for example, enabled the

employers to expand production very rapidly in World War II, notwithstanding the great numbers of young people who were drafted into the military.

Something similar happened during the Vietnam War in the 1960s. Recessions in 1953-54, 1957-58, and 1960-61 had created a pool of millions of unemployed workers. When the increased demand for labor developed in the 1960s, this pool of unemployed provided people for industry and the military alike. The persistence of massive unemployment among Blacks and Latinos showed that this reserve army was far from exhausted even at the height of the Vietnam War and the 1960s boom. Furthermore, many women who wanted to work were denied the opportunity to do so.

Even in the unlikely event that all potential workers in the United States obtained jobs, there would still be a huge reserve army in colonial and semicolonial countries like Puerto Rico and Mexico. A huge reserve army is a permanent part of capitalism.

## What is the solution?

The only solution to unemployment is to abolish the capitalist system. Only when the workers establish their own government and eliminate private ownership of banks, factories, mines, and the means of transportation will production be carried out for human need and jobs be provided for all.

This has been shown in practice by the Soviet Union. Private ownership of industry was abolished after the workers revolution of October 1917. Since the early 1920s production of Soviet industry has increased except during World War II. Today unemployment is virtually unknown.

Closer to home the Cuban revolution abolished private ownership of industry in 1960. Since then Cuban industry has been limited only by the supply of raw material and labor. Unemployment was once a terrible social sore. In the 1950s 23 percent of the working population was totally or partially unemployed. But since the early 1960s the problem has been a shortage of labor.

But won't the introduction of new machinery still lead to unemployment, even under socialism?

It is true that under socialism machinery will eliminate many mind-numbing jobs. But a socialist economy will shorten the hours of labor as technology advances. The remaining work can be spread around. Work will be both a right and a duty. Unemployment will disappear.

Eventually the radical shortening of the workday will permit the time necessary to enable every human being to develop to his or her full potential.

## For further reading

### Wage-Labor & Capital/ Value, Price & Profit

By Karl Marx. A basic introduction to Marx's analysis of capitalism. 61 pp. \$1.25

### The Wages System

A series of articles written by Frederick Engels in 1881 to explain how capitalism exploits workers. 52 pp. \$.75

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# Libya's fight to be free of imperialism

BY STEVE BRIDE

On September 1, 1969, King Idris of Libya was overthrown.

The king was at the time at a health spa in Turkey. With him were 230 pieces of luggage, an entourage of thirty-two, five expensive cars, and \$60 million he had brought along just in case.

The king's hotel bill was \$940 a day. This was more than most Libyans made in a year, so it was generally agreed they had little to lose by the king's departure.

## European colonialism

To most Libyans, in fact, Idris was no more than an unhappy reminder of twenty-five years of colonial rule over their country.

The Italian government of Mussolini occupied Libya in 1925. The Italian forces were replaced during World War II by British troops, who put Idris on the throne and gave the country its independence in 1951.

British troops stayed in Libya, while the U.S. military settled in near the city of Tripoli, at Wheelus, and built the largest American air base outside the United States.

Independent Libya was the poorest nation in the world, its principal exports being esparto grass (useful in papermaking) and scrap metal left over from the Second World War. Then, in 1957, oil was discovered.

Under Idris, U.S. companies owned 90 percent of the Libyan oil business. Taxes and royalties went to the government, mainly to support the monarchy and its friends. "Our day was hardness and our night was always darkness," one Libyan said of this period.

Twelve years after the coup that ousted Idris, the picture is different.

## Free housing, health care

"Libyans live splendidly," a European ambassador tells the *Christian Science Monitor*, "compared with the hardships most of them endured under Idris." Adds another, to *Newsweek*, "You don't see poverty or hunger here. Basic needs are met to a greater degree than in any other Arab country."

Average annual income in Libya is now \$10,000. The minimum wage is \$500 a month. Health care and education through the university level are free. Over 200,000 new homes have gone up since 1969. Housing is also free.



All this allows Libyans to spend a considerable part of their income on consumer goods, which they do. Observed correspondent Charles Powers in the November 27, 1981, *Los Angeles Times*, "The waterfront is walled by cargo containers piled high, bringing goods from every country in the world that has something to sell."

Foreign residents have told U.S. newspaper reporters that the typical Libyan family owns two cars, three television sets, and several radios. Libyans buy these at cost from giant, state-owned stores; private shops and the traditional marketplace have been closed by the government.

Of that government, headed by Muammar el-Qaddafi, that has built this welfare state in so short a time, the *Wall Street Journal* could only lament, in its July 14 1981, issue, "Col. Khadafy clearly has considerable support from the younger and poorer elements of Libya's population — who have benefited most from his revolution."

## How Qaddafi has done it

What the regime has accomplished begins with the oil discovered in 1957. It accounts for 99 percent of government revenues. Today, though, the terms under which this oil is exploited leave a good deal more for Libyans than any bargain Idris ever struck with imperialism.

In 1971, the new government nationalized the Libyan holdings of British Petroleum. Four others — Standard of California, Texaco, Royal Dutch-Shell, and Atlantic Richfield — had their properties in Libya nationalized in 1974. Meanwhile, in 1973, the Libyan government had installed itself as a 51 percent partner in all domestic drilling ventures with the remaining oil companies.

On the heels of these measures came an increase in the price to U.S. oil companies of extracting Libyan crude from the ground: from \$9.38 a barrel in 1973 to \$37.50 a barrel today. Given the depreciation of the dollar during this period, the increase in what Libyans can buy with their oil revenues has been less dramatic.

In any event, Qaddafi poured much of the money into public works programs and importing consumer goods. Prices of these goods to Libyans were standardized at cost. Personal savings over \$3,410 were nationalized, and laws were passed against owning more than one home. Idris's aristocracy was effectively wiped out, and the poor of Libya were left to benefit from the nation's new-found prosperity.

"The money from oil," that same European ambassador told the *Monitor*, "really does trickle all the way down the ladder."

## Still a dependent economy

U.S. imperialism dislikes Qaddafi because:

- His government demands — and gets — from imperialism a bigger share of Libya's oil wealth.
- He opposes most aspects of imperialist foreign policy.
- The Arab masses view Libya's economic successes and defiance of imperialism as something of an example.
- His regime has begun to develop an economic and military relationship with the Soviet Union.

In the year he has been president, Ronald Reagan has accused the Qad-



Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi (right) with Palestine Liberation Organization head Yassir Arafat. Qaddafi's support to Palestinian and other liberation struggles has earned him Washington's hatred.

dafi government of everything from shooting Anwar el-Sadat to trying to take over most of North Africa. At the same time, Reagan's administration has begun to wield some of imperialism's economic weapons against Libya. This puts the country in a dangerous position, because its economy depends on imperialism.

The Libyan economy is not regulated through centralized planning. The government's share of banking is only 51 percent, and private merchants still own a good piece of foreign trade. Behind the wall of imports and oil revenues, the country remains underdeveloped. There is no manufacturing to speak of; agriculture is limited by the fact that most of Libya is not arable.

Libya's prosperity rests entirely on oil, and the Libyan oil industry rests largely on imperialism.

The government's 51 percent partnership in oil extends only to drilling and extracting operations. A U.S. corporation — often the partner in the drilling venture — buys the crude and thereafter controls its transportation, refining, and marketing.

U.S. corporations provide 70 percent of the technology and expertise for drilling operations. Libya is a major purchaser (\$59 million in 1980) of U.S. oil-field equipment. "We have a very horrendous interest there," commented William Sallans, executive vice-president of the U.S. Petroleum Equipment Suppliers Association. Capitalist firms also supply most of the equipment, and about 800,000 technicians and laborers for Libyan development projects: a \$1 billion petrochemicals plant, a \$2 billion industrial complex, and so on.

Likewise, a \$7 billion water pipeline — part of the regime's program to boost agriculture — depends heavily on U.S. technology and advisers.

So if the U.S. corporations pulled out tomorrow, it would cripple the Libyan economy.

Finally, Washington's stated policy of doing away with the Qaddafi government has forced Libya to commit large sums to its defense: \$12 billion in the last five years. There is no Libyan arms industry, so the expenditure only drains resources.

## Putting the squeeze on Libya

"He's already having a hell of a time meeting his commitments. If you get at his cash flow, you really raise major problems."

—A Reagan administration official

Since 1961, Libyan oil reserves have been depleted by one-third. Furthermore, most of the machinery and other materials necessary for the country's development must be imported from the imperialist nations. The high cost

of these goods means the government must get the best price it can, *now*, for its oil.

Low-sulfur, high-quality Libyan crude is the most expensive in the world. Its current \$37.50-a-barrel asking price is \$.75 more than the going rate. But the price also reflects pressure from — and Libya's dependency on — the imperialist corporations and the world market they control: it is \$3.50 a barrel less than the Libyans were getting in November 1981.

With the U.S. and West European economies headed into a recession in late 1981, there was more oil on the market than could be sold at the current price. There was an "oil glut."

Production of Libyan oil fell from 1.8 million barrels a day in January 1981 to 600,000 in September. Revenues dropped from \$23 billion in 1980 to \$12 billion in 1981, barely enough to meet the country's annual development budget. A ceiling was put on state expenditures, and there was speculation the import of consumer goods would be cut. Libya's \$62 billion, five-year development plan was put under review.

In the first week of November, Libya was forced to lower its price from \$41 a barrel to \$37.50, with additional "discounts" bringing the price to \$35.25. By December, production had risen to 1.3 million barrels a day.

The oil companies looked for more concessions. "If the contract terms aren't sufficiently lucrative," said the *Wall Street Journal* prior to the negotiation of 1982 contracts, "the companies may prefer to gradually phase out their Libyan operations."

## American pullout

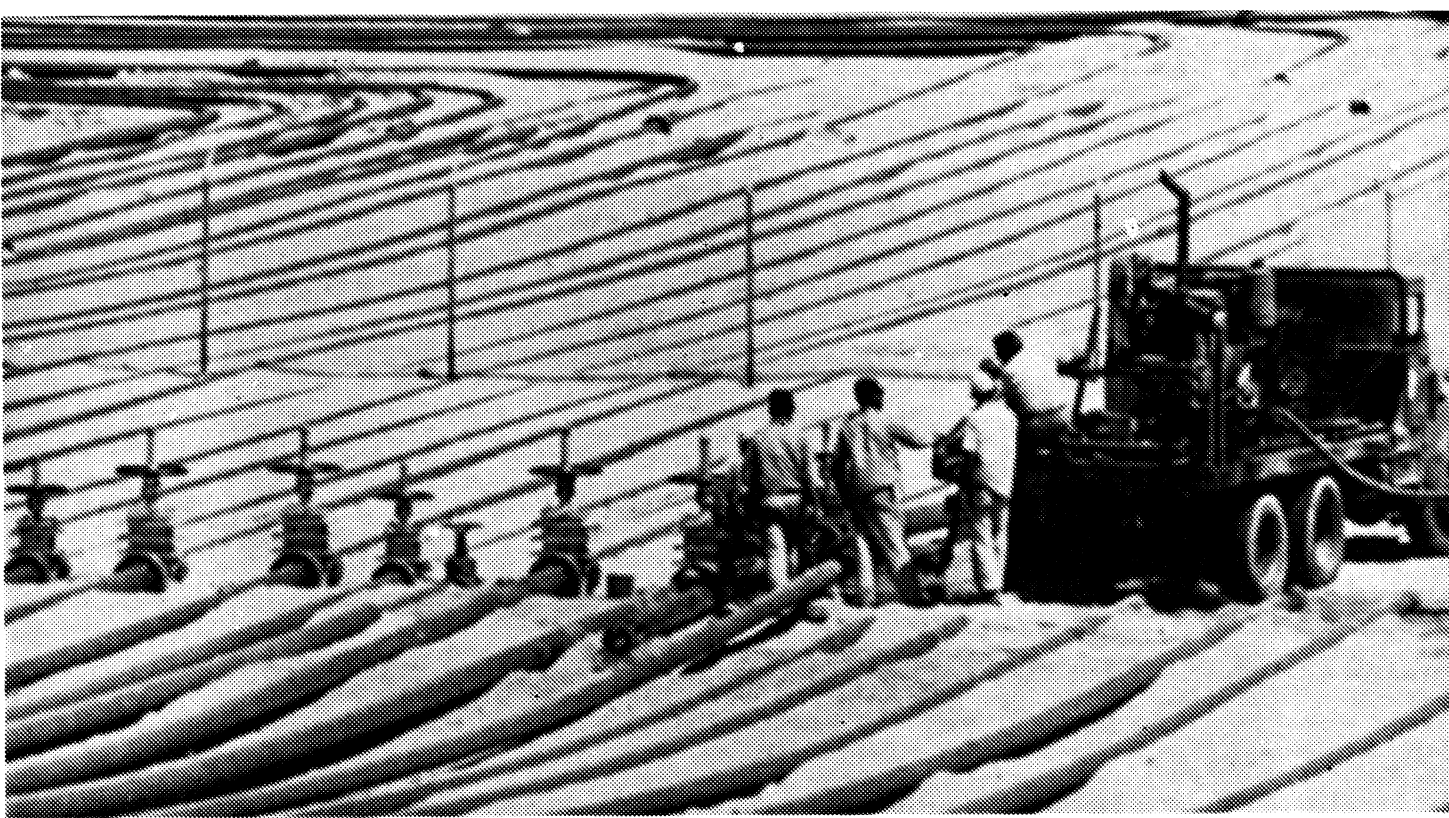
The Reagan administration wanted more, too. In May, it began telling the 2,500 Americans in Libya to get out. About 1,000 did. The move was mainly political, designed to create the impression that Americans there were in some danger from fanatical Libyans. But its secondary effect was to remove U.S. advisers — mostly oil technicians — from the Libyan economy.

In November, Exxon oil shut down production and pulled out its people. Mobil stopped production shortly thereafter.

U.S. propaganda got more feverish later that month, with the accusation that Qaddafi had dispatched "hit squads" to assassinate Reagan and other U.S. officials. On December 10, Reagan ordered remaining U.S. personnel out of Libya.

The oil companies did not especially like this. They were making good money out of Libya, and their people did not feel in any particular danger. Most, in fact, liked the place. But Reagan's appeal to the oil giants was blunt: put U.S. policy above your own narrow





**Oil pipeline in Libya.** Oil provides 99 percent of government revenues, much of which are poured into public works programs and importing consumer goods. But Libyan oil industry remains largely dependent on technology and expertise of U.S. corporations, and is lately being squeezed by recession-induced world 'oil glut.'

profit interests. The companies went along. Americans began leaving Libya.

Again, the move was of primarily propaganda value. But the *Wall Street Journal* noted it would also "deny Libya the skills of American technicians."

The *Journal* added, "Oil executives say that most companies should be able to transfer or hire enough non-American technicians to maintain near-normal production in the oil fields."

The impact of the pullout was limited by the fact that the U.S. firms employ many West Europeans, and the West European governments wouldn't throw in with Reagan. The threat, though, was implicit: the U.S. corporations, and their technicians of whatever nationality, might someday leave Libya altogether.

Reacting to this threat, Libyan Minister of Petroleum Abdel-Salam Zagaar declared the regime would shut down the oil fields if replacements were not found for the U.S. advisers. Said another Libyan official to a U.S. oil executive, "You're not going to leave us without any skills."

#### The effect of a U.S. boycott

Reagan, meanwhile, considered his next step. The administration, reported *Time* in its December 21 issue, "will almost certainly order an end to all American purchases of Libyan oil. That move might be combined with new restrictions on the export of U.S. products like machinery to Libya."

The problem right now with a U.S. boycott of Libyan oil is that most West European governments wouldn't go along with that, either. Libyan imports account for 3 percent of U.S. oil consumption. In a period of "glut," this is expendable. The Europeans, on the other hand, have little oil of their own and depend much more on Libya.

So, although a U.S. boycott would immediately knock out 40 percent of Libya's oil exports, Qaddafi could turn around and, as one European oilman put it, "sell all he wants" to Western Europe.

"We'd cry uncle before they did," agreed a former diplomat and oil executive.

Even Reagan conceded any boycott "would have to be worldwide. No one country could affect [Libya] by having a boycott." The suggestive tone of this was lost on no one.

#### The confrontation

As a boy, Qaddafi would listen to radio broadcasts by the late Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Today, he has tried to apply Nasser's economic model of a private sector combined with massive state intervention, and what he sees as Nasser's radical

Arab nationalism, to Libya.

Economically, Qaddafi has succeeded to an extent Nasser never could have. He has the oil money Nasser never had, and fewer people to spend it on (3 million, against Egypt's population of 42 million).

The search for economic independence from imperialism has led Qaddafi down the road of confrontation with imperialism. From the time he set foot on this road in 1970, when he closed the U.S. air base at Wheelus, Qaddafi has become increasingly more outspoken in his opposition to imperialism.

In the Middle East, he backs the Palestine Liberation Organization. He supported the Iranian people in their revolt against the shah and in subsequent conflicts with imperialism. (In fact, a month after the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Iran, Libyans attacked and burned the U.S. embassy in Tripoli.) Qaddafi has extended assistance to the revolutionary government on the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada.

This, in turn, has brought an increasingly sharp response from imperialism. Since 1977, the latter's intelligence agencies have made something

of a project of trying to overthrow Qaddafi. A more open provocation was the shooting down of two Libyan planes over the Gulf of Sidra in August 1981.

Its anti-imperialist stance and the consumer goods it delivers have made the regime hugely popular with Libyans. This is a weapon Qaddafi holds as he confronts U.S. attempts to sabotage the Libyan economy and government.

An even more potent weapon for the Libyan government is the support of the Arab masses. Qaddafi is despised by most Arab regimes. Yet the sentiments of their own populations forced these regimes into, for example, near-unanimous condemnation of the United States after the Gulf of Sidra incident.

The Arab world is being swept by a wave of anti-imperialist sentiment. Qaddafi's radical Arab nationalism places him at the crest of this wave.

And this gets to yet another factor that weighs in the confrontation. The world simply is not the same for imperialism as it once was.

Twenty years ago, Qaddafi's is the sort of regime the CIA would have overthrown more easily. But the rela-

tionship of forces in the world today has turned against imperialism. In the wake of the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, the confidence and combativity of the world's workers and peasants have grown. Successful revolutions in Iran, Nicaragua, and Grenada, the continuing success of the Cuban revolution — these have further weakened imperialism's hold on the world.

All this, along with the opposition to war among American workers, is an obstacle to any plans imperialism has for undoing Qaddafi.

This also bears on what the Soviet regime might do in order to enhance its image with the oppressed people in the Middle East. It could conceivably step in and help fill whatever gaps might be left by a withdrawal of imperialist support for the Libyan economy.

In the final analysis, Libya's is the story of another small nation struggling to find an economic and political course independent of — and, by definition, in opposition to — imperialism. The degree of its success is measured by the extent to which it has been singled out for particular vilification by the imperialist governments.

Writing from Tripoli, John Cooley, a correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* and bitter enemy of the Libyan government, relates the following story:

"When stranded in downtown Tripoli without a taxi at night, I was driven seven miles to his hotel by the director of Tripoli's newest hospital. The hospital director did not inquire as to my mission or nationality — he was simply helping a foreigner in need. The hospital, however, was plastered with posters showing the letters U.S.A. in the shape of a revolver pointed at Libya."

It is the obligation of American workers, then, to see that the trigger on that revolver is never pulled.

## Inspectors close 26 Kentucky mines

BY STU SINGER

After twenty-one coal miners were killed in less than two months in eastern Kentucky, the state Mines and Minerals Commission finally stepped up safety inspections. More than fifty state inspectors carried out surprise checks January 25, and they ordered twenty-six of the seventy-five underground mines in eastern Kentucky closed.

The conditions they found guaranteed continued slaughter of miners. Safety violations included improper use of explosives.

Inspectors also reported that one of the mines, where two miners recently died, was operating illegally. It had been ordered closed last July.

Kentucky Governor John Y. Brown appointed a Review Commission on Deep Mine Safety to report on the state's safety program. A subcommittee of the commission has been holding hearings. In Martin, Kentucky, February 3, witnesses debated the use of a blasting technique called "shooting from the solid."

Shooting from the solid means setting explosives to loosen coal without first cutting out a layer. When the cutting is not done, effects of the explosion cannot be controlled as well. It causes cave-ins and stress elsewhere in the mine.

Some operators argued in favor of this technique, claiming it would require the use of cutting machines they could not

afford if this practice were banned in Kentucky as it is in other states.

Use of this dangerous practice is thought to be responsible for the accidents that killed fifteen of the recent victims in Kentucky.

While pressure from the miners has brought some response from the state government in Kentucky, the recent series of mine deaths has not moved the Reagan administration away from its continuing attack on mine safety enforcement. Federal Mine Safety and Health Administration head Ford B. Ford is carrying out more safety cuts. Ford is proposing a system called "compliance assistance visits" (CAV), under which federal mine inspectors would point out possible dangers and safety violations to the mine owners, but would not issue citations.

The operators would be under an "honor system" to take the required actions to eliminate the danger. The inspectors would not return to check up on the "honor" of the owner.

Coalfield area newspapers report that after the latest Kentucky disasters, the Federal Mine Safety and Health Administration has sent inexperienced inspectors to investigate. Local MSHA offices have been instructed not to speak to reporters, and MSHA nationally refuses to give out information on the training and experience of inspectors.

MSHA is a division of the Labor De-

partment, which is headed by Raymond Donovan. Donovan is a construction company owner who was fined for safety violations by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA).

Donovan and OSHA head Thorne Auchter have been busy cutting OSHA safety enforcement.

The U.S. Senate took a vote December 11 to approve Reagan budget proposals including cuts in MSHA. Twenty-one miners had been killed in accidents the week before that vote was taken.

On January 25, United Mine Workers President Sam Church and Vice-President Wilbert Killion met with Donovan, Ford, and Vice-President George Bush concerning the deteriorating safety in the mines.

The union announced afterward that "administration officials promised that the situation would be studied and that an answer to the UMWA concerns and requests would be forthcoming."

Church explained to the officials that the deaths in the mines are the result of 25 percent fewer inspectors having to check 450 more operating coal mines than was the case in 1978.

Church pointed to the record of Illinois, the state with the highest percentage of unionized miners. No miners were killed there in 1981. This was accomplished because of the safety regulations enforced by the UMWA safety committees in each mine.

# —THE GREAT SOCIETY—

**Papal dignity** — To assure proper remuneration from the



Harry  
Ring

Pope's visit to England, the Vatican retained a U.S. firm to handle the licensing of authorized

souvenirs. These now range from bumper stickers to a gold watch with a papal coat of arms, \$1,860.

**For writing rubber checks** — Parker is offering a hand-crafted wooden fountain pen, with a gold nib. \$400.

**Thought for the week** — "It [the bubonic plague in Europe] was horrifying at the time, yet another six or eight years later,

not only had English society rebounded but, by God, those people went out on an expeditionary force to France." — Civil defense chief William Chipman on the bright prospects for surviving a nuclear war.

**To sleep in?** — In Paris, check out the Nova Park. Single rooms start at \$150 a night and the royal suite is but \$1,320. Then there's the Thousand and One Nights suite. That's not the

price, which is \$7,000 a night. But that includes use of a Rolls Royce.

**Clears the sinuses too** — Discussion of "the use of poison gas frightens people," a senior Pentagon official conceded. "But it could be considered a cheaper substitute for nuclear warfare that would do far less damage outside the battlefield."

**The bright side** — U.S. car sales may be taking a nosedive,

but Rolls Royce sales here jumped 23 percent last year.

**Think you've got problems?** — Real estate broker Charles Sawyer says housing is really bad news when you're in the \$5 million bracket. "The problem for the very rich is not high interest rates," he explained. "It's finding housing suitably plush to satisfy them. The very rich just are having the hardest time finding suitable quarters."

## —CALENDAR—

### ALABAMA

#### Birmingham

**Voting Rights Act: From Selma 1965 to Pickens County.** Speaker: Heidi Rose, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### CALIFORNIA

#### San Jose

**Poland and Reagan's Hypocrisy.** Speaker: Kim Allen, Socialist Workers Party, member, International Association of Machinists Local 565. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 46½ Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

### FLORIDA

#### Miami

**Grenada: 'New Jewel' in the Caribbean. Black Power in Practice.** Speakers: Dessima Williams, Grenadian ambassador to the Organization of American States. Sat., Feb. 20, 2 p.m. New Covenant Presbyterian Church, 4300 NW 12th Ave. Ausp: Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Latin American and Caribbean Solidarity Association. For more information call (305) 661-8358.

**What a Socialist America Will Look Like.** Tape of James P. Cannon, founding leader of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 26, 8 p.m. 1237 NW 119th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 769-3478.

### ILLINOIS

#### Chicago

**United Auto Workers Contract Talks: What the Negotiations Will Mean for the Entire Labor Movement.** Speakers: Meg Hayes, United Auto Workers Local 600; Al Orr, United Auto Workers Local 145; Marie Rivera, United Auto Workers Local 558. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

**Fund Raising Benefit Rally for Jearl Wood Defense Committee.** Sun., Feb. 28, 4:30 p.m. to 1 a.m. Hitching Post Lounge, 2975 W. 159th St., Markham, Il. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Jearl Wood Defense Committee.

### INDIANA

#### Indianapolis

**Crisis in Poland.** Speaker: representative, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 13, 7 p.m. 4850 N. College. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

**Malcolm X and His Ideas.** Speakers: Lupe Ellis, Socialist Workers Party; Musa Baye, owner of MWA Afrikan Bookstore. Sat., Feb. 20, 7 p.m. 4850 N. College. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

### KENTUCKY

#### Louisville

**Ten Days that Shook the World.** Showing of Sergei Eisenstein's film *Ten Days that Shook the World*, followed by a review and discussion of *Reds*. Sun., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 131 W. Main (2nd and W. Main). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**Two Films: A Tribute to Malcolm X and Malcolm X Speaks.** Sun., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Stop the Con Game! Will Concessions**

**Save Auto Jobs?** Speakers: Elizabeth Ziers, member, United Auto Workers Local 600 and Socialist Workers Party; Roger McFadden, UAW Local 160; Fred Valle, UAW retiree. Sun., Feb. 14, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

**Two Films: Malcolm X Speaks and Malcolm X: the Struggle for Freedom.** Sun., Feb. 21, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MISSOURI

#### Kansas City

**Hidden History of Blacks in America.** Speakers: Abdul Jaami Salim, public relations representative, Islamic Center; Yasmeen Abdul Baaqee, director of school program, Islamic Center. Sun., Feb. 14, 7 p.m. dinner; 8 p.m. forum. 4715 Troost. Donation: \$3 dinner, \$2 forum. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

#### St. Louis

**The Freeze of '82: Who Profits from the Cold?** Speakers: Laura Moore, housing and community activist; Bob Zeffert, energy consultant; Jim Garrison, socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

**Malcolm X: His Legacy and the Fight for Black Liberation Today.** Speakers: Sharon Grant, National Committee, Young Socialist Alliance; others to be announced. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

### NEBRASKA

#### Lincoln

**Is There Life After Reaganomics? A Marxist Perspective on the Economic Crisis.** Three classes by Dick Roberts. Sat., Feb. 6, 11 a.m. and 2 p.m.; Sun., Feb. 7, 1 p.m. Nebraska Union, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (402) 483-6236.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**UAW Contract Talks: What Will Negotiations Mean for Entire Labor Movement?** Speakers: Susan Anmuth, member of United Auto Workers Local 980 and Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. (near Broad St.). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

**Malcolm X: Why His Ideas Are Relevant for Us Today.** Speakers: Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party; Representative, National Black Independent Political Party Women's Commission. Fri., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### NEW YORK

#### Brooklyn

**Creationism: A Poor Challenge to Evolution.** Speakers: Susan Sturn, American Civil Liberties Union; Cliff Connor, author, *Evolution vs. Creationism*; slide show. Fri., Feb. 12, 6:30 dinner, 7:30 forum. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$4 dinner and forum, \$2 forum. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

**Stop INS Raids on Undocumented Workers.** Speakers: Johnny McCulloh, Haitian Workers Association; Sandra Boyer, H-Block/Armagh Committee; Héctor Marroquin, socialist fighting deportation; Darlene Kalke, N.Y. Committee for Inter-Religious Community in the United States. Sat., Feb. 20, dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 335

Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$4 dinner and forum, \$2 forum. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7923.

#### Manhattan

**Fighting Reaganomics.** Student conference. Speakers: Stokeley Carmichael, David Dellinger, Herbert Daughtry, Al Baker. Fri., Feb. 19, 7 p.m. to 11 p.m.; Sat., Feb. 20, 9 a.m. to 11 p.m. John Jay College of Criminal Justice, 445 W. 59th St. (10th and 59th). Ausp: Progressive Students Network. For more information call (212) 683-1670 (ask for Ninna Gorman).

#### Schenectady

**Nicaragua: Eyewitness report.** Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, correspondent for *Intercontinental Press*, just returned from Nicaragua. Sun., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

**Grenada: Black Revolution in the Caribbean.** Slide show. Fri., Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Winston-Salem

**Labor's Rights Under Attack: Steelworkers Speak Out.** Speakers: David Keil and Eli Green, members, Steelworkers Local 8888. Sun., Feb. 14, 3 p.m. 216 E. 6th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Bookstore. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

**Malcolm X and Dr. King: the Fight for Freedom.** Record of Malcolm X speech, "The Ballot or the Bullet." Speaker from Young Socialist Alliance on Malcolm X and Martin Luther King's views on war. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 216 E. 6th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Bookstore. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

### OHIO

#### Cleveland

**Socialist Campaign Rally. Ten Days That Shook the World,** film by Sergei Eisenstein, and buffet dinner. Speakers: Alicia Merel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Kurt Landefeld, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Ohio. Sat., Feb. 13, 6 p.m., film at 6:30 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$5 dinner and film, \$2 film. Ausp: Ohio 1982 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

**Contract Givebacks: A New Threat to Working People.** Speakers: Daryl Tukufu, chair, National Black Independent Political Party, Akron; Delores McAll, United Auto Workers Local 122; Alicia Merel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

#### Cincinnati

**Tribute to Malcolm X.** Film: *Malcolm X Speaks*. Speakers: Essie Hughes, cochair of Cincinnati National Black Independent Political party; Rev. Daniel Buford, Black Campus Ministry. Sun., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

#### Toledo

**Revolution on the March.** Slide show and report on Nicaragua. Speaker: Caroline Fowlkes, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 2120 Dorr St., Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution.** Speaker: Jim Levitt, Socialist Workers Party, International Association of Machinists District 751, visited Nicaragua in 1981. Sun.,

Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

**Memories of Underdevelopment, a Cuban Film.** Sun., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Harrisburg

**Reagan's War on El Salvador: U.S. Policy vs. Human Rights in Central America.** Speakers: Sebastián Vázquez, president, ISTMO, a Nicaraguan community organization; Cathy Emminizer, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Feb. 13, 3 p.m. YMCA, 4th and Market St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (717) 234-5052.

**Three Mile Island 1979-1982: A View Three Years Later.** Speakers: John Kovalic, Board of Directors, People Against Nuclear Energy, Middletown; Jane Lee, Etters, Pa., farmer who researched the effects of radiation on plant and animal life around TMI; Steve Patton, Three Mile Island Alert; Kathryn Sojourner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor; representative, Susquehanna Valley Alliance, Lancaster. Sat., Feb. 20, 3 p.m., YMCA, 4th and Market St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (717) 234-5052.

#### Philadelphia

**El Salvador and the U.S. War Drive.** Speakers: Cathy Emminizer, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Fri., Feb. 20, 7 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

### TEXAS

#### San Antonio

**STNP: What Texans Can Do To Fight Against Nuclear Power.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 12, 8 p.m. 337 W. Josephine St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

**Story Behind Reds. Ten Days that Shook the World,** a classic film of the Russian Revolution by Sergei Eisenstein. Fri., Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m. 337 W. Josephine. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

### UTAH

#### Salt Lake City

**Reds: The Movie and the Revolution.** Speakers: Harold Bauman, professor of history, University of Utah; Dayne Goodwin, member, Socialist Workers Party, and columnist for *Daily Utah Chronicle*. Sat., Feb. 13, 7 p.m. 677 South, 700 East. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

### VIRGINIA

#### Newport News

**Reaganomics: The Real State of the Union.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 111 28th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

### CALIFORNIA

#### LOS ANGELES

**Grand Opening of Mel Mason for Governor Campaign Headquarters.** Speaker: Mel Mason, Socialist city councilman in Seaside, Calif., and independent candidate for governor of California. Open house, food, music. Sat., Feb. 20, 6-10 p.m. 7:30 program. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. (near Vermont Ave.). Ausp: Mel Mason for Governor Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 380-9460.



# Texas oil workers strike over pensions

Continued from Page 9

taken a \$72,847 lump sum. In 1981, a thirty-five-year veteran could only get \$54,510.

But the supplement gives the top sixty, \$273,734.

Support for the strike is strong. Only three workers at Texaco have broken ranks and crossed picket lines. The union has aggressively publicized their issues in the Port Arthur and Beaumont area. Stores around town have signs up offering discounts to OCAW members.

Strikers went to Houston and set up informational picket lines at Texaco office buildings. They distributed a leaflet explaining the issues. We were told that some office workers were so impressed that they asked for help in organizing an OCAW local.

Union representatives spoke on a call-in radio program in Beaumont and got a good response. They are now trying to arrange time on the radio.

Brother Stefflen said that the strikers plan to win more support by setting up leafleting and gate collections at refineries in Texas City and Houston.

In the leaflet distributed to Texaco office workers, Local 4-23 explained, "this fight is not ours alone, for when the Union is upheld by the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals and the issue is finally settled, all members of the pension plan may receive the benefits

due to them. Our fight at Port Arthur Plant is not just for a handful of OCAW members as the company would have you believe."

While the Port Arthur refinery is the only Texaco plant on strike, none of the Texaco refineries elsewhere have settled on a new contract.

## 400 attend New York speakout on pornography

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK CITY — Four hundred women, most of them young, gathered here January 23 for a speak-out on "Pornography and Female Self-image," sponsored by Women Against Pornography (WAP).

Over twenty women testified about how pornography has harmed them and others they know. The discussion naturally included stories of how women — and men — are crippled by the sexual stereotypes that society imposes on all of us.

The speakers represented a broad range of experiences.

Leah Fritz spoke first. She was the former chief editor of the woman's page of *Screw* magazine, a pornographic sheet published in New York.

Another woman described the horrors of her life as a molested and abandoned child who went on to be exploited in por-

Negotiations are continuing at all but two plants.

But the company threatens to close its operations in Casper, Wyoming, and West Tulsa, Oklahoma. In a handout to workers at each plant, Texaco noted that "we do recognize the dedication and loyalty that our employees have

shown over the years at this facility, and will keep you advised as to future plans."

*Norma Saldaña is an operator at the Shell refinery in Deer Park near Houston. She is a member of Local 4-367 of OCAW.*

Diane Phillips introduced herself as one of the handful of longshorewomen that work on the New York and New Jersey docks. She described how the male bosses use pornography to harass the women as part of their campaign to get rid of them.

She explained that pornography is a result of the oppression of women, and the repression of sexuality in capitalist society.

She pointed to the positive example of Cuba, which is largely free of pornography and where women have taken important strides forward on the road of liberation.

Phillips spoke against advocating any censorship of pornography in this country, pointing out that it would be both ineffective in dealing with pornography, and that any curbs on democratic rights would be used first and foremost against women, unionists, Blacks, and other fighters against the status quo.

She concluded that the best way to combat pornography — and the oppression of women that is the root cause of it — is by building a strong liberation movement of women fighting for our rights on every front — abortion, child care, ERA, affirmative action.

## Judge's rape remark stirs protest in Wisc.

In 1977 voters ousted Judge Archie Simonson of Madison, Wisconsin, after he said that a teen-age boy who had been accused of rape had been "reacting normally" to the temptations of a "sexually promiscuous" society.

Last December, Judge William Reinecke of Grant County in southwestern Wisconsin called a rape victim "an unusually sexually promiscuous young lady."

The victim is five years old.

The judge said he believed the little girl had initiated the attack.

His remarks have raised an outcry in this rural area, and a committee has been formed which threatens to petition for a recall of the judge unless he resigns voluntarily.

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## A born-again cold warrior

At a rally in New York on February 6, entitled, "An evening for Solidarity," a terrible blow was struck at the cause of the Polish workers.

Susan Sontag, prominent writer and intellectual, gave an unabashedly anticommunist speech. She said it was time to confess that "people on the left have willingly and unwillingly told a lot of lies." It is time, Sontag declared, to denounce those who "were unwilling to identify ourselves as anticommunists because that was the slogan of the right, the ideology of 'Cold War American imperialism.'"

"The principal lesson to be learned from the Polish events," she claimed, "is the lesson of the failure of communism, the utter villainy of the communist system."

Ralph Schoenman, who organized the meeting and served as its chairman, introduced Sontag as an "opponent of the war in Vietnam, essayist, novelist, advocate of political struggle, defender of the rights of the persecuted."

This "defender of the persecuted" told the audience it was time to face up to the fact that "the emigrés from Communist countries" who published their anticommunist tracts in magazines like the *Reader's Digest* "were telling the truth."

She said the Polish events should give us the courage to "abandon the old and corrupt rhetoric and challenge what we have meant for many years by 'radical' and 'progressive.'" Amid both cheers and boos, Sontag proclaimed that it is time to recognize that "Communism is fascism."

Thus, Sontag added her voice to the anticommunist propaganda — and action — campaign being carried out by the "democratic" imperialists headquartered in Washington. Her speech reinforced Washington's justification for its arms buildup and its war moves against Central America and the Caribbean — all being carried out in the name of combatting "communist totalitarianism."

To be sure, Sontag criticized Reagan for hypocrisy on Poland, and said she was for a "different kind of support." What she meant, she explained, is that Reagan and "the entire economic and political leadership of capitalist Europe and North America" are to be condemned for continuing "business as usual" with the Soviet Union and Poland. She attacked "the

banks" for not immediately calling in the Polish debt. She denounced the French government for signing a commercial trade treaty with the Soviet Union. She reviled Reagan for not immediately imposing an embargo on grain sales to the Soviet Union.

With bitter irony, Sontag continued, "That is the kind of retaliation that the Western democracies are prepared to make for the enslavement of Poland — that and a lot of rhetoric."

This born-again cold-warrior sat down before carrying out her argument to its logical conclusion by calling on the "Western democracies" to militarily blockade all the workers states in "retaliation" for the crackdown in Poland.

Sontag's rapid jingoism was a stab in the back to the Polish workers, all the more so because it was delivered, not in the pages of the *Reader's Digest*, but at a meeting ostensibly in solidarity with the workers struggle there.

By falsely portraying the struggle against bureaucratic rule in Poland as a struggle against communism, Sontag is lending credence to the Jaruzelski regime, which accuses Solidarity of aiming at the restoration of capitalism in Poland. By reinforcing Washington's bipartisan anticommunist offensive, she aids American imperialism — the deadly enemy of the workers and farmers in Poland, in the United States, in El Salvador, and throughout the world.

When Sontag sat down, Ralph Schoenman chastised those in the audience who had booed Sontag's reactionary speech. Schoenman, who had opened the meeting by explaining that its objective was to unite broad forces in support of the Polish workers, insisted that Sontag's point of view was welcome within that framework.

He then proceeded to read a quotation from Rosa Luxemburg on the right of unpopular points of view to be heard. He thus invoked the name of this communist leader in defense of Sontag's virulent anticommunist speech, at a meeting billed as being in solidarity with the workers of Poland!

The episode should drive home the point that Polish solidarity activities in this country that don't take as their framework uncompromising opposition to imperialism and to the capitalist government in Washington merely open the door to betrayals of the workers of Poland and of the world.

## Antiwar rallies set March 27, June 12

Continued from Page 1

much about *where* the U.S. rulers intend to fight wars. Washington needs to fight the same kind of wars it has fought since World War II — against workers and peasants around the world trying to throw off imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation.

Today, Washington's sights are on Central America and the Caribbean. This is where the greatest gains have been made recently in challenging U.S. domination.

Washington openly states it is preparing military moves against the popular governments in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, as well as against the freedom struggles in El Salvador and Guatemala. It continues to pour millions of dollars in helicopters and other military equipment in to propping up the hated military dictatorship in El Salvador.

These aggressive moves are necessary, State Department officials declare, because "strategic U.S. interests" are at stake in the region.

But these "strategic interests" are nothing more than U.S. big business asserting its right to rake superprofits from the labor of the workers and peasants living there. U.S. working people have nothing in common with these "interests." Nor is it in our interests for the government — the same government that defends our employers at home — to use military force to crush the struggles of fellow toilers in other countries fighting for the right to determine their own affairs.

The demonstrations called for this spring — all of which aim their fire at U.S. imperialism — offer an

excellent opportunity to explain to millions of Americans that Washington's war policy is not in our interests.

Groups that have been active in the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean are getting involved in the June 12 action. The participation of such forces can play an important role in explaining and providing information about the coming confrontation in that region.

The thousands of activists who have been involved in antidraft and antimissile protests, and who will play a big role in organizing the June 12 protests, have a direct stake in mobilizing against the immediate danger of war that exists today. For the tens of thousands that will turn out June 12 to demonstrate for peace, the preparations now under way for U.S. military aggression against Central America and the Caribbean are of the utmost importance.

It is especially noteworthy that the National Black Independent Political Party is getting behind the June 12 action. The NBIPP has a clear position against U.S. intervention in colonial and semicolonial countries, and has increasingly been getting involved in actions against U.S. aggression in El Salvador. The NBIPP's participation is an important step in winning greater Black participation in this important antiwar action.

Labor support will also be important. In November, the National Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment met in Gary, Indiana. That gathering of 400 union members and supporters adopted a resolution explaining that "the nuclear weapons arsenal and sabre-rattling against those who oppose U.S. foreign policy in the Caribbean, Central America, and the Mideast threaten us with new Vietnams, in which working people have nothing to gain."

By getting behind the June 12 action, this group of union activists could play an important role in helping to organize participation by unionists.

Along with many local protests, the national target dates of March 27 and June 12 offer an opportunity to sound the alarm against the most immediate threat of war — U.S. plans in Central America — and to explain how these plans are intertwined with Washington's mammoth war budget and nuclear buildup.

## Malcolm X speaks on revolutionary youth and capitalism

The following excerpts were taken from an interview with Malcolm X a month before he was assassinated on February 21, 1965. The interview, conducted by Jack Barnes and Barry Sheppard, was first published in the March-April 1965 *Young Socialist*. The full text is printed in *Malcolm X: By Any Means Necessary*, available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, for \$3.95 plus \$.75 for postage and handling.

*Question: What part in the world revolution are youth playing, and what lessons may this have for American youth?*

*Malcolm: If you've studied the captives being caught by the American soldiers in South Vietnam, you'll find that these guerrillas are young people.*

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

Some of them are just children and some haven't reached their teens. Most are teenagers. It is the teenagers abroad, all over the world, who are actually involving themselves in the struggle to eliminate oppression and exploitation. In the Congo, the refugees point out that many of the Congolese revolutionaries are children. In fact, when they shoot captive revolutionaries, they shoot all the way down to seven years old — that's been reported in the press. Because the revolutionaries are children, young people. In these countries, the young people are the ones who most quickly identify with the struggle and the necessity to eliminate the evil conditions that exist. And here in this country, it has been my own observation that when you get into a conversation on racism and discrimination and segregation, you will find young people more incensed over it — they feel more filled with an urge to eliminate it.

I think young people here can find a powerful example in the young *Simbas* in the Congo and the young fighters in South Vietnam.

Another point — as the dark-skinned nations of this earth become independent, as they develop and become stronger, that means that time is on the side of the American Negro. At this point the American Negro is still hospitable and friendly and forgiving. But if he is continually tricked and deceived and so on, and if there is still no solution to his problems, he will become completely disillusioned, disenchanted, and dissociate himself from the interest of America and its society. Many have done that already.

*Question: What is your opinion of the worldwide struggle now going on between capitalism and socialism?*

*Malcolm: It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely.*



Malcolm X speaks in Harlem.





# What's wrong with UAW job security proposals

BY MARTY PETTIT

KANSAS CITY — "I wouldn't mind giving up a buck or two an hour if it meant having some job security. I think that's the worst thing: not knowing if you're going to be out on the streets like people in Detroit and Baltimore and all those places."

This is a common reaction among auto workers

## UNION TALK

here on the proposed concessions in our contract. What most auto workers don't know is that *no job security is in the picture*. The United Auto Workers (UAW) officials have demands that they say add up to job security, but let's take a look at them:

1) Advance notification. "When a plant is going to shut down, advance notification to workers will give them time to conserve earnings, look for other jobs, take advantage of retraining programs [the ones Rea-

gan has cut out?]." This is advance notice of job insecurity, not any form of job security.

2) Contracting-out and other measures. This includes putting to work in-plant maintenance during slack periods, which involves relatively few workers, and company-wide seniority for transfer of laid-off workers. But where's a plant that's hiring? These are tiny, partial solutions that don't address the real problems.

3) "The Golden Handshake." The UAW explains, "when there's a surplus of workers in countries like Germany, companies like Ford will ask for volunteers to be laid off. These volunteers will get a 'Golden Handshake' — a substantial monetary payment as an incentive to leave."

What are some proposals that would seriously address the questions of job security?

"Thirty for forty." Thirty hours work for forty hours pay, to spread the available work around. The Paid Personal Holidays were one small step in that direction, which saved, according to the UAW itself, thou-

sands of jobs. Now we are being asked to give them up.

"No plant closings." If a company can't provide jobs, let's take a look at their financial records. Companies that refuse to operate should be nationalized and run by the workers themselves.

There is plenty of money in this country for jobs. Even if we got to the point where Chrysler and Ford both went down (unlikely), and the majority of cars were imported, the money exists to put all auto workers back to work and then some. The money is in the bloated profit coffers of the giant corporations which get away tax-free and in the enormous military budget. We need a workers government to make use of this tremendous potential, not a government tucked in the hip pocket of General Motors President Roger Smith.

Marty Pettit works on the assembly line at the General Motors Leeds plant in Kansas City, Missouri. She is a member of UAW Local 93.

## LETTERS

### Competitive labor

Ohio House Bill 448, which is through Congress and on its way to the Senate, would lower the child migrant labor age in Ohio from sixteen to twelve years. Baldemar Velasquez, organizer of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, was notified of the legislation in a letter from Ohio Representative Brown and the Ohio Farm Bureau. Velasquez noticed an un-erased notation, however, on the letter. Penciled in on the bottom were the words "Keep Ohio competitive in the recruitment of migrant farm workers." FLOC meanwhile is seeking legislation which would designate agricultural work as hazardous, along with nineteen chemical pesticides.

Janet Post  
Toledo, Ohio

### Series on Blacks

After attending my first Young Socialist Alliance convention I became very interested in the rise of organized labor. As a Black man in America I have a keen interest in the labor movement as it affects Black people and other so-called "minorities."

Before I ever got involved in any political activity, I had received a subscription to the *Militant* as a gift from a relative. One thing I remember about the paper was an article on Malcolm X. I was somehow impressed that a newspaper would print something positive about a man who was so badly maligned by the mass media and generally misunderstood by most white people and many so-called Black people.

I think that a series of articles on Blacks' involvement in the organized labor struggle would prove to be very beneficial as we work to build a revolutionary movement in this country.

Maurice Williams  
Atlanta, Georgia

### Polish solidarity

I read your article in the January 29, 1982 *Militant* about Poland and the Socialist Workers Party position on local American actions in support of the Polish union Solidarity. It is a terrible contradiction that principled socialist revolutionaries are not strong enough to intervene to give the real kind of solidarity needed by the Polish workers.

I believe the events in Poland offer us a chance to reveal the real antilabor contradictions not only by the Reagan adminis-

tration but among the labor fakers as well who have allowed the Professional Air Traffic Controllers union to be fired and not raise a hand in response.

I recently spoke with my union president about the January 30, 1982, Solidarity demonstrations. I told her that it makes little sense to come out on January 30 if we are not going to confront Reagan about his mass firings of the air traffic controllers. In light of the recent air accidents I cannot believe the silence over the fact that Reagan may be responsible. So if UAW Local 65 does not want to center the demonstration around the air traffic controllers we will not participate.

Tom Siblo-Landsman  
Catskill, New York

### Poland coverage

Your coverage on the situation in Poland is well complemented by discussion on how to best defend the revolutionary struggle there. I think it might be useful to devote a longer article or a short series of articles on the record of the AFL-CIO on international affairs — its sordid record on Vietnam and El Salvador, American Institute for Free Labor Development and its counterparts in Africa and Asia.

Comparing these bureaucrats' "solidarity" with Poland to their outright complicity with military attempts at crushing Solidarnosc's counterparts in Guatemala, Brazil, Chile, and El Salvador is particularly revealing and worth discussing at length.

Finally, since I'm writing you I'd like to say that the *Militant* looks a whole lot better since you reduced your type-size and the size of the headlines. There's also more of it there, which is nice.

Stephen Millen  
Bloomington, Indiana

### From the Philippines

For the time being I'm afraid I can't renew my subscription, simply because this is not the sort of country where one can receive it through the mail. It's ironic that when I need the *Militant* most is precisely when I can't have it.

Class struggle, originating primarily from peasants and students, is very much a regular feature of Philippine life, though no pre-revolutionary crisis is imminent. It is not clear whether Marcos's return to civilian government can be consolidated or not, and he has openly threatened to bring back

national martial law if events continue to lead back to the situation in 1972.

In the remote, medium-sized town where I live, a return to martial law would hardly even be noticed, because the transition to Marcos's democracy was of no consequence. I don't believe it has affected the armed peasant struggle either.

Vicente Izquierdo  
Leyte, the Philippines

### Need a real review

Harry Ring's correction of factual and historical errors appearing in the film *Reds* was interesting.

But by concentrating the bulk of his article on them, Ring may have unintentionally undone what I think he set out to do at the beginning of his piece.

Encourage *Militant* readers to see *Reds*.

The *Militant* made *Reds* into an obscure movie, which it isn't.

For instance, Ring faults the filmmakers for a "simplistic" portrayal of the split in the Socialist Party, the debates in its divided left wing, and John Reed's views on the trade union question in the Communist International. So what?

The fact is, writers Warren Beatty and Trevor Griffiths are essentially honest in these matters, to the best of their outlook and ability.

The big deal about *Reds* is that it is a movie which, as Ring notes, "towers" over most commercial films.

Because it is, as a *film*, a terrific movie with all the things that make millions of people go to such a film: its looks, its people, its love story, its spectacle, and its unique way of weaving a story.

It is really too bad the *Militant* didn't review the movie, in addition to "correcting" it.

Jon Hillson  
Chicago, Illinois

### Change is better

Words of praise are in order. The changes you have made are certainly for the better. There appeared to be fewer graphics in the first issue; I certainly hope so.

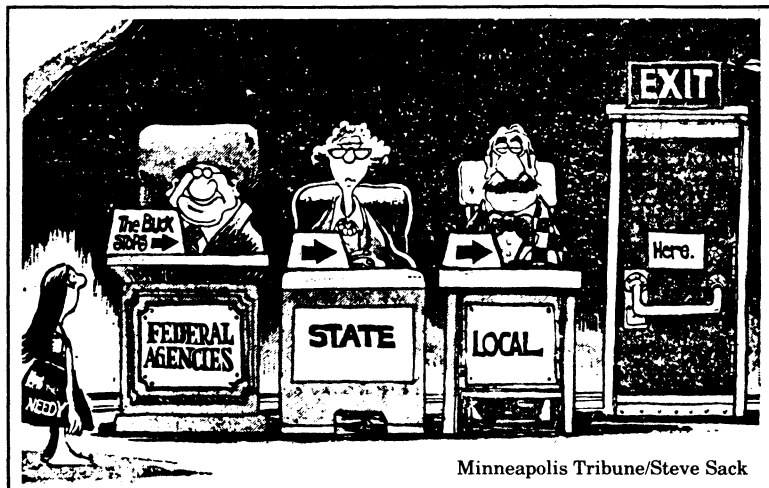
Keep up your excellent and important work.

Glen Munroe  
New Orleans, Louisiana

### More readable paper

I think the *Militant* looks great, very readable, much more agile, on the whole. In particular page one, I thought, was excellent in its presentation.

Anibal Yáñez  
Roscoe, New York



### Asian communities

I rely on the *Militant* to find out what is happening in the United States. I have written to you before about my concern. Unfortunately I have not seen many attempts to address this real problem.

Your reporting on minority affairs is normally very good, but you have neglected to cover the affairs of the Asian communities in the U.S.

The living conditions in San Francisco's Chinese community are very poor, but you do not report how these people are affected by such conditions or their work in textile sweatshops. Other injustices such as KKK harassment of the Vietnamese in south Texas has been ignored in the pages of the *Militant*.

Ch'en-yi  
Worthington, Ohio

### Givebacks

At the Armour meat plant where I work, there has been a lot of discussion about a proposal by Armour to freeze our wages for three years. Forty-one hundred workers in eighteen Armour plants are represented by the United Food and Commercial Workers with a national contract scheduled to expire September 1, 1982.

The company proposed that we give up our scheduled cost-of-living pay increases for January 1 and July 1, 1982, and any cost-of-living pay increases until September 1, 1985, with a wage reopener with a right to strike on September 1, 1984.

Further, the company proposed to reduce the pay of new hires by \$1 per hour. The company's only concession was a promise not to close any plants for eighteen months.

The leadership of the UFCW urged the workers to vote for this proposal. At my local meeting all of the workers who spoke argued against Armour's proposal. We voted down the proposal seventy-four to sixty-four. A few days later, many workers were outraged to learn we were

saddled with this lousy contract for almost four years, because nationally the vote was 1,391 in favor, 961 opposed.

Paul Freeman  
Portland, Oregon

### Rail contract

Local 1674 of the United Transportation Union recently passed a resolution opposing the negotiation of the national contract on a carrier-by-carrier basis.

Our local was informed that UTU President Hardin requested that the contract for Santa Fe railroad workers be settled separately from the national contract.

It was pointed out that previous attempts to negotiate separately have resulted in tremendous losses.

A good example occurred in the previous contract negotiations. High on the list of carrier demands was the reduction of crew size from three to two on most jobs. The employer's first success in this came in defeating workers on the bankrupt Milwaukee Road. Once they won concessions there, they took them from railroad to railroad complaining that any railroad which didn't get this sacrifice from workers would be at an "unfair disadvantage" compared to the other railroads. The end result was job losses all across the country.

It was pointed out that the strength of the UTU lies in the fact that it is an industry-wide union. Breaking negotiations down by companies undermines the power of this unity.

Marc Rich  
Montabello, California

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.

## Black party sets May 19 actions to honor Malcolm X, demand jobs

### Leadership meeting also votes aid to Grenada schools

BY MELVIN CHAPPELL

INDIANAPOLIS — Almost 100 members and observers attended the second meeting of the Central Committee of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) here the weekend of January 29-31.

The members of the Central Committee voted to make May 19, the birthday of Malcolm X, a national day of action to demand jobs with a decent income. This

will be part of an ongoing campaign to meet the deepening depression that the Black community is suffering.

Black unemployment is more than twice that of whites, with the official estimate at 17.4 percent. For Black youth, the figure is over 50 percent. The unemployment will continue to mount as the Reagan administration continues its relentless drive to beat down the standard of living of all working people, to pro-

vide greater profits for the bosses.

The Baltimore chapter of the NBIPP has already issued a public statement calling for full employment at union wages. The statement also calls for continuation and expansion of existing affirmative action programs, for youth training programs, and for jobs with safe and sanitary conditions.

The Baltimore statement reads in part, "We in the NBIPP know that the United States — with a \$2 trillion Gross National Product — is a country rich enough to provide jobs for everyone who wants one. There is plenty of work to be done in providing low-cost housing, adequate mass transportation, quality education, better health care facilities and so on."

The NBIPP national charter recognizes May 19 as a national holiday for Black people. Whether or not the U.S. Congress recognizes the holiday, the Central Committee is calling on workers to "take the day anyway" — in the spirit of the many Blacks who take off work January 15, the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King.

A victory was announced at the committee meeting for the Youngstown, Ohio, Black party chapter. A \$300,000 lawsuit brought against the chapter by a local merchant was recently dismissed. The racist suit was brought when the chapter organized a campaign to urge shoppers not to spend their money at the Ralph's Sparkle Market in order to influence the business to hire more Blacks. The dismissal of the suit was accompanied by a few gains in the demand for jobs at the market.

The party has also made plans to organize a June 15-20 tour to Grenada during the celebration of "All Heroes Day." This celebration is to commemorate revolutionaries who made major contributions to the Grenadian struggle for self-determination.

NBIPP activists will also be working

to raise material aid to help educational programs for the people of Grenada. The Central Committee voted to launch a campaign to raise \$1,000, which will be donated to one of the agriculture schools on the island. Other items, such as pencils and paper, will also be contributed.

Local chapters were also encouraged to sponsor forums as a way to build solidarity with the Grenadian revolution.

Ron Daniels, the party's national co-chair, presented a slide show on his recent trip to Cuba. He participated in a Cuban-sponsored seminar there on the situation of Blacks, Chicanos, Cubans, Indians, and Puerto Ricans in the United States.

The Central Committee discussed following political developments in Cuba closely and continuing an open dialogue with the Cuban people. The party will also be making plans to send a delegation to visit Cuba sometime this year.

The Central Committee endorsed efforts to defend the Freedom of Information Act, which is under threat of being dismantled. There was also discussion on stepping up the party's campaign against political repression, cop harassment of Black freedom fighters, and continued murders of Black youth.

Plans were announced to hold a public forum in Memphis, Tennessee, in early April. In addition to reaching out to Blacks in the Southeast, a goal of the event is to attract activists from the Southwest who want to learn more about the activities and program of the NBIPP. At this time, there are no NBIPP chapters in the Southwest.

On the opening night of the Central Committee meeting, a successful forum was held here for the Indianapolis community. Over sixty people attended. NBIPP National Representatives Barbara Arnwine and Rev. Ben Chavis were the keynote speakers.

The site of the next National Party Congress was set for Raleigh, North Carolina, on the weekend of August 6-8.

## March for voting rights victims



Militant/Susan Ellis

CARROLLTON, Ala. — A 140-mile march to the state capitol at Montgomery began here February 6 to protest the jailing of Alabama voting rights activists Maggie Bozeman and Julia Wilder. The two were convicted of fraud in attempting to register Black voters, but supporters say they were victims of racist frame-up aimed at overturning Voting Rights Act of 1965. Above, Southern Christian Leadership Conference President Joseph Lowery addresses crowd as march prepares to kick off.

## Protests grow against killers of Milwaukee Black

BY CHERYLL HIDALGO

MILWAUKEE — An angry and determined meeting took place here February 7 in the struggle to win justice for Ernie Lacy, a Black youth killed by the cops last year.

The meeting of 400 capped a week of activity aimed at forcing District Attorney E. Michael McCann to take quick action on the January 29 ruling by Circuit Court Judge Joseph Callan. Callan dropped homicide charges against two of the three cops involved in the July 9 slaying of Lacy.

The charges had resulted from a six-month campaign by the Coalition for Justice for Ernie Lacy, including three marches, the biggest of which was 10,000.

At two consecutive evening meetings following the judge's ruling, hundreds of coalition activists decided to begin a round-the-clock sit-in at McCann's office until he decided whether to appeal Callan's ruling or reissue charges.

Later in the week, the city's established Black organizations, such as the Urban League and the NAACP, along

with several Black elected officials, held a news conference to make clear their support to the struggle for justice for Ernie Lacy.

The Black Student Council at Marquette University organized a support rally of 150, then marched through downtown Milwaukee to join the sit-in.

McCann reacted by filing charges of "misconduct in public office" against cop George Kalt, but refused to charge Thomas Eliopul, the cop most directly responsible for Lacy's death. (A third cop, James Dekker, was charged separately with "misconduct in public office" by a special prosecutor.)

Eliopul had admitted in a televised coroner's inquest in October that he knelt on Lacy's neck with all the force he was capable of, while holding Lacy's handcuffed arms behind his back, perpendicular to his body. The pressure of Eliopul's knee on Lacy's neck cut off his circulation and caused him to suffocate.

The other two cops refused to give first aid to Lacy while he lay dead or dying in the police van.

The sit-in at McCann's office ended on its fourth day, February 6. At that time,

McCann informed Ernie Lacy's parents that no charges would be filed against Eliopul. To avoid a confrontation, all protesters left the office, except for coalition leaders Michael Magee and Howard Fuller.

Magee and Fuller were then dragged from the building by sheriff's deputies, and the public building was locked.

In the jammed meeting the next day, Myrtle Lacy, shaken the day before by McCann's callous decision about her son's death, told the supportive crowd, "We cannot give up. We won't give up!"

Howard Fuller delivered a rousing chronicle of the coalition's accomplishments. "They want us to despair," he said, "but, we have to refuse to let that feeling of despair and hopelessness overcome us."

McCann's decision, Fuller told the meeting, was not legal but political, and the coalition's main response would also be political.

"We have said from the beginning that we want a measure of justice," Fuller declared. "We want those cops convicted of a crime."

In addition to legal options the coali-

tion will explore, the main focus of activity will include a big presence at every court hearing the two charged cops have.

The coalition will demand that the Fire and Police Commission get killer Eliopul off the police force, so that "never again will he harass or kill another citizen of our community acting as a police officer," said Fuller.

Other proposals include a "spiritual program" to reach out to churches, and a high school committee that could organize button days at area high schools to spotlight the fight for justice.

Tears and a standing ovation greeted the proposal to form an economic boycott committee to investigate the possibility and effect of such a campaign. A one-day boycott last summer had a devastating impact on downtown stores.

Said Fuller, "Somebody has got to pay for Ernie's death."

*Cheryll Hidalgo is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from Milwaukee's Sixth Congressional District.*