

THE MILITANT

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

More Miami 'justice'

Blacks
prosecuted,
club-happy
cops
reinstated

—PAGE 5



Iranians mobilize to support Miami Blacks

—PAGE 7

Stop U.S. aid to S. Korea repression!



South Korean soldier attacks youth seized when military recaptured Kwangju. See pages 3-4.

Heavily armed South Korean troops, spear-headed by helicopters and tanks, reoccupied the center of Kwangju on May 26 to put down a popular uprising against military rule.

The military's move into Kwangju is intended to set the stage for fierce repression against the rebellious people of that city. Already, hundreds of young freedom fighters have been arrested by the dictatorship.

The Carter administration is mouthing phrases about favoring democracy in South

An editorial

Korea. The purpose of these platitudes is to evade responsibility for the stepped-up brutality that Gen. Chon Too Hwan, who runs the regime, plans to visit on the people of Kwangju.

Washington also fears that popular unrest, which swept over South Cholla Province, may spread further despite the reoccupation of Kwangju.

Carter's actions belie his words. His administration stands with the oppressors of the Korean people.

When the Park Chung Hee dictatorship

Continued on next page

...Korea

Continued from front page

faced demonstrations by students and workers last year, Carter canceled plans to withdraw some of the 40,000 U.S. troops that occupy the country.

The same backing is being given to Park's successor. When the people of Kwangju rose up, the U.S. aircraft carrier Coral Sea was sent to South Korea.

U.S. troops were kept on alert.

These were justified as moves to prevent a North Korean invasion.

That hoax was exposed when U.S. military commanders released South Korean combat troops who were under their command so that General Chon could use them against his opponents.

Washington's real goal is to prop up the dictatorship, and to ready U.S. forces for military intervention if the dictatorship's army proves unable to suppress unrest.

The *Christian Science Monitor* let this slip May 27 when it reported that "some South Koreans" were arguing that "the US should send troops to Kwangju and take over the policing of the city."

Such a move could mark the opening of a new Vietnam.

Washington's support for the Korean military rulers is not only immoral, it is a threat to every working person in this country.

It is a reminder of what Carter's moves to restore the draft are all about. He wants to be able to use American troops in massive numbers against peoples in Asia, Africa, or Latin America who challenge the murderers, torturers, and thieves that have been placed over them.

The Carter administration has a big stake in propping up the police state in South Korea.

As elsewhere in the world, the stake is profits for U.S. big business. "I think the most strategic area in the world is in the North Pacific, not in Western Europe," explained U.S. ambassador to Japan Mike Mansfield. "It is out here where American business has its opportunities, where the biggest returns are and where you have, I think, the most friendly government."

U.S. investors have reaped a bonanza in South Korea from the labor of its impoverished peasants and its underpaid workers. They fear losing all that and much more if the revolu-

tionary wave that engulfed Indochina also washes away the "friendly government" of the South Korean generals.

American working people have no reason to fight the Korean people. Their aspirations for human rights are the same as ours.

Our answer to Carter's moves should be to demand, "No arms shipments to the South Korean tyrants! Bring the U.S. troops home now!"

Behind ERA smear

Opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment are out to crush it, and they're using every dirty trick they can think of.

The Illinois Law Enforcement Department and the FBI are now investigating charges by Republican state legislator Nord Swanstrom that a representative of the National Organization for Women offered him a \$1,000 bribe for his "yes" vote on ERA. The bribe offer was supposedly written on the back of a NOW business card. A grand jury investigation may be called.

This slander has been put together to justify an indefinite postponement of the ERA vote by the Illinois legislature. And at the same time it attempts a hatchet job on the largest, most influential women's rights organization in the country. It is also a blow aimed at the labor movement, which has united to champion the ERA.

NOW president Eleanor Smeal blasted these accusations as a fraud and an outrage.

"We believe," she charged at a Chicago press conference, "that these attacks are being made by opponents of the amendment and that the purpose of the attacks is to kill the amendment."

The majority support for ERA was shown again in Chicago May 10 by some 30,000 demonstrators demanding the Illinois state legislature stop blocking ERA passage.

Marching together were NOW members and women's groups from all over the country; steelworkers, auto workers, and other trade unionists; member of civil rights, student, and religious groups.

Labor, women's, and civil rights organizations have united recently in other social struggles. May 10 came on the heels of the Chicago firefighters' strike that forged unity between the unions and Chicago's Black com-

munity. It came after the impressive April 26 labor conference for ERA that brought together officials from every major union in the country.

This fight to win equal rights for women does not fit into the employers' plans, but paying women fifty-nine cents to every dollar earned by men does.

Big business is on the prod against working people today. Thousands of workers are being thrown out of work as the employers slash jobs and paychecks, close down plants, and scrap health and safety regulations.

The stakes are high. A victory for ERA forced from the government by a powerful and unprecedented movement would inspire united struggles against unemployment, inflation, "right to work" laws, and racist justice.

This is what lies behind the smear campaign in Illinois.

Labor, civil rights, and women's rights supporters should strongly repudiate this attempt to sink ERA and discredit the women's movement.

Now is the time to redouble efforts to build the powerful, united movement needed to make equal rights for women the law of the land.

Our new prices

Beginning with this issue, the cover price of the *Militant* is going up to sixty cents. A one-year subscription will cost \$24. An eight-week introductory subscription will be \$2.50.

We've been forced to take this step because our costs—for paper, postage, travel, and everything else involved in producing the *Militant*—have continued to skyrocket since September 1977, when we last raised our prices.

Despite the financial squeeze, by carefully managing our resources we've been able to continue bringing our readers unsurpassed coverage of the biggest events in the class struggle. That includes eyewitness reports on the inspiring revolutionary developments in Iran, Nicaragua, Grenada, and Cuba.

Even with the new price increases, we'll still fall far short of bringing in enough funds through single-copy and subscription sales to cover the full cost of publishing the *Militant*.

Your generous donations can help us fill that gap. If you'd like to help, send your contribution to: Militant Circulation Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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Who's to blame for the auto crisis?

In an effort to turn victims into criminals, auto companies run propaganda classes to blame workers for industry economic crisis. **Page 18.**

Ballot rights fight in Mich.

As socialists launch campaign to open up the ballot in Michigan, Frank Lovell reviews how SWP defended its democratic rights during 1950s witch-hunt. **Pages 14-15**



Hostage daughter speaks out

On tour in Boston, Luzette Graves joined demonstration calling for peace with Iran. **Page 9.**

The Militant

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Korean regime rocked by uprising

By Ernest Harsch

After years of the most brutal military dictatorship and American oppression, the people of South Korea have poured into the streets of cities and towns across the country. With breathtaking rapidity, hundreds of thousands of them—students, workers, unemployed youths, women—have gone into action to demand an end to martial law and the institution of democratic freedoms.

In the southwest, the urban populations of Kwangju, Mokpo, Hwasun, Polkyo, and other areas have risen up and seized control of their cities, posing an immediate challenge to the survival of the military regime headed by Gen. Chon Too Hwan.

Not since the end of the Korean War has the country witnessed such massive political ferment.

Alarm bells in Washington

On May 22, the day after the citizens of Kwangju drove out the police and army and took over that city, a special meeting was held in the White House. Attended by Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, and other officials, it covered overall American strategy toward South Korea.

"They paid particular attention to

what the United States could do to help restore order in South Korea," *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman reported from Washington.

As part of its recent diplomatic stance, Washington has tried to present itself as an advocate of democracy and an easing of military rule in South Korea. In face of the armed insurrections in the south, however, the Carter administration has left little doubt about its basic support to the military junta.

The Pentagon stressed on May 22 that the U.S. troops stationed in South Korea—numbering nearly 40,000—remained in a state of alert.

It also disclosed that Gen. John A. Wickham Jr., the head of the joint U.S.-South Korean military command, had released an unspecified number of South Korean combat troops from their regular duties to help put down the unrest.

The following day, White House officials revealed that the U.S. aircraft carrier *Coral Sea* had been sent to South Korea and would remain off the Korean coast until mid-June, when it is to be replaced by the *Midway*, a giant U.S. warship based in Japan.

As a political cover for these threatening moves, the American government has claimed that they are in

response to the possibility of military attacks by the North Korean regime. The State Department, in fact, has been forced to admit that it has no evidence of any military build-up in North Korea or of any North Korean involvement in the unrest in the south.

Washington's real target is the insurgent masses of South Korea.

Kwangju leads the way

The insurrection in Kwangju—South Korea's fourth largest city—was sparked by the military regime's own actions.

After weeks of mounting student protests and labor strikes in Seoul, Taegu, Sabuk, and other cities, the military authorities announced on the morning of May 18 that they were closing all universities, banning all political gatherings and labor strikes, imposing press censorship, and extending martial law to the entire country.

Hundreds of political activists, journalists, dissident priests, and student leaders were arrested and taken off to secret detention centers. One of the most prominent figures arrested was Kim Dae Jung, a leader of the bourgeois opposition New Democratic Party who comes from South Cholla Province, of which Kwangju is the capital.

This crackdown was accompanied by the dismissal of Prime Minister Shin Hyon Hwack and his cabinet and the appointment of Park Choong Hoon as the new prime minister. Park, a retired major general, is also chairman of the Korean Traders Association, which represents the largest trading companies in the country. Real power, however, remained in the hands of Generals Chon Too Hwan and Lee Hi Song.

The resistance to this crackdown began in Kwangju on May 18, the same day as the announcement that martial law was being extended. About 5,000 students took to the streets there to protest the repression. The military imposed a 9 p.m. curfew.

50,000 demonstrate

The following day the students were joined by tens of thousands of other residents. The protesters were estimated to have numbered about 50,000. Armed paratroopers and riot police attacked the demonstrations, killing several protesters and wounding dozens of others. Soldiers arrested all students on sight, forcing many to strip and lie face down on the street.

The mass protests continued on May 20, as about 30,000 students and workers marched in groups through the city. At dusk, about 100 taxi drivers, outraged by the brutality of the paratroopers, joined drivers of trucks and private cars in a cavalcade that moved from the municipal stadium to the downtown area. They were attacked by troops, who dragged occupants out of their vehicles and beat them.

In the first indication of a breakdown in police discipline, some police refused to move against the protesters.

Some of the demonstrators surged toward a television station that had broadcast progovernment statements.



They burned it to the ground. Others commandeered buses and taxis and tried to ram police barricades.

The protesters shouted for the immediate ouster of General Chon from his posts as head of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency and the Defense Security Command.

The authorities inflicted heavy casualties that night. According to witnesses, at around 11 p.m. troops began firing at random into crowds near Chonnam University.

Reports of the brutality of the Special Forces paratroopers circulated through the city. According to a May 21 dispatch from Kwangju by *New York Times* correspondent Shim Jae Hoon, citizens reported that the troops "had stripped students who were arrested, had hung some bodies of the dead in a city park upside down and in some cases had violated women, including the elderly. The reports could not be confirmed, but accounts given by various witnesses were generally identical. One man said that he had seen soldiers in an armored personnel carrier dragging a student along by a rope tied to his neck."

A popular insurrection

Unable to demonstrate peacefully for their democratic rights, the citizens of Kwangju were forced to defend themselves. On May 21, they took up arms.

As on previous days, students and workers poured into the streets to demonstrate. They dispersed early, but then reassembled several hours later, their ranks quickly doubling. According to estimates by government officials, as many as 200,000 persons surged through the streets. The bodies of some slain demonstrators were loaded on carts and taken around the city to dramatize the protesters' outrage.

The police fled as residents armed themselves with knives, iron bars, and pitchforks. They seized guns from the

Continued on next page



Youth in Kwangju commandeered trucks in battle to bring down military dictatorship.

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...Korea

Continued from preceding page

police stations and raided several armories and a military vehicle factory. Twenty-one police stations and thirteen government buildings were destroyed or severely damaged.

Thousands of people flocked into Kwangju from the surrounding countryside, including miners armed with explosives.

Reporting from Kwangju, *Times* correspondent Shim described the insurrection:

With gunfire echoing through the streets of Kwangju, a city of 800,000, demonstrators occupied the city hall and also the administrative offices for South Cholla Province, of which Kwangju is the capital. . . .

As rioting continued in the streets, military helicopters hovered in the sky to signal directions to troops on the ground.

The city's main street, Tongunro, was filled with demonstrators during the day, most of them ordinary citizens rather than students.

Trucks filled with demonstrators and youths with headbands, their faces covered with towels, raced around the city, picking up the injured and transporting them to hospitals as the riots continued. Police stations were empty, and troops took cover, as military vehicles burned unattended and rioters took over gasoline stations, helping themselves to fuel.

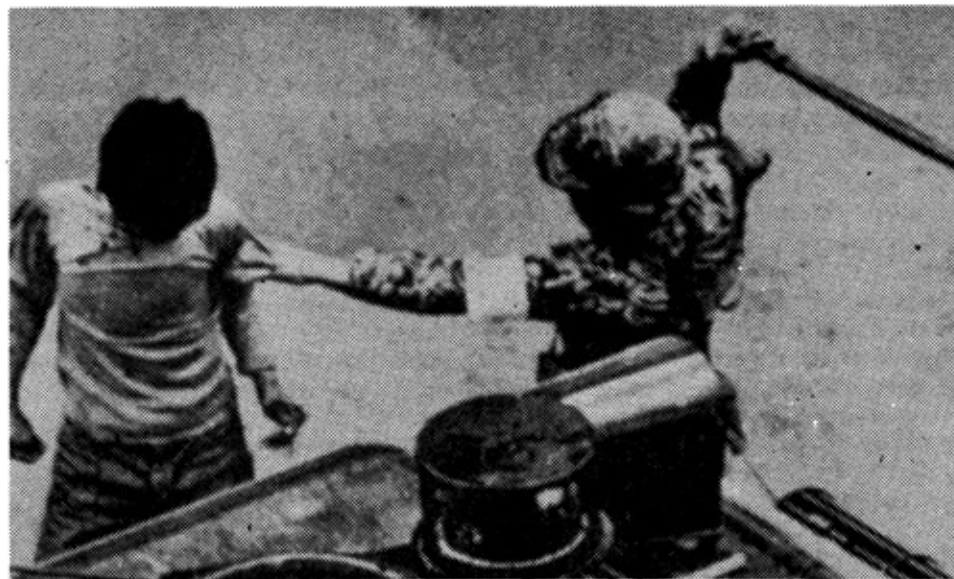
This massive outpouring was too much for the troops stationed in the city. By that night they had been driven from Kwangju, although they had already taken more than a hundred lives.

Committees control city

During the course of the rebellion, the residents of the city organized themselves into numerous committees of citizens and students. A May 24 Associated Press dispatch from Kwangju reported that it was under the control of these committees.

This marked the first time since the massive upsurge at the end of World War II that any area of South Korea had come under the control of such popular committees.

On May 22, the day after the insur-



Government paratrooper bludgeons young demonstrator

rection, about 100,000 residents rallied in Kwangju to discuss their demands. Members of the citizen's committees explained that they were demanding Chon's ouster, the freeing of 900 persons arrested during the uprising, the keeping of all troops outside the city, compensation for the families of those killed and injured, and amnesty for all insurgents.

With Kwangju as its stronghold, the insurrection also spread to other towns in South Cholla Province, which is one of South Korea's most impoverished regions. By May 22, the major port city of Mokpo, as well as the towns of Hwasun and Polkyo, were under rebel control. Crowds had stormed a police armory in Naju, and uprisings were reported in at least a dozen other towns.

In many cases, the police had simply shed their uniforms and fled. Shim commented in a May 22 dispatch, "Whether the discipline of the armed forces broke down also could not be determined. The army sent in soldiers from other provinces; it was officially explained that the purpose was to guard against defections or sympathy with local inhabitants."

A countrywide upsurge

The insurrections in South Cholla Province are not an isolated expression of mass discontent, but the culmina-

tion of a series of demonstrations and strikes that have been sweeping South Korea for months.

In October 1979, the industrial cities of Pusan and Masan exploded. In Pusan, the country's second largest city, thousands of students and youths demanded the ouster of dictator Park Chung Hee and clashed with police. Twenty-one police posts were destroyed or burned. In Masan, students were joined by factory workers, also storming police and government offices. The protests spread to Ulsan, Kwangju, and Taegu.

A little more than a week after the first revolt in Pusan, Park was killed in a palace coup. The new rulers promised to move toward civilian rule and to ease up on the repression.

The regime's grip was weakened. The masses saw an opportunity to press even harder for their demands.

From the beginning of the year, the country was swept by a series of sit-down strikes, slowdowns, and other labor actions. Hit by an inflation rate of more than 40 percent a year, workers sought wage increases and the ouster of union bureaucrats imposed by the regime. Many of the strikes were successful.

The example of these militant worker actions inspired the students to step up their struggle for greater demo-

cratic rights. In early May, thousands of university students demonstrated in Seoul, Taejon, and Chonju to demand the ouster of General Chon and the lifting of martial law.

The demands of the students also included freedom of the press, the elimination of the repressive constitution imposed by Park, free elections, and support for the demands of industrial workers.

By May 14 and 15, the student-led protests had reached massive proportions. On those days, more than 50,000 persons marched in Seoul alone. Tens of thousands of others demonstrated in Taegu, Kwangju, Chonju, Suwon, and Inchon.

Regime cracks down

Confronted by this rising opposition, General Chon and his military colleagues dropped their liberalizing mask and cracked down with brutal force. But the urban populations of South Cholla Province showed the country how to answer the dictatorship's repression.

Realizing its weak position, the regime's initial response to the Kwangju insurrection was to play for time. It agreed to negotiate with the insurgents and promised to look into some of their demands.

At the same time, the generals began preparations to retake the city. They moved fresh troops into position and tightened roadblocks around Kwangju to isolate it from the rest of the country. Although the regime issued an ultimatum against any further mass demonstrations in Kwangju, tens of thousands again poured into the streets on May 24.

Reinforced by the full backing of Washington, the Seoul regime ominously declared that "this state of lawlessness in the Kwangju area cannot be tolerated indefinitely."

The military authorities are intent on crushing the rebellion in Kwangju. But whatever they do, Kwangju has already provided a stirring political example. It points the way forward for the oppressed workers and peasants, as they mobilize to throw out the hated U.S.-backed dictatorship.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

How Washington divided Korea, imposed regime

By Fred Feldman

Why are U.S. troops in Korea today?

Carter says they are there to bar aggression by North Korea. The Korean war is given as an example. But the facts tell a different tale.

Korea has been fighting for independence for a long time. Formally annexed by Japan in 1910, its people saw Japan's defeat in World War II as a chance to win their freedom.

On September 6, 1945, an independent government of Korea was declared. Despite this, the country was divided into two zones of occupation, with Soviet troops in the North and U.S. troops in the South. The Soviets granted diplomatic recognition to the Korean government. But Washington did not.

Then on October 10 the United States Military Government in Korea declared itself the sole government of South Korea. U.S. forces were used to disperse the supporters of the independent government. Not a single member of the new government even spoke Korean.

In February 1946, Washington set up a Representative Democratic Council, headed by Syngman Rhee. Rhee was an ultraright-wing politician who had just returned to Korea after spending thirty-seven of his seventy years in the United States.

Opposition grew steadily to Rhee's repressive government and demands for reunification with the North were widely heard.

Historians are still arguing over whether the army of the North or the

South moved first in the Korean war, but one thing is certain. The war was rooted in the artificial division of the country by Washington, made possible by the presence of U.S. troops.

The Truman administration set up a situation in which civil war in Korea was almost inevitable and then used the occasion to launch a war aimed at China, where a corrupt U.S.-dominated regime had been toppled in 1949.

On June 7, 1950, the White House announced that U.S. planes and ships had been sent to support the tottering Rhee government. Three hours later the United Nations Security Council met and decided to enter the war on Rhee's side.

Hatred for Rhee's regime was such that his forces were nearly crushed in the first weeks. But U.S. troops and airpower eventually pushed North Korean forces back to the thirty-eighth parallel and beyond.

As U.S. forces approached the Chinese-Korean border, bombing raids were launched against Chinese cities. U.S. diplomats and military commanders talked openly about moving into China. To counter this threat, Chinese forces poured into the war. The pressure of world opinion forced Washington to drop threats to use the atomic bomb.

All the brutal methods of war later used in Vietnam were brought to bear by Washington against the Korean people. A U.S. general declared, "I would say that the entire, almost the entire Korean peninsula



'United Nations' troops attack village during Korean War

is just a terrible mess. Everything is destroyed."

In 1953, Washington was forced to accept an armistice which left the dividing line between the two Koreas where it had been before the war—at the thirty-eighth parallel.

With U.S. troops to protect him, Rhee declared himself president for life. He was overthrown in 1960 by a popular uprising of students and workers. But a year later General Park Chung Hee, with backing from the U.S. government, pulled off a coup.

Brutal repression became the rule once again.

In 1979 new popular explosions began. Park was assassinated by fellow generals who hoped this would quiet unrest.

But it has continued.

The Korean people do not want to replace one military dictator with another.

They want to be free.

And U.S. troops are still there as the ultimate means of blocking them from reaching this goal.

Miami's racist double standard

Blacks prosecuted, guilty cops reinstated

By Rose Ogden

MIAMI—Officials here are continuing to victimize Blacks and permitting cops who break the law to go free.

In the wake of the rebellion that gripped this city late last month, police have arrested three young Black people, charging them with the death of several whites that reportedly occurred during the uprising.

Meanwhile four cops who had been suspended from the force after they deliberately vandalized Black-owned cars were reinstated. Also reinstated was a cop who clubbed a Black woman on the head.

It was this kind of racist double standard in enforcing the law that touched off the rebellion.

When Johnny Jones, a Black school superintendent, was charged with misappropriation of funds, he was swiftly tried and convicted by an all-white jury.

But when cops murdered Arthur McDuffie, a Black man, an all-white jury exonerated them.

At the height of the rebellion officials—local, state and federal—assured that such injustices would be probed and that Black people would begin to get some justice.

But now that the eruption in the

Black community has subsided, the rulers apparently feel they can proceed with racist business-as-usual.

Leonard J. Capers, his brother Lawrence C. Capers, and Nathaniel Lane have been charged with killing three white people during the rebellion.

Police assert they dragged the three whites from their car and beat them to death.

Officials claimed the arrests were based on identification provided by people in the community, as obtained by plain-clothes police.

The three are charged with first-degree murder.

Of the twelve cops present when Arthur McDuffie was clubbed to death, only one was charged with murder—in the second degree.

Also arrested in the aftermath of the rebellion was Frank Lee James, twenty. He was charged with participating in the beating of three whites.

His family and a friend insist he was with them at the time.

While these arrests in the Black community were made in a matter of days after the events, there have been no arrests of white snipers responsible for the death of several Blacks. This, despite the fact that the police were given descriptions of the snipers' vehicles.

While officials turn a deaf ear to the Black demand for justice, they are extremely sensitive to the feelings of the uniformed thugs who police the city.

The cops who were fleetingly suspended—with pay—for vandalism had been assigned to guard a shopping plaza in the Black community during the rebellion. While there, they smashed windshields and slashed tires of parked cars and then spray-painted "looter" and "thief" on the sides.

They were returned to work when cops threatened to walk off the job in protest.

The vandals will be required to attend a "stress" class.

City cops also held a rally where they protested any move to grant amnesty to the 1,267 victims of mass arrests during the rebellion.

In response to demands from the Black community, officials had initially indicated support for full amnesty. But now that's being forgotten.

Gov. Bob Graham, who has the authority to grant amnesty, now says, "My inclination is not to grant general amnesty. I don't believe any citizen has the right to take the law into his own hands."

That, however, doesn't apply to cops.

Meanwhile, city officials now explain they meant amnesty only for those deemed guilty of lesser offenses, such as curfew violations—and even then only on a case-by-case basis.

As to rebuilding the rebellion area, Governor Graham called for a one-cent sales tax increase, assertedly to finance efforts in that direction. But the Florida legislature rejected this because, members said, it would raise too much money for "riot relief."

Meanwhile, members of the Cuban community have responded to the media campaign to portray Cuban immigration as responsible for the long-standing plight of the Black community.

"Someone is trying to put the blame on the Cubans," said Raúl Masvidal, chairman of the Biscayne Bank of Miami.

Masvidal organized food relief from the Cuban community to the Black community.

"We wish to publicly declare," Masvidal said, "that the leadership of the Black and Cuban communities resent and detest the attempts of certain elements in the community as well as some of the media to divide and create animosity among our people."

Victim's mother: 'I've got some things to say'

By Baxter Smith

MIAMI—A clutch of yellow plastic flowers hung on the front of the Dawson residence at 330 NW Eighty-fourth Terrace, a sign that Little Mount housing project was in mourning.

Joenne Washington, a Little Mount resident, had collected \$300 in donations from neighbors to help the Dawson family bury 14-year-old Andre.

Andre was the youngest victim of cop and white vigilante terror that occurred during three days of Black rebellion here.

The youth was slain when a white man in the rear of a pickup truck opened fire on Blacks outside a U-Tem food store in the Little Mount area on May 18.

Little Mount resident Eugene Brown, thirty-four, was slain moments before by two whites firing from a blue station wagon.

"He was a very nice man, a humble man," Bettye Anderson said of Brown.

Anderson is the mother of Michael Anderson, a fourteen-year-old who received a chest wound from the same station wagon.

Ellastine Dawson, mother of Andre, consented to an interview with the *Militant* on May 22. No other reporters had bothered to interview her. No detectives had come knocking to talk about the slaying. The federal grand jury, which claims it will look into possible civil rights violations, had not contacted her.

"I hope it will," she said. "I've got some things to say."

The rebellion, which began in other Black areas of the city on May 17, began in Little Mount after white vigilantes drove through the area on the afternoon of May 18.

"It was just like any normal day," Dawson explained, hugging another child and fighting back tears. "The kids were out playing and Andre was on his way to the store when it happened."

From accounts reconstructed by neighbors, the pickup truck appeared from nowhere and began firing indiscriminately.

"One bullet went straight through Andre's head, and the other blew out his brains," recalled Washington.

"Just like that they killed him,"

Dawson sobbed during the interview. "They killed my baby."

"They were nothing but undercover cops," Washington said, reflecting a commonly held belief about the vigilantes.

Moments before Andre was shot, Michael Anderson and other neighborhood youths had been playing on a street corner when they were routed by gunfire from the blue station wagon.

Michael ran home.

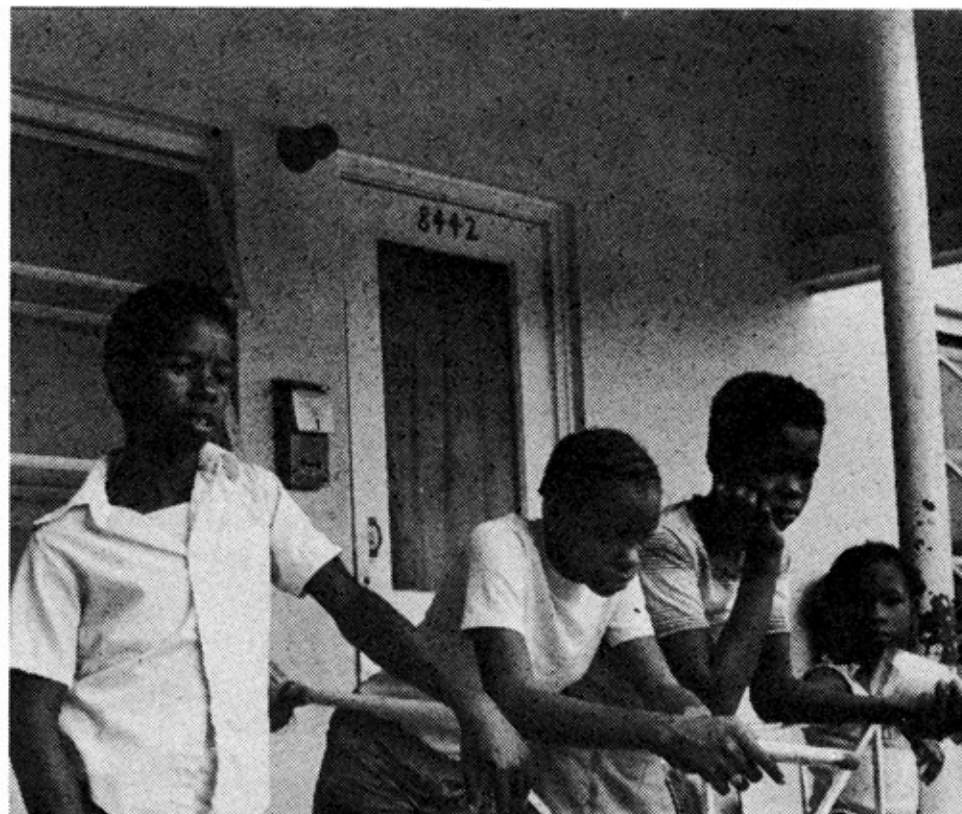
"When he got here he saw blood on his shirt and realized he was shot," Bettye Anderson said.

The bullet had hit Michael's rib cage and deflected.

"We put a bandage on him, but we couldn't get an ambulance to pick him up," Anderson explained. Little Mount had begun to boil, and police were stopping all rescue vehicles from entering.

"My husband had to go out and stop a cab to get him to the hospital," Anderson said.

And young Andre, whose dream of becoming a pro-football player was shattered by white vigilantes, had to lie in the street for more than an hour before an ambulance arrived.



Militant/Glova Scott

Michael Anderson, fourteen, and his sisters. Anderson received chest wound in vigilante gunfire moments before young Andre Dawson was killed.

New York protests back Miami Blacks

By Melvin Chappell

NEW YORK—"U.S. troops out of Liberty City!" and "Justice for McDuffie!" chanted 150 protesters at a May 23 emergency demonstration outside the United Nations. The event was called by an ad hoc coalition of Black groups to give support to Miami Blacks.

When one speaker announced that the people of Iran were demonstrating in support of Blacks in this country, the crowd broke into cheers and applause.

Rev. Herbert Daughtry, chairperson of the Black United Front, had just returned from Miami. He told the protesters, "We have seen over and over again that any attempt to

find justice in the American system has failed us."

Members of Black and Latino organizations, trade unions, religious, and civil rights groups held a press conference in Harlem May 22 to express solidarity with Miami Blacks and outrage over the acquittal of Arthur McDuffie's killers.

Speakers included Anthony Flores, national vice-president, National Association of Civil Rights for Puerto Ricans; Jim Houghton, Harlem Fightback; José Torres, League of United Latin American Citizens; Reba Williams-Dixon, Socialist Workers candidate for the 19th Congressional District in Harlem; Luis Sanchez, Hispanic Labor Committee; and others.

All of the speakers stressed that the recent arrival of Cubans had nothing to do with the Miami uprising. Joblessness and urban decay, conditions that exist in every Black and Latino community in America, were the root of the problem.

Reba Williams-Dixon carried the point home when she said, "The acquittal of the McDuffie killers proves once again that justice in capitalist America is a lie. Justice will be won only through a united campaign by Blacks, Haitians, Latinos, labor unions, and all supporters of human rights."

Two nights later she chaired a meeting of the Militant Forum where 200 people heard a firsthand report from Miami by Andrew Pulley, SWP presidential candidate.

What 'McDuffie' means to Black people

MIAMI—McDuffie.

Here in the Black pockets of wealthy Dade County, and in all of Black Florida, the word "McDuffie" means many things.

It means: Stop the police brutality against Blacks that took the lives of Arthur McDuffie and Randy Heath and that threatened the life of Nathaniel LaFleur.

It means: End the 40 percent jobless rate among Black youth.

It means: Halt the injustices against Blacks in housing and education.

Two thousand Black college students in Tallahassee, demonstrating May 22 in solidarity with Miami Blacks, cried, "We want justice!" and "McDuffie!"

There are about 250,000 Blacks in Dade County, making it about 15 percent Black.

- While white unemployment was 5.9 percent in Dade County last year, Black unemployment stood at 9.3 percent. Joblessness among Blacks from sixteen to nineteen was 44.3 percent.

- White police officers, according to an April report by the Miami Association of Black Social Workers, encouraged brutality and physical harm against Blacks. Cops often inflate charges against Black suspects to guarantee they will spend time in jail.

Traffic courts, Black social workers found, systematically deal more harshly with Black defendants than with white ones.



This was Black home in wealthy Miami

"Nearly twice as many blacks as whites from Dade County are in state prisons, although half that again as many whites get arrested for serious crimes as blacks," the May 25 *Miami Herald* reported.

"The racial balance among the Dade County contingent in state prisons is directly opposite to the over-all prison race ratio of 65 per cent white, 36 per cent black."

A recent report of the Dade County Grand Jury found that more than half of all persons arrested in Dade are between fourteen and twenty-one years old. More than half are Black.

- Dade's Human Resources Depart-

ment conducted a survey last year of "Model City" residents.

The federal Department of Housing and Urban Development gives localities funds for the development of "Model Cities" in blighted urban areas. It is a setup that harks back to Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs under which the government paid some—but not enough—attention to the plight of Blacks.

The survey of 310 Model Cities residents was conducted in some of the neighborhoods in which Blacks rebelled last week.

To the question: "Generally speaking, how would you describe the way

things are going for you right now?" Sixty-seven percent gave responses from "awful" to "ok." Twenty-eight percent answered "good."

Asked what problems gave them the most trouble, 49 percent said money; 28 percent said jobs; 20 percent said health; 16 percent said transportation; 14 percent said safety; and 13 percent said housing.

Nearly one Black in ten is on the waiting list for public housing.

- Black students continue to lag far behind Dade white students in learning skills.

Although over a recent period white students' average math scores on Stanford Achievement Tests rose from 79 to 88 percent, Black students' only rose from 23 to 46 percent. On reading and writing tests, white students' scores rose from 97 to 99 percent. The rise among Black students was from 75 to 90 percent.

The Black dropout rate last year was 2,352 students.

- Few statistics that measure Black income relative to white exist in Dade County. Nationally, in 1977, more than one-third of all Black families existed below the poverty level, while it was only 8.9 percent of white families.

A drive through the "Model Cities" of the Black community and the white "Gold Coast" areas of south Florida suggests that those national figures apply here as well. —B.S.

Pulley: Two volcanoes erupted in country

By Baxter Smith

MIAMI—Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley told a Militant Forum here May 23, "Last week, two volcanoes erupted in this country—one in Washington State and one in Florida."

Pulley had come to Miami to learn about the social problems underlying the explosion of the Florida volcano, and to solidarize his campaign with it.

It was not lost on the forum audience or on Black Miami that Pulley's chief opponent, Jimmy Carter, had gone to Washington State and had avoided Florida.

"The actions of Blacks in the streets the past few days showed Carter and the government that we want jobs, not B-52s," Pulley told about thirty Black students at Miami-Dade Community College. "We need to organize what happened into a political expression to demand our rights."

Pulley was joined here by Socialist Workers candidates from other states and the District of Columbia who came to learn firsthand about the Black rebellion.

Pulley appeared on local TV and radio. A Black newspaper interviewed

him. He cancelled a tour stop in Albany, New York, to spend more time here.

Blacks on the streets where the uprising occurred were appreciative.

"It's good to see a Black man running," was one response.

"You've got my vote," was another.

In discussions with Blacks on the streets, Pulley heard complaints about cop brutality before and during the rebellion. Some spoke about lack of equal opportunity in employment. Others talked about no opportunities for employment.

A few people on the street recognized Pulley. Most did not.

"That's because the media won't cover my campaign the way they do Carter or Kennedy," Pulley told Blacks in the Coconut Grove section of town.

In a visit to one of the Metropolitan Transit Authority's bus barns, drivers paid attention when Pulley explained he was a laid-off steelworker.

"Workers in the unions need to begin to think about forming a labor party that would put our interests first, unlike the Democratic and Republican parties," Pulley said.

He got nods of approval and an



Pulley in campaign headquarters discussion

occasional "Right, brother!" from Black students at Miami-Dade.

"The only thing they were shocked about," Pulley said of white city officials after the acquittal of cops who

killed McDuffie, "was that the Black community didn't take it lying down. They were not shocked at the verdict."

"If they are really sorry that this miscarriage of justice happened, let them drop the charges against the Blacks who were arrested," Pulley added. "Then let them prosecute to the fullest all these killer cops and white snipers who attacked the Black community."

In his address to the forum, Pulley said, "This is a lesson for the newly arriving Cubans that this is not the land of liberty that they had been led to believe."

It is, he said, "the land of injustice and oppression for all Black and working people."

Rose Ogden, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from Florida, also spoke at the forum.

"The decision of the jury, she said, "was consistent with the handling of the McDuffie case from the very beginning."

When the verdict came down, Ogden said, the shock "turned into anger."

During the rebellion "Black neighborhoods were placed under house arrest" by police.

"We intend to talk about this on the job, in my campaign, in the pages of the *Militant*, and wherever we go," she said.

Miami socialists sell 667 copies of Militant

Armed with the issue headlined, "Why Miami exploded: 'We want to be treated like human beings,'" socialists in Miami sold 667 copies of the *Militant*.

Most were sold in various areas of the Black community where people snapped them up.

Some were sold in a mixed Black-Cuban community.

They were sold at work sites and at a community college campus. Socialist workers sold them on the job. Bus drivers sold fifteen to co-workers.

Jerry Hunnicutt went to Miami as part of the *Militant's* reporting team at the height of the rebellion. He stayed to help coordinate sales of the issue.

"I've been selling the *Militant* for about five years," he said, "and I never had such an experience. The same was true for white party

members. They may have sold a few less, but no significant amount.

"The pattern," Hunnicutt said, "was that you could sell a paper to one of every two or three people you showed it to."

Hunnicutt said that in a total of about five hours, he sold 100 papers. "People like the headline," he said. "One woman said to me that it was different from the *Miami Herald*."

"The *Herald*," she told Hunnicutt, "said we're savages. This says what we're demanding—justice."

At Dade County Community College, which has many Black students and a good number of Iranians and people from the Caribbean, the paper sold particularly well. Socialist Workers presidential nominee Andrew Pulley had spoken on campus twice the previous week.

In one sale there, sixty copies of the issue were sold.

Hunnicutt was also excited about the sale at the Black longshore union hall.

"We hit it one morning when people were getting job assignments," he said. "The response was very friendly. In maybe fifteen minutes we sold eighteen copies."

In the course of street sales, seven introductory subscriptions were sold. "And," Hunnicutt added, "a lot of people who didn't have the money for a subscription wanted to know where they could buy future issues."

He said several people have come to the SWP campaign office each day as a result of the sale. Others have called up asking for more information.

Socialists in Miami feel that in getting out the truth about the rebellion, in getting out the Black community's side of the story, they struck a blow in the fight for justice for Arthur McDuffie.

'We face the same enemy'

Iranians hail struggle of Blacks in Miami

By Janice Lynn

Miami Blacks received overwhelming support for their struggle against racism from hundreds of thousands of Iranian workers and peasants.

In Tehran, the 200,000 participants at the May 23 Friday prayer meeting cheered speeches about the need to solidarize with the Black people of Miami. The meeting reverberated with chants of "Blacks of America: We Are All Your Supporters" and "Blacks of America Should Be Set Free."

This same scene was repeated at similar meetings in Tabriz, Isfahan, and in other cities throughout Iran.

Major portions of the speeches in solidarity with the Black struggle in the United States were later broadcast on radio and television throughout the country.

In a speech broadcast the night before, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini explained how Muslims in time of need and the oppressed in time of need must support one another.

"And now," Khomeini declared, "Blacks in the United States need our support because they are oppressed and faced with the same enemy we are faced with."

After the prayer meetings, thousands took to the streets in hastily organized marches and demonstrations in at least fifteen cities to show their solidarity with the Blacks of Miami.

In Tehran, more than 5,000 people marched from Tehran University to the ex-U.S. embassy. "Black Brothers, We Congratulate You On Your Uprising" and "Iranian Muslims Will Fight



Thousands of Iranians marched through the streets of Tehran and other cities to express solidarity with Blacks in the United States.

Alongside You In Every Way" were some of the spirited chants.

A rally was held in front of the embassy. Speakers pointed out how the same U.S. government that was continually threatening Iran was now faced inside its own borders "with our brothers who are standing up to their oppressors."

A Palestinian spoke and tied together the oppression of Palestinians,

the oppression of Blacks in the United States, and the oppression suffered by Iranians under the shah.

The crowd cheered, shouting, "Oppressed of the World Unite" and "Blacks of America, We Support You—United States and Israel, We Will Defeat You."

Solidarity with the uprisings in South Korea was another dominant theme of the rally. A message was read

from a Korean liberation organization about the struggles of the workers and students who are standing up against the dictatorship in South Korea.

The keynote speaker was from the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line. Addressing himself to Miami's Blacks, he recalled how the Iranian people had defeated the shah, and how it had seemed such an impossible task. He explained that the day would come when Blacks in America would also be able to overcome and defeat their oppressors.

"The question of racism and the situation of Blacks in the United States has captured the attention of millions of Iranians," said one member of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE).

"Everybody is discussing it and everybody followed the news from Miami very closely. There is a real identification with oppressed Blacks in America," she said.

"At the Tehran demonstration," she continued, "people would come up to me to tell me how they thought that perhaps Blacks in the United States were one of the peoples who may have suffered even more than we did. Women especially indicated to me how important it was for us to support their struggles."

"Solidarity with the uprisings of Blacks in the United States and the workers and students in South Korea is very high throughout Iran," she said.

"The Iranian people have pledged our unconditional support and we will not hesitate to help in any way."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Iran students to U.S. Blacks:

'All the oppressed of this earth are with you'

The following is excerpted from a statement by the Muslim Students, Followers of the Imam's Line, released in Tehran on May 23.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate; the great people of Islam; the great nation of Iran.

The rising tide of the Islamic revolution of Iran has captured the Great Satan—the American beast—inside its own country, the United States.

The Carter administration . . . has treated American Blacks—who are in the camp of the oppressed—in the most savage way possible.

Carter—this professional criminal and so-called supporter of human rights—has denied Blacks their most elementary human rights.

You Blacks, who are so innocently caught in the diabolical hands of Carter, you must know that you are not alone. For all the oppressed of this earth support you.

And Islam supports you . . . you, who are fighting to be free from the hands of the oppressors.

Today, we in Iran and you in the United States, and all the oppressed throughout the world, must fight in the same front against all the oppressors—especially the criminal American government. With this unity, we can throw these professional criminals into the dustbin of history.

Blacks . . . the great Khomeini has declared, "You oppressed of the world, whatever color or creed, from whatever country, . . . do not be afraid of the big noise America and the other oppressors are making."

You American Blacks, who have today risen for your human rights, you should know that your struggle today is not a struggle of Blacks, but is a struggle of the oppressed of the entire world against their oppressors. It is the way to the salvation of humanity, a salvation which will come about with the annihilation of our oppressors.

And this is only possible when all the oppressed join together in one front, a united front.

The Islamic revolution of Iran is a good example for you and for all the oppressed. Our Imam has said that this great mobilization, this general Islamic mobilization will be a pattern for all the oppressed of the world.

You American Blacks, it is the police of Carter's criminal government that kills you. It is the judicial

system that makes criminals out of innocent people and damns the oppressed. And it is this same government that launches a military attack against our nation.

We have taken the American spies as hostages until the treacherous [shah] Mohammed Reza, and the wealth that he has stolen from Iran, supported by the United States, is returned to Iran. And when this is done, the hostages will be released.

But the uncultured government of Carter not only does not respond to this rightful demand of ours so that he can save the lives of the hostages, but he militarily attacks our country—a country which has already given so many martyrs.

Once more, we unconditionally support you—the oppressed Blacks of the United States.

Strikes, marches hit racist rule in S. Africa

By Fred Feldman

South Africa's racist regime is facing its biggest challenge since the Soweto uprising of June 1976. According to the May 27 *New York Times*, "Protests and strikes . . . are sweeping the country."

A month-long student strike by Black and colored students protesting segregated education is gaining steam, despite the arrest of hundreds.

"Three of the four black universities have been affected," wrote John F. Burns in the May 26 *New York Times*, "with the largest, the University of Fort Hare near East London, being

closed down for the first time since the 1976 upheaval."

On May 24 about 3,000 colored students reportedly staged a sit in at a shopping center in central Cape Town. They were brutally attacked by riot police and several were injured.

In an effort to stop the spread of support for the strike, the regime arrested Rev. John Thorne, a minister of the Congregational Church in Johannesburg. Thorne was a supporter of the students' demands for human rights.

The arrest of Thorne sparked a protest demonstration by church figures in Johannesburg on May 26, demand-

ing his release.

Fifty-three were arrested and police, swinging their billy-clubs, waded into a crowd of spectators.

Among those arrested were Timothy Bavin, the Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, and Desmond Tutu, a Black who is the assistant Anglican bishop of Johannesburg and head of the South African Council of Churches.

This was the first arrest of Tutu. He was deprived of his passport two months ago when he called on Western States to boycott South Africa.

Most ominous to the South African rulers is the spread of strikes by indus-

trial workers. "In 1976 student attempts to promote nationwide work boycotts had limited success," reported Burns, "but this year there have been a number of major strikes by black workers, including one that developed last week in the textile plants in Durban where the last major wave of black strikes began in 1973."

And in the sprawling Black town of Soweto, fighting spirit appears to be on the rise. "Opposition figures familiar with Soweto . . . have warned that tension among the township's one million residents is mounting to the point it reached in 1976."

Trial reveals FBI complicity

Stoner found guilty in 1958 Ala. bombing

By Lee Smith

BIRMINGHAM—The three-day trial of notorious racist J.B. Stoner for the 1958 bombing of the Bethel Baptist Church ended here May 14 with the jury returning a verdict of guilty.

Stoner, freed on \$20,000 bond shortly after the trial, was given a minimum sentence of ten years' imprisonment suspended pending any appeal. He told the news media that his conviction proved "this is a Jew-dominated country with no freedom for white Christians."

Racist statements are the stock-in-trade of Stoner, who was once quoted as saying, "I've been fighting Jews and niggers full time more or less since starting in 1942."

But the evidence in Stoner's trial revealed something far more than his twisted mind. The testimony that convicted Stoner lifted the corner of the shroud of official secrecy covering the government's complicity in acts of terrorist violence against the civil rights movement.

The prosecution's case raised more questions than it answered about the role of the FBI and local police in the Bethel Church bombing and similar incidents.

The centerpiece of the state's case was the testimony of former undercover cop Tom Cook. According to Cook, he and another undercover cop, along with Ku Klux Klan leader William Morris, met with Stoner June 21, 1958, eight days before the church bombing, and again on July 12.

After these meetings, the four men discussed bombing the Bethel Baptist Church, then used by the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, a major Black civil rights group here at the time.

Both meetings were observed by Police Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor, FBI special agent Clarence Kelley (from 1973 through 1978, FBI

director), and other police officials.

The state claims these meetings were arranged by Bull Connor, who enlisted Klansman Morris's aid, to try to get some evidence against Stoner for some earlier bombings. Cook admits that bombing Bethel Church was suggested.

According to the state, while Connor and Kelley were trying to decide what to do next, Stoner went ahead and bombed the church. Then he came back to the cops and Morris saying "his boys had done the job and wanted their money."

Assuming for a moment that this is the truth, why didn't the cops arrest Stoner right then and there? The *Birmingham News* posed this question to former FBI director Kelley, who answered: "I just don't remember why in a

situation like that there was no prosecution."

Stoner's attorneys claimed in court that Cook and Morris offered Stoner \$2,000 to blow up the church.

According to their version, Black leaders then went ahead and set off the bomb themselves "to get sympathy and money." Taking advantage of this happy coincidence, their story went, Stoner then tried to "rip off" Morris and the undercover cops for the \$2,000.

Stoner also told the *Birmingham News* that in 1958 a Klan leader had offered him \$10,000 to kill Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, civil rights leader and pastor of the Bethel Church then.

"I knew what they were trying to do," Stoner told the *News*. "They were trying to entrap me. They wanted to be rid of Rev. Shuttlesworth and they

wanted to send me to the electric chair."

For Stoner, this is a variation on a theme. Before he had been indicted for the church bombing, Stoner told author Howell Raines that the same ends motivated an FBI undercover agent to offer him \$25,000 to have Martin Luther King, Jr., killed.

"Setting aside the delay, the half-hearted prosecution, and the light sentence meted out to this racist," Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Alabama, said, "the unanswered questions about police and FBI complicity in this case, just as in the case of the 1963 Sixteenth Street Baptist Church bombing, point to the need for a full public disclosure of all secret police and FBI files."



J.B. Stoner, left. His meetings with KKK leader and cops led to church bombing.



St. Paul frame-up fails, racist attacks continue

By Lynn Henderson

ST. PAUL—Racists here received a sharp setback recently when Chester Sandifer, a young Black Bell Telephone worker, was found innocent in the fatal shooting of a young white, Thomas Luger.

The shooting occurred on New Year's Eve after a mob of 200 whites, leaving a local bar at closing time, dragged a Black man, his pregnant wife, and his mother-in-law from a passing car and mercilessly beat them.

According to the police department's own reports, the mob then surged up the street yelling "get the niggers," and "burn the niggers." The Sandifer home is located six houses from the bar.

As Chester Sandifer stepped from his home to aid the mob's victims, he was attacked and beaten unconscious. Even though police arrived early on the scene, no whites were arrested.

Sometime at this point, according to witnesses, three shots were fired. One bullet hit and killed Thomas Luger who was part of the mob.

Despite its heavily self-promoted reputation as a liberal and racially harmonious city, St. Paul is witnessing a growing number of racist and right-wing assaults.

Last October 24 St. Paul's Golden Gloves boxing tournament was suspended after white racists in the audience became so threatening that the Black Inner City Youth League withdrew its team of boxers for their protection.

The growing number of racist inci-

dents here have not been only of the spontaneous and unorganized variety. Last November 29, following a fight between a Black and white student, young whites wearing Nazi arm bands showed up outside Wilson Junior High School in an effort to recruit white students. When asked by the principal what they wanted, they replied, "We're here to kill niggers."

This is far from the first open Nazi activity in St. Paul. In November of 1978 Nazis painted swastikas on Mount Zion Synagogue in celebration of the infamous "crystal night" when Nazis in Hitler's Germany smashed windows in Jewish homes and shops.

In December 1978 Nazis painted swastikas and "White Power" slogans on the headquarters of the St. Paul Urban League and the St. Paul branch of the Socialist Workers Party. And on June 23, 1979, Nazis picketed the SWP headquarters carrying signs reading, "Better Dead Than Red."

Finally, just this spring Rev. James Battle, minister of Mount Olivet Baptist Church and a prominent civil rights leader, was denied service in a Rice Street pizza parlor. Battle and two fellow ministers had just seated themselves when a white customer approached the booth and asked, "What are you doing boys? We don't like niggers to be on Rice Street."

One minister told the man, "You talk like a [member of the Ku Klux] Klan," and the man replied, "I am."

Reverend Battle commented on the

incident, "I was called 'nigger' more than I had been in my hometown in Alabama—and in one night."

In response to these growing attacks, members of the St. Paul's Black community formed the Summit University Steering Committee Against Racism. The committee played a vital role in getting out the true facts in the Sandifer case and rallying community support at Sandifer's trial.

After the riot, Sandifer was taken to the hospital and eventually charged with the murder of Luger, even though none of the prosecution's eyewitnesses could identify him at the police station or in the initial police line-ups.

Dismayed by the failure of anyone to make a positive identification earlier, three members of the white mob later voluntarily came forward with an agreed-upon description of Sandifer as the assailant.

At the trial they pointed Sandifer out in the court room as the alleged killer and described the gunman on the night of the killing as having a beard and/or a moustache, wearing a dark vee-neck sweater, and also wearing a gold chain around his neck.

Sandifer's defense attorney, Rahn Westby, exploded the attempted frame-up by producing snap shots taken at the Sandifer's New Year's Eve party that night. They showed Chester Sandifer clean-shaven and wearing a light blue turtle-neck sweater without jewelry.

Attorney Westby repeatedly exposed the racism of the prosecution witnesses. In one case, a white who identi-

fied Sandifer as the killer later admitted under cross examination that to him all Blacks look alike. "Especially," he added, "at night."

Despite the fact that Sandifer was found innocent April 30, the case is far from resolved. Sandifer and his family have been forced to leave their home because of death threats. He and his wife report being followed while driving their children to school.

The judge in the case, Sidney Abramson, and Reverend Battle, who testified in Sandifer's behalf, have also both received telephone threats.

Steve Thomas, the Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate from the Twin Cities, is demanding that the mayor and police chief immediately take a clear, public stand against these threats. Their policy has been to ignore the incidents or imply the problem is one of racial prejudice on both sides.

"The police," Thomas said, "have not made one arrest in these racist and right-wing attacks and this inaction has openly encouraged the racists. It is a scandal that these racist thugs are preventing Charles Sandifer and his family from living safely in their own house. Mayor George Latimer must, clearly and publicly, proclaim that these racist actions and threats will no longer be tolerated."

Contributions to help defray substantial expenses incurred in the Sandifer defense should be sent to: Chester Sandifer Defense Fund, First National Bank of St. Paul, 332 Minnesota Street, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101. Checks payable to Chester Sandifer Defense Fund.

300 at Boston rally

Daughter of hostage calls for peace with Iran

By Al Campbell

BOSTON—Luzette Graves, daughter of John Graves, one of the hostages in the former U.S. embassy in Tehran, toured the Boston area from May 16-18. She is seeking support for a peaceful settlement of the embassy crisis, and for an end to the Carter administration's hostility to Iran.

Her tour, which included a news conference and speaking at a rally for peace with Iran, received wide coverage in the media around Boston and some national coverage.

This is the first such tour by a hostage relative opposed to Washington's policy.

At the May 16 news conference Graves warned that, in her opinion, Carter was still looking toward a "military solution" of the embassy crisis in the wake of the failure of the April 24 raid against Iran.

She said that she and other hostage relatives were told by an official of the U.S. Information Agency, "There comes a time when the lives of the hostages are expendable."

"What happened in Iran is not something unique among countries of the third world," she explained. "They all feel the same way. The so-called independent countries are not truly independent. They are really being dominated and run by countries such as our own."

She said she had known nothing of



Militant/John Rees

Luzette Graves (above) and April 25 Boston march: 'You don't need to be Iranian to know the meaning of oppression and torture.'



Militant/John Rees

Iran before the embassy takeover. "They really are people," she added, "and you don't need to be Iranian to know the meaning of the word, 'oppression,' and the word, 'torture,' and the word, 'murder.'"

Other speakers at the news confer-

ence included Harvey Kaplan from the National Lawyers Guild, who described what the NLG is doing to defend the rights of Iranians living in the United States; Randy Goodman, a freelance photo journalist who recently returned from Iran; Farah Zand, an Iranian member of the coalition who demanded that the shah be returned to Iran; and Herc Fecteau, a spokesperson for the coalition.

Speaking of the April 24 raid on Iran, Fecteau declared, "We reject the Carter administration's characterization of the raid as a rescue attempt. It would have meant the sure death of the hostages. The Carter administration did not care about the hostages or about the soldiers who died."

The next day more than 300 people marched the half mile from Copley Square to the Boston Common, where a rally was held. Two favorite chants were "Iranian students are welcome here" and "Hell no, we won't go. We won't fight for Texaco!"

Sponsors of the march and rally included not only the coalition, but also the American Friends Service Committee, Mobilization for Survival, and local antidraft and antinuclear groups.

A statement from the local chapter of the American Friends Service Committee was distributed denouncing Carter's attacks on Iran, and calling

for a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

The action aroused much interest and curiosity among the thousands who saw or heard it go by, but virtually no hostility.

Lucette Graves was the featured speaker. "We've got to sit down and talk it over and find a peaceful solution," she said.

She criticized the seizure of Iranian assets in U.S. banks.

Graves concluded, "If we go to war, it's not Chase Manhattan or Exxon that are going to go over there and fight, it's you and I. And not only will many be dying, but those of us who survive will keep on paying for that war, for these war machines, while Chase and its friends just collect interest."

Graves also read a message from her mother, Bonnie Graves. "I regret that I will not be present at the peace rally. Both as wife of a hostage and, as a rule, a loyal concerned American, I applaud your efforts to promote a peaceful settlement of the crisis between our nation and Iran."

Alicia Keogh, relative of another hostage, was in the audience at the rally and had a friendly talk with Graves afterward.

At a reception that evening Graves met with Afro-American journalist William Worthy and with Mel King, a leader of the Black Political Caucus.

'We're fighting for our future'

By Sue Skinner

TOLEDO—"They may kill us, but not our revolution," explained an Iranian student.

"Sixty-five percent of Iranian families have lost at least one member of their family and over 300,000 Iranians have been left crippled by the Shah's rule. So you can see we have paid a heavy price and we are going to fight with every drop of blood to defend our revolution."

Two Iranian students studying in the U.S., and Jeff Stephenson, member of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke in defense of the Iranian revolution at the Militant Labor Forum May 4.

One of the students declared, "America is becoming a refuge for mass murderers. The shah is sick alright—a sick puppet of U.S. imperialism. Aren't the principles of your

government against this? We try to speak to the American people because if we can help explain the truth the American people can stop Carter and make him send back the Shah—just like they stopped the Vietnam War. We are not asking the U.S. government to pay the price for what they did to us, but simply to return the shah and the money he stole from us.

"We are fighting for our future and the future of other people. In Nicaragua, South Africa, Cuba, and Zimbabwe, people are fighting for independence. The same thing is represented in our country. I don't know about you, but I consider myself one of them.

"The way the whole world is organized is very unjust. We'll use every possible means to change it."

Georgia Blacks protest assault on civil rights

By Anne Johnsen

ATLANTA—Rev. Fred Taylor, field worker for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has announced that SCLC is calling a national mobilization in Wrightsville, Georgia, June 7.

"We will demonstrate here because there has been a complete breakdown of civil rights and liberties and indiscriminate harassment," Taylor said.

Sheriff's deputies arrested thirty-eight Black residents and a Black woman was shot May 19 in the latest series of racist attacks in the small east-central Georgia town.

After being held all night, without being charged, thirty-four of the Blacks were released the next day. The four who remained in jail included the Rev. E.J. Wilson and John Martin, leaders of the Wrightsville Black community.

Wilson was dragged from his car, beaten, and jailed as he was on his way to the courthouse to aid a Black woman arrested earlier in the day.

Meanwhile, deputies stormed the totally segregated Black section of the town. They knocked down the door of the Neely AME church, arrested those gathered, and continued to make arrests as they went door-to-door through the community.

Virginia Wilson, Rev. Wilson's wife, reported that Sheriff Roland Attaway, brandishing a shotgun and black helmet, burst into the home in which she was staying and arrested four women without explanation.

This police dragnet followed a fire earlier that evening in a lounge in the Black community, and the shooting of twenty-one-year-old Janice Woodward. Blacks charge that whites are sniping at fire fighters and police in an attempt to discredit the Black community.

Arriving in Wrightsville the day after the arrests, the SCLC's Reverend Taylor was beaten by fifteen to twenty whites. Limping and showing his bruises Taylor contended, "I think, in my judgement, the sheriff and his

patrols were running rampant like Miami in Georgia."

An Atlanta attorney representing the jailed activists was himself arrested when he accused Attaway of holding the thirty-eight illegally. No whites have been arrested in the past week.

The Johnson County Justice League, headed by Wilson and Martin, has organized protests over the past three months demanding an end to racist conditions in Wrightsville. They also are demanding the removal of Attaway, who has been sheriff for twenty years. The group demonstrated in April for equal employment rights, better housing, and representation on the city council.

While Johnson County is one third Black, there are no Blacks in city or county government, the police force, post office, or white-collar jobs. One Black unemployed youth told the *Militant* that he knew a Black woman with a college degree who was denied a bank teller's job that was given to a white with a fifth grade education.

There are few paved streets or street lights in the Black section of Wrightsville, and this also has been a focus of the protests.

At a rally on April 8, Black protesters were attacked and beaten by Ku Klux Klanners while sheriff's deputies looked the other way. Fifteen activists were injured.

Also in April, two white men were indicted on charges of firing a shotgun blast into a Black home injuring a nine-year-old girl.

Johnson County is a farming community with a few clothing mills providing the majority of jobs open to Black workers.

One Black resident explained, "Sometimes two families live in one house. They could have built some projects. The whites have a swimming pool, but the Blacks can't go in it. Children have to play in the streets."

Georgia state troopers are again in Wrightsville and U.S. Justice Department hearings are being held to investigate the Black community's demands.

Business group demands 'protection'

New members named to Nicaragua gov't

By Lorraine Thiebaud

MANAGUA—Two new members—Arturo Cruz Porras and Rafael Córdova Rivas—were added to Nicaragua's Junta of National Reconstruction May 18 by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) National Directorate.

Before his appointment, Arturo Cruz was president of Nicaragua's Central Bank. Along with junta member Sergio Ramírez, Cruz was one of the "Group of Twelve," that played an important role in broadening support for the FSLN during the fight to overthrow Somoza. Upon his appointment to the junta, Cruz affirmed that he was ac-

cepting a mandate from "the vanguard of the revolution, the FSLN, to preserve the irreversible character of the revolution." He also stated that "as a Christian" he identified completely with the process that is occurring here and that his presence in the government reaffirmed "the democratic nature of the junta."

Rafael Córdova Rivas had been a member of the Supreme Court appointed by the revolutionary government. A longtime opponent of the Somoza regime, he was jailed by the dictatorship more than a dozen times. When FSLN leader Tomás Borge was imprisoned by Somoza's National Guard in the early 1970s, Córdova

Rivas served as his defense attorney. After the assassination of bourgeois opposition leader Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Cardenal in January 1978, Córdova Rivas became president of Chamorro's party, the Democratic Liberation Union (UDEL).

In Córdova Rivas's brief remarks accepting appointment to the junta, the following stood out: "This revolution does not mean mere substitution of one political power for another. Rather it means changing the economic, social and political structures."

Sandino anniversary

The new appointments to the junta were announced on the eighty-fifth anniversary of the birth of Augusto César Sandino—"general of free men and father of the people's anti-imperialist revolution." Sandino led the struggle of the Nicaraguan people to expel the U.S. marines in the 1930s; his legacy was the inspiration for the formation of the FSLN.

Commemorative events were held throughout Nicaragua, sponsored by the mass organizations, such as the Sandinista Workers Federation and the Association of Nicaraguan Women. Sandino's heritage of anti-imperialist struggle and international solidarity, above all with the peoples of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, was vigorously reaffirmed.

At all these events, special attention was paid to the enormous mobilizations in Cuba against the threats and provocations of U.S. imperialism.

Defense of Nicaragua's national sovereignty in face of foreign aggression and "traitorous elements" inside the country was emphasized. This was highlighted not just because of the armed struggle carried out a year ago by the Nicaraguan workers and peasants in order to regain their sovereignty, but also because of recent demands by members of the U.S. Congress that the governing junta be broadened to include so-called moderate members, and because of the openly anticommunist campaign unleashed against the FSLN in recent weeks by ex-junta member Alfonso Robelo and his Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN).

The spirit of the commemoration of Sandino's birth was expressed by Commander of the Revolution Jaime Wheelock. Wheelock spoke at the main event organized by the junta and the FSLN National Directorate at the Rubén Darío People's Theater here in Managua.

'Prepared to die'

"If it should be necessary to endure great hardships and shortages in order to uphold the sovereignty of our country," Wheelock said, "the people of Sandino are ready to follow that course of freedom and dignity. And if this

national independence demands that Nicaragua's lands once again be covered with blood, we are prepared to die a thousand times rather than accept the humiliating 'freedom' of the slave."

This was a clear warning of the FSLN's attitude in the event of any armed intervention or economic blockade by the imperialists.

It was during the event at the People's Theater that the FSLN National Directorate announced its new appointments to the junta. The response of Nicaragua's capitalist organizations was not long in coming.

In a May 20 statement the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) questioned the right of the FSLN National Directorate to name new members to the junta and called instead for "the restructuring of the governing junta in order to preserve the principle of pluralist representation."

The COSEP went on to list a series of demands, which included the following:

- The necessity of reaffirming the concept of private property, with effective protection against confiscation, invasion [of land by peasants], and expropriations. . . .

- To foster attitudes that reconcile social classes and show the advantages of national coexistence. . . .

Declaration of war

The final point of the COSEP's statement amounted to a declaration of war: "COSEP insists that the enumerated points are fundamental to the Nicaraguan revolution and are thus indispensable for restoring credibility in the current process. At the same time, we note that to the extent that these points do not receive the respect and attention they deserve the country will remain adrift, legitimizing the criticisms of those who point out that the government's deviations threaten to reproduce in Nicaragua a communist dictatorship similar to Cuba and worsen the climate of confidence—already damaged—that the urgent reactivation of the country requires."

The big bourgeoisie thus openly rejects the measures carried out by the FSLN to benefit the workers and peasants, and conditions their investment and participation in economic reactivation on the adoption of political guarantees that would simply mean the liquidation of the revolution in a short period of time.

FSLN Commander and junta member Daniel Ortega has made the Sandinistas' position on the COSEP's demands quite clear: "We are not going to share power with those who only seek to weaken that power—neither in the government junta nor in the ministries."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Nicaraguan peasants at February demonstration. Sign reads, 'To reactivate the economy, total expropriation. Long live the unity of the workers and campesinos!!' Government has had to replace two capitalist figures who recently resigned, as workers and peasants make advances.

Puerto Rican nationalist sentenced to life term

NEW YORK—A federal judge imposed a life sentence on Puerto Rican militant Maria Haydee Torres May 23. Torres was convicted after a four-day trial of terrorist activities as a member of the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional—Armed Forces of National Liberation).

Ten other FALN members are to be tried in Chicago.

On the opening day of the Torres trial May 19, 150 supporters of Puerto Rican independence packed the federal courtroom here.

Torres was greeted by a standing ovation and prolonged chanting of pro-independence slogans when she entered the courtroom. When the judge entered, the audience sat down and Torres began to speak.

Addressing the crowd, with her back to the judge, she explained that she views herself as a prisoner of war in a struggle for national liberation and that she refuses to recognize the jurisdiction of the American courts.

When Torres ignored the judge's orders to sit down, federal marshals carried her from the courtroom.

Her supporters then left the room for a spirited picket outside the building. Among the participants



MARIA HAYDEE TORRES

were former nationalist prisoners Lolita Lebrón and Oscar Collazo. Lebrón addressed the crowd at the conclusion of the picket line, hailing Torres's role in Puerto Rico's ninety-year-long struggle against American domination.

A spokesperson for the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War announced that the committee is planning further protests at the United Nations.

Puerto Rico:
U.S. Colony in
the Caribbean
José G. Pérez

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Right-wingers threaten protest

Cuban emigre issue backfires on Carter

By Harry Ring

"It's not us who told the people to go to Mariel. Carter said three weeks ago, 'I open my arms to you.' Now he says, 'Go to hell,'" said Wilfredo Navarro, a right-wing Miami Cuban protesting Carter's decision to shut the door on those trying to emigrate here.

Navarro joined with Frank Sturgis in threatening mass protests against the Carter decision to blockade the Mariel-Florida sea-lift.

Sturgis, one of those arrested in the Watergate burglary, has been a long-time anti-Castro CIA hireling.

He and Navarro reportedly went to Washington May 21 to get government consent to send twenty shrimp boats they said they had chartered to go to Mariel to pick up further emigres.

The fact that such hard-nosed right-wing government proteges feel moved to do this indicates the extent to which Carter's manipulation of the emigre issue has backfired on him.

Carter's hypocrisy on this issue was stripped bare when the Cuban government opened the port of Mariel to all those who wish to emigrate here.

For a period, Carter adapted to the sentiment of Cubans in this country and did not make a decisive effort to stem the flow from Mariel.

But now he apparently intends to withstand pressure and stop the sea-lift.

This will reduce even further the ability of Washington, and its hirelings within the community, to exploit the Cuban people here in whipping up the hate-Castro drive.

When people like Sturgis and Navarro start talking back, then Washington has problems. There are others in the Cuban community who have genuine concern that the doors of the United States be kept open and who understand the need to oppose Washington's anti-Cuba campaign.



'Free world' welcome for Cuban emigre at Elgin Air Force base in Florida. Held for weeks at processing center there and at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas, some have tried to leave and have been answered with clubs. Three hundred Cubans fled the Arkansas camp May 27, shouting, 'Libertad.' Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton then activated the National Guard for 'added security.' Residents near Fort Chaffee reportedly fired warning shots at Cubans who neared their homes.

An encouraging expression of such a view was contained in a letter to the May 15 *New York Times*.

Signed by fifteen Cuban-American professors, the letter declares that because Washington encouraged Cubans to leave their country it now has "a moral obligation to accept them."

It points to the need for an end of the U.S. blockade of Cuba and notes that while a small percentage chose to leave Cuba, "the overwhelming majority of the Cuban people support the revolution and would defend it against attack."

In addition to urging an end to a failed policy of attempting to overthrow the Castro government, the letter calls upon Washington to curb the "right-wing groups responsible for multiple bombings and several assassi-

nations in the recent past . . ."

A majority of the fifteen professors signing the letter are associated with the Committee of 75, a broad grouping within the U.S. Cuban community which last year initiated a dialogue with the Cuban government.

It was this dialogue that led to the release of counterrevolutionary prisoners in Cuba, establishment of travel arrangements permitting Cubans here to visit their homeland, as well as a family reunification program.

At the beginning of the Peru embassy incident in Havana, the Carter administration felt it could demagogically exploit the emigration issue in its effort to reverse the growing sentiment in the Cuban community for a policy of friendship with Cuba.

It was seen as an opportunity to refurbish the reputation of the counter-

revolutionary terrorists whose continued functioning here is based, not on support in the community, but on a green light from the government.

Initially, the counterrevolutionaries were caught off guard on the emigre issue. When people first entered the Peru embassy in Havana as a means of coming to the United States, Anthony Varona, a prominent Cuban right-winger, urged them not to leave, asserting they should stay to fight the Castro regime.

But within twenty-four hours, the right-wingers realized this went directly counter to sentiment in the Cuban community and they reversed course. Now they're at the point where they find themselves threatening demonstrations against their mentor in the White House.

Meanwhile, members of the Committee of 75 and other proponents of friendship with Cuba have a renewed opportunity to win support for their point of view.

People in the Cuban community may have been initially confused as to who was responsible for the plight of those who now want to leave Cuba. But today it is apparent to all that responsibility rests with Washington, not Havana.

In a telephone interview, Prof. Marifeli Perez-Stable, one of the signers of the *New York Times* letter, said one of the reasons the letter had been issued was because they considered it important "to give testimony to the continued expression of different points of view" within the Cuban community.

In the newly developing situation, persistent efforts will confirm that the particular point of view expressed in the *Times* letter is not only in the best interest of the Cuban community and working people generally. It can also become the majority point of view within the Cuban community.

Zionism makes a martyr out of a murderer

By Gus Horowitz

When Eli Hazeev died 3,000 people attended his funeral.

Among the mourners was the chief of staff of the Israeli army. Hazeev was a civilian but received a military funeral.

He was born an American Protestant but died an Israeli Jew, eulogized by the chief rabbis of the country. One of the religious leaders, Hazeev's father said later, "told us Eli was dedicated to a cause extremely rare, such that he can only be considered holy, that without doubt his name will be remembered among the heroes of Israel."

The holy cause that Hazeev believed in was far-right Zionism. He was one of those building Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank. He and five other Israeli settlers were killed on May 2 in the

proudest feats was killing twenty-three Vietnamese in one battle.

Whatever the name, the psychological characteristics were apparent to those who met him.

"The guy is, was, a psycho, and he hung out with a bunch of psychos," said one of his Israeli friends.

"He gave off the vibes of a killer, of someone who killed easily. I never got the feeling of any remorse about taking human life."

His Israeli wife even split from him because of his affinity for violence.

But Hazeev was not motivated merely by attraction to violence. He was a political person, brought up as a fervent anti-communist, and dedicated to that aim all his life.

He was disillusioned by the war in Vietnam because, as he used to say, "we were not allowed to win."

After returning home from Vietnam he volunteered his services as an informer for the FBI, working to undermine anti-Vietnam War groups.

The career of this FBI spy included arrests for unlawful entry; for assault and battery; and for the shotgun murder of a member of a motorcycle club.

He was let off on the serious criminal charges.

But in one case—where he acted as a provocateur during an antiwar demonstration—he got a ten-day sentence for shooting firecrackers with a slingshot at police.

He was fascinated by Israel after the 1973 war, seduced by its military resolve, his father recalled, failing to mention any other feature of Israeli society that had attracted his son.

He was converted to Judaism, drawn to it by the discipline of religious law as much as by belief.

After converting, he moved to Israel, where he was able to obtain immediate citizenship under the law of return.

He could be seen last year, marching through Israeli-occupied Hebron, breaking into Arab homes,

smashing furniture, beating the inhabitants, and shouting that these were "Jewish houses."

The "only good Arab is a dead one," he used to tell friends. Acting on his conviction, he set out a year ago for a trip back to the U.S. to assassinate a Palestine Liberation Organization leader who was on a speaking tour of college campuses.

He joined or associated with various extreme-right groups, but was basically a freelancer, being several times arrested for going further than the authorities would accept.

He served time for the Hebron rampage, and was stopped from completing his assassination voyage.

But he was, for the Zionist authorities, still a hero, an example.

The character of their martyr tells a lot about their cause.

As I see it

Arab city of Hebron. That's why the funeral was so large. It was an official demonstration of support for Begin's settlement policy.

What kind of person would choose to change his faith and country for martyrdom in that cause?

What kind of cause could deem this man a martyr and hold him in such high esteem?

New York Times correspondents David Shipler and Philip Taubman drew a revealing portrait of Hazeev in the May 12 issue of the paper.

Hazeev—the name means "the wolf" in Hebrew—was born in Virginia thirty-two years ago as James Eli Mahon, Jr.

He used to tell friends that "wolf" was a name he had picked up in Vietnam, where he served two terms as a gung-ho, much-decorated paratrooper. Actually, he had been called "killer." One of his

NY Palestine action

Supporters of Palestine rights have scheduled a June 1 demonstration in New York City against U.S. aid to Israel and for Palestinian self-determination.

The demonstration is seen as a counter-action to the "Salute to Israel" parade being organized by the Zionists.

The Palestine Solidarity Committee, which is organizing the march, announced that "demonstrators will be demanding an end to the collective punishment of Hebron, where the Israeli military government imposed a curfew on Palestinians; demolished buildings, including shops and homes; and deported the mayor, along with a Moslem judge and the mayor of neighboring Halhoul."

The demonstration is supported by a broad range of organizations. It begins at noon at 50th Street and 6th Avenue in Manhattan. For further information, call the PSC at (212) 662-0708.

On May 17 some five million Cubans marched in cities across the island to protest U.S. threats and military maneuvers directed against Cuba and the rising revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean. The 'March of the Fighting People' was a massive show of support to the Castro government and its revolutionary course, in the face of Washington's anti-Cuba propaganda barrage around the Peruvian Embassy provocation and the current emigration.

José G. Pérez, editor of 'Perspectiva Mundial,' Spanish-language sister publication of the 'Militant,' was in Havana to report on the day's mobilization. Born in Cuba, Pérez was taken to the United States by his parents shortly after the 1959 revolution. Following are some of his observations.

By José G. Pérez

HAVANA—Two o'clock in the afternoon, May 17. I'm standing on a balcony on the twenty-seventh floor of a building right across from the old monument to those who died in the *Maine*.

The *Maine* was the U.S. warship whose mysterious explosion and sinking in 1898 provided Washington the pretext it was looking for to intervene in Cuba's war of independence against Spain and seize the island for Wall Street investment.

Nobody in the United States shouts "remember the *Maine*" anymore. But in Cuba they do not forget.

The imperial eagle atop the monument was toppled twenty years ago. The iron bars that held it in place now stick out, bent and rusted.

Below me, hundreds of thousands of people crowd Malecón Boulevard. All over Cuba, millions are marching. Their message: We do not forget. We will fight to the death to stop that imperial eagle from ever being put back atop the monument.

* * *

Saturday night after the demonstration. Room 420 of the Riviera Hotel is the international press room. Half a dozen reporters are furiously typing dispatches at one end of the room. At the other, teletype machines clatter with other stories. In between there's a bank of TV monitors.

I look over the shoulder of one of the reporters writing his story. It begins, "HAVANA, May 17,—At least 60,000

CUBA: THE PI

Reporter's notebook on 'Ma



people marched past the U.S. Interests Section here today in a display of government-organized anti-American hysteria."

I know the reporter in question had visited the march only briefly, then returned to the hotel where, I'm told, he spent the rest of the morning and all of the afternoon lounging by the pool.

A few minutes later the reporter has finished the story and is watching TV, waiting for a call to his paper to go through. On one of the monitors is a documentary about Cuba's struggle for independence from Spain during the late 1800s. The narrator explains that we would now see a reconstruction of *mambises* (freedom fighters) carrying out a machete charge on horseback against Spanish troops.

"What's that," cracks the reporter,

"Teddy Roosevelt and the Rough Riders?"

One of the Cuban officials assigned to help the foreign press explains, without even hinting at the rage she must feel. Maybe she's used to it by now.

Another reporter is on the phone to an inquiring copy editor, by the sound of it. "They wanted to get four to five million, but they couldn't have. Most of the population is here, and they got one, maybe one and a half million tops in Havana."

The reporter falls silent. I imagine the copy editor breaking the news to him that the population of the Havana area is only roughly a fifth of Cuba's total of ten million.

"Damn. We better change that." He looks through his article. "Look, where it says, 'Cuban officials expected four to five million to march but the turnout



... and so forth, just switch it around to say 'and the turnout could well have reached that figure. . . .'

He stops for a moment, thinking. "Better yet, just kill that whole paragraph."

The copy editor must have said something.

"Yeah, it was scary," the reporter answers. "It was goddamn big and they sound like they really mean business."

* * *

"For every one that leaves, hundreds stay," says Tomás Menocal, a Black, bearded, six-foot dockworker carrying six-year-old Camilo on his shoulders. Menocal stopped to talk during the March of the Fighting People in Havana May 17.

"For every *gusano*, hundreds of *Cubanos*. That's the real message of this march." *Gusano* means worm, the Cubans' term for those who are deserting the revolution.

On Camilo's back there is a small poster made from one side of a cardboard box. On it are pictures of commanders Camilo Cienfuegos and Ernesto Che Guevara, martyred leaders of the Cuban revolution. Under the pictures, it says: "Camilo and Che present. Ever onward to victory."

His father puts little Camilo down. I ask if he knows who Camilo and Che were.

"They were very great men. They were very good friends of Fidel. They died fighting so we could have schools and doctors."

I ask Camilo what he wants to do when he grows up. "I want to be a revolutionary like Camilo and Che."

* * *

In Cuba May 17 is *El Día del Campesino*—the day of the small farmer. All over the island the simultaneous demonstrations held this May 17 are headed by peasants carrying banners about the agrarian reform law proclaimed on that date twenty-one years ago, soon after the Castro government came to power.

In Havana, *campesinos* on horseback dressed as *mambises*—Cuban freedom fighters during the war of independence against Spain—head the march, carrying a sign that says: "On a day like today we expropriated 1,209,015 hectares in *latifundios* [huge estates] from Yankee imperialism."

I talk with an old man, face dark

U.S. meetings in solidarity with Cuba

By Candace Wagner

OAKLAND—Responding to requests by Cuban youth groups for solidarity against U.S. military maneuvers in the Caribbean, the Young Socialist Alliance held an outdoor speak-out on the University of California Berkeley campus May 21.

Bernardo García, a Cuban-American instructor at Laney College here and a participant in the 1960s Fair Play for Cuba Committee, blasted the U.S. economic embargo against Cuba.

"It is a bitter irony," he said, "that there are layoffs at the Caterpillar plants in the U.S., while Cuba needs tractors and wants to buy them."

Nora Ramon, representing the Cuba Coordinating Council, compared the hostile treatment meted out to the Haitian refugees to the propaganda waged around the Cuban emigres.

YSA member George Sayad documented the undeclared war the U.S. is waging against Cuba and urged a campaign to oppose U.S. military intervention in the Caribbean, to end the blockade, and to get the U.S. out of Guantánamo.

Kathe Latham, a member of the United Transportation Union and the Socialist Workers Party who recently visited Cuba, also spoke.

By Don Davis

ATLANTA—Sixty people rallied in solidarity with the Cuban revolution here May 17.

The meeting, which was covered by a local television station, featured a slide show on Cuba by Janice Prescott, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, who recently toured the island.

The rally heard greetings from Alfredo Duarte, a Cuban active in the Committee to End the Blockade; Herbert Katedza, Atlanta chairperson of the Zimbabwean African National Union; and Doug Parker of the Young Socialist Alliance.

By Sharon Janis

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.—As forty people listened to a May 17 panel on "Carter's Threats Against Cuba—What is the Truth?", eighteen anti-Castro picketers marched outside.

The Militant Forum ended a week of activities by socialists here aimed at combatting anti-Cuba media coverage.

They sold the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. They handed out leaflets publicizing the forum on Cuba. And on May 13, Socialist Workers Party candidates held a news conference. Manuel Archuleta, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, and Elaine Baca, SWP candidate for state legislature, blasted Carter's war moves and campaign of lies against revolutionary Cuba. Four radio stations and one TV station carried the socialists' statements.

In addition to picketers outside the forum, three right-wing Cubans attended and asked questions.

But the speakers had no problem taking them on. The panelists included Paula Ballen, a member of the Nicaragua Solidarity Coalition who recently returned from a trip to Cuba; Elaine Baca, who lived in Nicaragua for two years; and Linda Peterson, co-chairperson of the Student Organization of Latin American Studies.

The forum was covered by the Albuquerque NBC TV affiliate.

PEOPLE SPEAK

March of the Fighting People'



and weatherbeaten, hands rough from work. He is from the province of Havana.

"I am an old man and I lived through what this was before. It is painful even to talk about it.

"My parents were farmers before me. We all grew up on a small farm. But then, when I was fourteen, they lost it to the bank, so I had to go make my own way in the world.

"Those were the difficult years of the thirties. I cut cane and during the dead time [the eight months of the year between harvests] I would find whatever work I could."

He became a sharecropper. "All we had was a *bohío* [peasant hut], one room, and whenever there was a big storm it would fall down or be blown away and we had to rebuild it. No water, no sanitary facilities. I lost three children to intestinal parasites. The others had no school. They worked with me because it was the only way to keep all the mouths fed.

"One very bad year, I went to the overseer. I pleaded with him, for us to keep a little more of what we had grown. My wife and children were starving.

"You were contracted to cultivate the land, not breed children," he shouted at me. Those words still burn in my ears.

"I had no choice, so I tried to steal from a little store. I was only taking to feed my children, and anyways it was mine, because they always charged unfair prices.

"But they caught me. They kicked me and then they whipped me and I still have the scars across my back. And they came with a mule team and tore down our home and evicted us. They kept the things we had been growing on that land, and a few chickens I had.

"Finally, the revolution came, what we had been waiting for all our lives. At first, I paid no attention. There had been many revolutions. We had ended up worse after every one.

"But the revolution of Fidel was different. He had grown up in the countryside, and when he started the revolution, he planted his first seeds among us in the Sierra Maestra. And he never forgot us.

"Immediately they gave us ownership of our land. I had later gotten another parcel and they gave it to me, mine forever, and for my children, something that cannot be taken away.



Crowds thronged streets of Havana May 17 to show support for Cuban revolution. Above are scenes from 'March of the Fighting People.'

INRA [National Institute of the Agrarian Reform] came, and they set up People's Stores, where we could buy at fair prices. And they put a floor on my *bohío* and sent us a teacher so we could learn to read.

"The Yankee president, Carter, says he's for human rights. But I know what he wants is to go back to the way things were before.

"I'm an old man now, the years left to me are very few. But while I am still alive, I will march, I will join the militias, I will do anything that the revolution requires of me. Because I remember the way things were before, and we will never go back to that. Never!"

Along with the multimillion-strong March of the Fighting People, the most prominent item on many radio and TV news shows here is the rebellion in Miami's Black community.

Radio reports give ongoing coverage of a battle to take over a police station, apparently based on monitored reports from Miami radio stations.

In a packed restaurant the news comes over the radio that two cops had died in battles with the Black community. The word used is *ajusticiados*, a Spanish euphemism for executed, which literally means "having justice done unto."

The entire restaurant bursts into applause. Later it is learned the first report was not accurate. Several cops

were wounded, but not killed.

Granma, the Havana daily, also reports prominently on the Miami Black rebellion and what it says about racism in the U.S.

Sunday, the day after the March of the Fighting People. I'm at Coppelia's, the ice cream emporium located in a big park across from the Havana Libre Hotel. The line is as long as the day is hot.

A young woman standing in front of me stares at me a couple of times and says, "Aren't you the one interviewed by *Juventud Rebelde*?"

Juventud Rebelde—Rebel Youth—is Havana's afternoon daily. During the March of the Fighting People I had run into a reporter for *JR*, whom I had met during an earlier visit to Cuba. He interviewed me about the march, about those leaving for the U.S., and about the situation Cubans face in the U.S.

We get our ice cream, and chat for a while. I ask what it was about the interview that stuck her.

"I know a boy in the same situation you were in twenty years ago, when your parents took you over there."

I ask her who. She, visibly upset, answers, "My brother."

"I guess I never knew my parents. All these years pretending, claiming to be for the revolution. My mother was active in the CDR [Committee for the Defense of the Revolution] and federated [a member of the Federation of

Cuban Women]. Then her brother shows up from Miami with a boat in Mariel and they tell me, 'We're leaving. This is getting ugly, we have to get out.'"

I ask what they meant by things getting bad.

"In the past year or so, maybe before, I don't know, it's when I noticed it—they started grumbling. Complain about this, about that.

"Things came to a head May 1. I went to the Plaza to hear Fidel. They didn't come but heard it on TV. When I got home, my father was saying, 'He's crazy. He's got to make peace with the Yankees. We have to slow down.'"

In that speech, Fidel again pledged Cuba's unshakable solidarity with revolutionary struggles in Central America, the Caribbean, and around the world. He explained to the Cuban people that this policy had won them the hatred of the imperialists and now the U.S. government was making the most serious threats against Cuba since the early years of the revolution. Cuba had to be prepared to meet them, he said.

Fidel announced on May Day that the revolutionary government would enlarge the armed forces, organizing into militias every citizen willing and able to bear arms. It would train them in guerrilla techniques to fight off an invasion. He also explained that plans were being drawn up for how Cuba could survive a total military blockade.

The young woman continues: "My parents said, 'Who appointed Fidel savior of the world? Every problem that comes along, Angola, Nicaragua, he's got to be sending soldiers, sending teachers, sending help, provoking the Yankees. One of these days the Yankees are going to level the entire island and when that happens I'm going to be over there.'"

"Then they told me my mother's brother was in Mariel and we were leaving. I couldn't believe it."

Two nights later she was at a *mitin de repudio*—a speak-out against those who are leaving—organized by the local CDR. Although the U.S. press tries to give the contrary impression, such protests are rare, reserved only for the *tapaditos*—the hidden ones—people who have pretended to be with the revolution, some with privileges, but who are now deserting.

I ask if she felt she had to go to the meeting. "No, in fact, the president of the CDR came to see me. She said, 'Look, we understand, this is a difficult situation for you. We will help you in every way. But don't come to this meeting. It's a very sad thing that is happening and you have had the hardest part.'"

"But I couldn't stay away. And when my father saw me, he threw my things out the front door and shouted, 'I don't want that whore staying here another night! I don't have a daughter anymore.'"

She went to see her brother at his school the next day. "I was crying. He told me he would continue to be a Pioneer [the revolutionary youth movement]. I walked him home and tried to explain to him there were no Pioneers in the United States.

"The next day they left. The imperialists have taken my mother and father and brother from me.

"But I still have my homeland, and the revolution."

Further Reading

Selected Speeches of Fidel Castro
134 pp. \$4.00

Fidel Castro at the UN 46 pp. \$1.25

Che Guevara Speaks 159 pp., \$3.45

Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution

by Joseph Hansen 393 pp., \$5.95

Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War by Che Guevara 287 pp., \$5.95

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Socialists launch fight to open Mich. ballot

By Tony Dutrow

DETROIT—The Socialist Workers Party is launching a national campaign to open up the ballot in Michigan. This fight aims to overturn the state's restrictive election law adopted in 1976, which effectively bars all but Democrats and Republicans from the general election ballot.

"We intend to shine a national spotlight on Michigan's undemocratic and antilabor law," said SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley in a May 27 statement. "At a time when it's becoming clearer than ever that the Democrats and Republicans offer no choice for working people, and when disillusionment and disgust with these two capitalist parties are on the rise, the rulers of this country are trying to block access to the ballot to those who offer a working-class alternative."

"If they can get away with denying the Socialist Workers Party and other

constitutional rights of 'minor' party adherents but the right of all voters to choose their officeholders from among candidates representing a diversity of political viewpoints, and the interest of all citizens, including 'mainstream' voters, in exposure to the competition of ideas associated with election campaigns."

Unemployment

Bill Arth, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Michigan's 14th congressional district, told the news conference he is campaigning against the disastrous unemployment the two capitalist parties have imposed on Michigan workers.

He said that "the Michigan workforce is 38 percent unionized, one of the highest in the country. The rulers don't want workers to hear our idea that the unions should break with the two big-business parties and build a labor party based on this tremendous union strength and the potential political power it represents. This is the real target of Public Act 94."

On May 21 SWP attorney Margaret Winter argued the party's case before Wayne County Circuit Court Judge Robert Colombo.

Winter pointed to a U.S. Supreme Court ruling last year in which the court noted that ballot access is a crucial free speech issue. That ruling came in a victorious SWP lawsuit against ballot restrictions in Illinois.

"The Supreme Court said that an electoral campaign is a means of disseminating ideas, as well as attaining political office, and that overbroad restrictions on ballot access jeopardize this form of political expression," said Winter.

Judge Colombo said he agreed the ballot law was probably unconstitutional, but there was nothing he could do about it!

Antilabor judge

Colombo is the same judge who recently threw striking teachers in jail in Wyandotte, Michigan. He called the teachers "plundering huns" and "elitist anarchists" for demanding better schools in the face of education cutbacks.

The Citizens Party, which is running Barry Commoner for president, had sought to intervene as a plaintiff in the SWP ballot suit. The court denied it the right to do so.

The Citizens Party raised the argument that many of its members wish to vote for some Democratic Party candidates as well as Citizens Party nominees. But under Public Act 94, voters cannot both take part in the Democratic primary and vote to put a "third party" on the ballot.

Citizens Party spokespeople say they now plan to launch their own suit.

The SWP will appeal Colombo's decision. While using all legal channels to press for its rights, the SWP has also set out to win the broadest possible public support.

Andrew Pulley noted that he had already made two campaign trips to Michigan. "I talked with Chrysler, General Motors, and Ford workers at plant gates and unemployment lines. I saw firsthand the shambles the capitalist crisis has made of this center of U.S. auto production."

"The response to socialist solutions to this crisis was tremendous, especially our proposal to nationalize Chrysler. Many workers were glad to see me running to give their side of the story."

"The Socialist Workers Party is determined to see that those workers have the chance to hear our ideas and to vote for us if they so choose. We aim to get support throughout Michigan and all across the country to wipe Michigan's undemocratic ballot law off the books."

How SWP defended

By Frank Lovell

The Michigan Committee for a Fair Ballot was recently launched to support the legal fight by the Socialist Workers Party against the state law which bars all but Democrats and Republicans from the general election ballot. It has a good precedent to draw upon.

The precedent is the work in the early 1950s of the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law. This committee was a group of non-partisan civil libertarians, professors, union officials, and religious leaders in Detroit who joined together in 1952 to defend the ballot rights of the SWP and defeat the rampant witchhunt legislation of that time. It eventually included more than 200 active members in Michigan and invited membership from other states. Black leaders and other supporters of civil rights were prominent in its policy-making councils and active in all its work.

In 1952 the Michigan legislature passed an "anti-communist" bill, introduced by an obscure rural Republican state representative, Kenneth Trucks.



Frank Lovell is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. He worked in Detroit from 1952-69, first as a construction worker and a member of the Carpenter's union, and later as a skilled trades auto worker and an active member of the United Auto Workers. Lovell ran as SWP candidate for public office several times during the fight against the Trucks Law—for mayor of Detroit in 1953, for governor of Michigan in 1954, and for state superintendent of public instruction in 1955.

It was quickly signed by the governor, liberal Democrat G. Mennen Williams, and became known as the "Trucks Law."

The first victim of this untested new law was the Socialist Workers Party. We had collected over 12,000 legally valid petition signatures early that year and submitted them to the state election director for certification.

Barred from ballot

When the bill became law in mid-April we were then notified that the SWP would not appear on the ballot. Those who might want to vote for the 1952 presidential ticket, headed by Farrel Dobbs, could not.

The Trucks law stipulated: "The name of any Communist . . . shall not be printed on any ballot . . . in this state . . ." But this was only one section of the law, the full title of which was "Michigan Communist Control Law." It defined "communist" as anyone who "in any manner advo-

cates, or acts to further, the world communist movement."

All such "communists" were ordered by the state police, under another section of the new law, to register within five days, answer questions, and give names of all communist associates. Failure to register was punishable by ten years in prison and \$10,000 fine.

A "sabotage" section of the law carried a penalty of twenty years in prison for strikes in defense plants, which at that time could be interpreted to include nearly all the auto industry. Employers in all facilities connected with "national defense" were urged to fire any worker suspected, on "reasonable grounds," of being a communist.

The Communist Party had not circulated ballot petitions and did not intend to run candidates in the 1952 general election. But a lawsuit was begun by the CP challenging the constitutionality of the Trucks Law on all counts. This alone was of no immediate help to the SWP and was not intended to allow our party on the ballot then or in the future. The Stalinists believed that the SWP ought to be exterminated by all means possible.

Despite the sharp political differences between us and the Stalinists, we always defended them against the witch-hunters. Usually we were victimized along with them, as under the Trucks Law. Farrel Dobbs, as national secretary of the SWP, hailed the action taken by the CP against the Trucks Law and announced our full support of their lawsuit. Dobbs also filed in federal court for a restraining order against the state of Michigan to prevent the SWP from being kept off the state ballot until the constitutionality of the Trucks Law was decided.

On April 23, six days after the Trucks Law became effective, Federal Judge Arthur Lederle issued a temporary injunction restraining Michigan authorities from enforcing police-state edicts pending a hearing on the constitutionality of the new state law.

Defending party's legality

This was only the beginning of the SWP's legal fight to retain its Michigan ballot status in the 1952 general election. Such a fight was dictated by the general trend of government in those years to outlaw all socialist thought. Our battle for ballot rights was the first line defense in our struggle for legality, against the hardship and pitfalls of underground activity.

Anticommunist hysteria had at the time reached such a pitch that it was almost impossible for Dobbs to find an attorney in Detroit willing to represent him as the presidential candidate of our party. The Rosenberg frame-up, then in the headlines, was a frightening reality. Attorneys were being jailed for contempt for their courtroom defense of Communist Party members. Many feared that if they undertook to defend the SWP, prejudiced judges would automatically rule against them in other trials and they would lose clients as a result.

After an intensive ten-day search, attorney Ben Probe took our case. He was an ex-auto worker, previously active in the United Auto Workers union, and had been subjected to witchhunt pressures for having been born in Canada.

In mid-May Probe filed a suit in Wayne County circuit court challenging the constitutionality of the Trucks Law.

On June 4 the Secretary of State wrote the SWP that because of the restraining order in federal court, "The name of the Socialist Workers Party . . . will be permitted to be placed upon the November 4, 1952 ballot and you are hereby officially advised."

The fight against the Trucks Law and the broadside attack on civil liberties in Michigan was far from won at this point. And while legal challenges were necessary to gain time and to clarify the meaning of the new law, the

Your help is needed

The Michigan Committee for a Fair Ballot is publicizing the issues and soliciting support for the Socialist Workers Party suit against Michigan's restrictive election law.

Susan Apstein, secretary of the committee, has appealed for telegrams protesting the Michigan law to be sent to Richard Austin, Secretary of State, Lansing, Michigan. Please send copies to the committee at 6404 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48202.

smaller parties ballot status in Michigan, we can be sure they will soon try the same trick in other states.

"The stakes in this fight are high for our party, for all those fed up with the two-party monopoly, and for all those who value free speech and democratic rights."

Special election

On May 5 the SWP filed nominating petitions signed by more than 26,000 Michigan voters, well over the state requirement of 18,335.

However, under Michigan's Public Act 94, these petitions entitle the party to a place on the ballot only in a special "small party primary" held in August.

To appear on the November general election ballot, the party must mobilize about 5,000 votes in this special election.

Since Public Act 94 was adopted, no party has succeeded in meeting this additional restriction.

The small party primary is held on the same day as the primary elections for Democratic and Republican state posts, in an election that draws mainly the capitalist party faithful, patronage beneficiaries, and others ushered to the polls by wardheelers. The fact that other parties are on the ballot is not widely publicized or known.

Support for the fight against Public Act 94 was voiced at a May 5 news conference in Lansing by Howard Simon, director of the Michigan American Civil Liberties Union. He said that by passing this law, "the Democratic and Republican parties in Michigan have become the door-keepers of the electoral process and have effectively locked out all of their opponents."

The ACLU also filed a friend of the court brief in support of the SWP's lawsuit against the Michigan ballot law. In its brief, the ACLU argued that this case "vitally affects not only the

ballot rights during 1950s witch-hunt

15

SWP ballot drive wins campaign supporters

By Nan Bailey

The Socialist Workers Party's massive signature-gathering effort to get its presidential slate of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann on thirty state ballots moved forward this week. The following are summaries of the drives in progress.

South Dakota

Socialist Workers campaign supporters recently opened a drive to get the SWP presidential ticket on the ballot in South Dakota. Close to 700 of the required 2,600 signatures have been gathered so far.

Petitioners in the South Dakota drive find that many of the people they talk to are from farm families.

Workers, farmers, and Native Americans in South Dakota face the threat of new uranium mines in the Black Hills. As a result, socialist campaigners have found an openness to the SWP candidates' stand of total opposition to the use of nuclear power.

Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania socialists have collected 22,400 of the 48,000 signatures required to put Pulley and Zimmermann on the ballot. Campaign supporters are petitioning across the state, including in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Erie, Lancaster, Bethlehem, Edinoro, and State College. A petition team in Harrisburg has collected more than 1,000 signatures there so far.

"We've had a good response from Pennsylvania workers," said Jay Johnson, state petitioning coordinator. "During a shift change at the Homestead Works of U.S. Steel in Pittsburgh, for example, more than eighty steelworkers signed our petitions. On another morning, we collected about thirty signatures of transit workers at a Philadelphia bus barn."

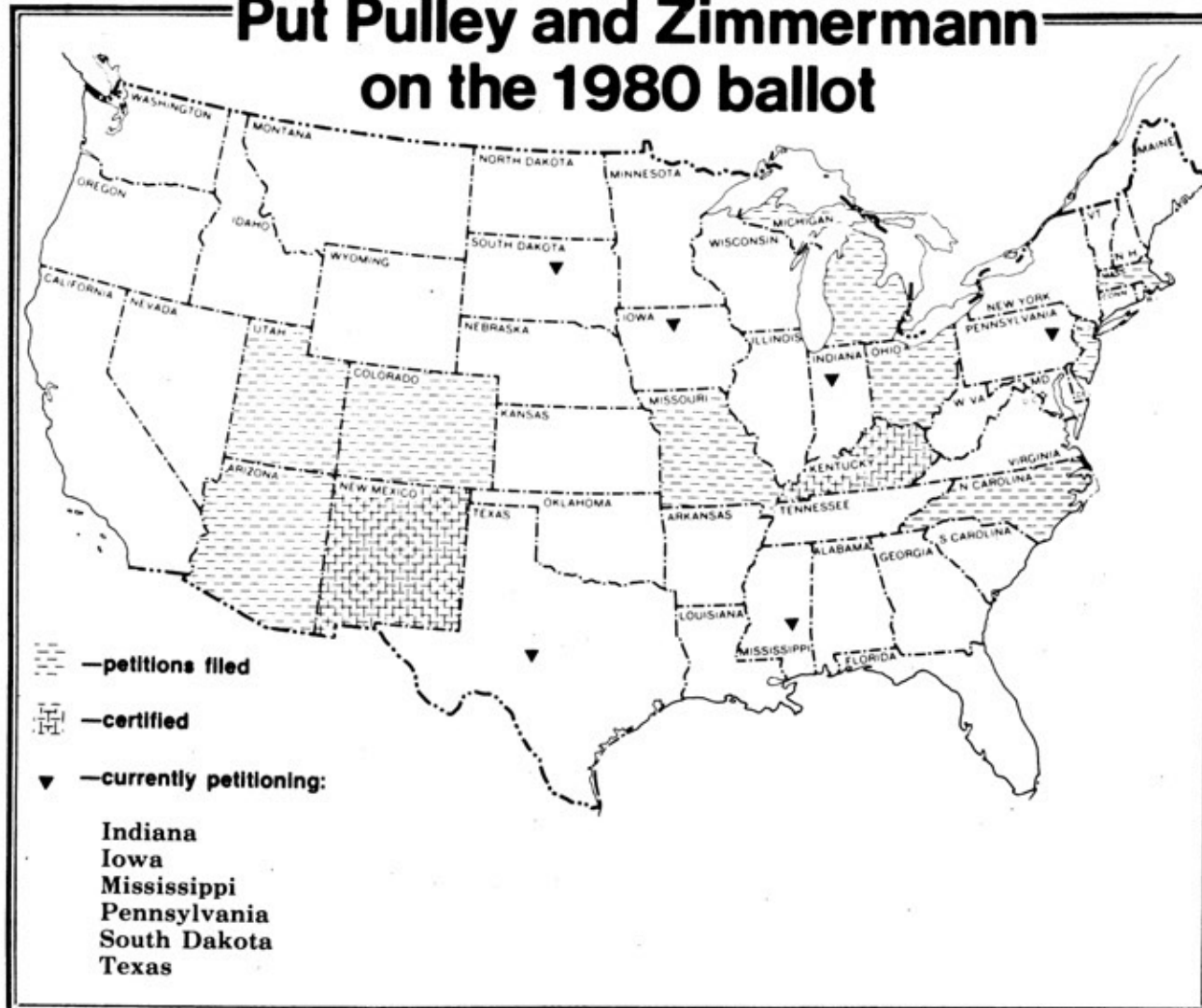
Johnson also explained that Pennsylvania socialists plan to distribute at least 65,000 campaign leaflets during the petition drive.

Aggressive campaigning has improved the signature collection, Johnson said.

"When people ask me what we stand for, I say we're campaigning for a labor party, and many sign," said Anna Cushman, Pittsburgh SWP chairperson.

Newton Brown, a full-time petitioner in Philadelphia, commented, "People sign because they want socialists on the ballot—some have even thanked me after signing!"

Put Pulley and Zimmermann on the 1980 ballot



Indiana

SWP campaign supporters in Indiana have gathered close to 6,000 signatures so far in their drive to go well over the 7,000 state requirement.

Among the employees at the Stewart-Warner Corporation in Indianapolis are Danny Booker and Liz Sommers, SWP candidates for governor and lieutenant governor. Booker and Sommers have gathered eighty signatures from co-workers after work, as well as at their United Steelworkers Local 2973 meeting.

So far in the statewide drive, six people who first made contact with the SWP when asked to sign a

petition have become campaign supporters, volunteering to help circulate petitions.

Texas

As a result of the Texas Socialist Workers petition drive, more than sixty people have signed up as campaign endorsers in Houston alone.

Texas socialists are going into the final leg of the drive. Thirty-two thousand signatures have been collected so far. This already far exceeds the 24,000 signatures required by the state. Campaign supporters plan to continue the drive for one more week to further surpass that total.

Zimmermann tours New York, New Jersey

By Harold Lander

NEW YORK—Carter's moves against Cuba and his attacks on American workers are two sides of the same antilabor campaign under way by the U.S. ruling class. This was the theme of Matilde Zimmermann's mid-May campaign tour through New Jersey and New York.

"The Cuban revolution and its accomplishments are an inspiration to people all over Latin America," said the Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate. "And they should be an inspiration to the workers of the United States as well," she told campaign rallies in Newark and New York City.

Supporters at these rallies contributed \$10,000 to the socialist campaign.

"The truth is that working people in this country have much more in common with Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Iranians who are trying to rebuild their countries than we do with the U.S. government," Zimmermann said.

"This is the government that's trying to draft us, that is letting the oil companies hold us up at the pump, that is threatening our lives with nuclear power plants."

"Carter is spending money that could provide jobs and a decent life on military weapons to better crush the aspirations of working people in other countries."

Zimmermann told a group of auto workers from the General Motors assembly plant in Tarrytown, New York, "It's completely irrational that some auto workers are working nine or ten hours a day while others don't have



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Zimmermann (left), Dixon. "Working people should run the country is their campaign slogan," reported Tarrytown 'Daily News.'



Militant/Lou Howort

jobs. The idle auto plants could be retooled to produce more buses and subway cars to improve mass transit, or introduce an adequate mass transit system in cities where one does not exist.

"The unemployed could be put to work immediately doing hundreds of things that would be of tremendous use to society, such as building schools and hospitals."

The socialist candidate cited a recent *New York Times* article that spotlighted the grossly deficient conditions in New York City hospitals caused by cutbacks in federal and city funds.

"The report told of one patient forced to lie in his own excrement for hours because there was no one to clean him up," Zimmermann said. "This is the

product of a system based on boosting corporate profit rather than meeting human needs."

Zimmermann talked to rail workers at the Sunnyside rail yard in Queens. "Working people need our own party to fight for jobs and safe working conditions," she told them. "A labor party would rely on the organized strength of working people and not on the empty promises of Democratic and Republican politicians."

Zimmermann spoke to a group of thirty-five people at the home of a campaign supporter in New Jersey on "Women and the 1980 Elections." Included in the group were shipbuilders, auto workers, and several members of the National Organization for Women.

Zimmermann said that the struggle of the young women of Nicaragua—

revolutionaries who helped lead the overthrow of Somoza tyranny and who play leading roles in the reconstruction of Nicaraguan society today—is an example that American women's rights supporters can learn from.

Said Zimmermann, "We also have plenty of heroines right here in the United States. Women like the housewives at Love Canal, and Mrs. Timm, whose son is a hostage at the U.S. embassy in Tehran." She explained how Timm stood up to Carter and told the world that the Iranians' hatred of U.S. foreign policy is justified.

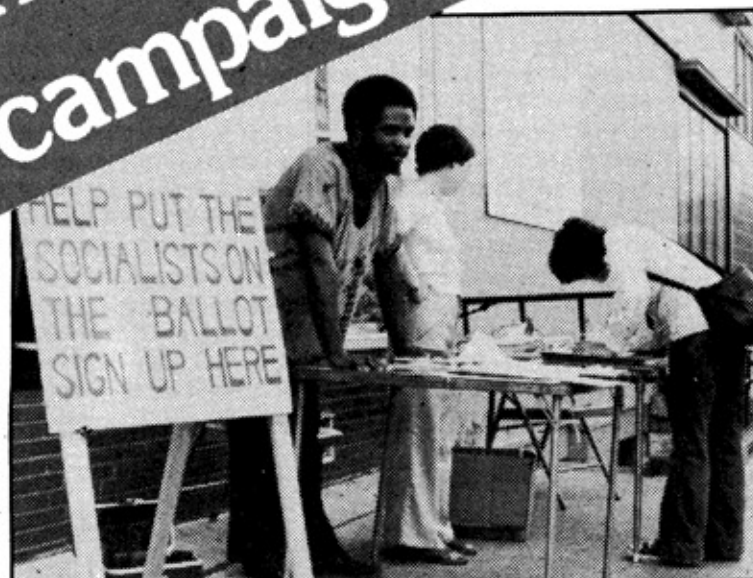
News of the Socialist Workers campaign was reported in the Tarrytown *Daily News*, Newark *Star-Ledger*, Passaic *Herald-News*, Woodbridge *News-Tribune*, and Bergen County *Record*.

The Tarrytown *Daily News* reported, "The explosion of black anger in Miami is '100 percent justifiable' and an indication of the racism in this country, according to Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the U.S. vice-presidency who spoke Tuesday in North Tarrytown."

Referring to Zimmermann and Reba Dixon, a Tarrytown auto worker who is the Socialist Workers congressional candidate from New York's Nineteenth District, the paper said, "The emphasis in their campaign . . . is to have voters break away from the two traditional parties to form a labor party which would put workers in control of national policies. Their campaign slogan is 'Working people keep the country running, working people should run the country.'"



Pulley and Zimmermann need your help to keep the socialist campaign rolling!



By Duncan Williams

Just two weeks remain before the June 15 deadline for the Socialist Workers campaign fund. Over the last week, the fund has made significant progress—with \$40,000 pledged toward the \$50,000 goal and \$23,509 sent in so far.

Most of the money yet to be raised and collected is earmarked to cover expenses of the massive effort to put presidential and vice-presidential candidates Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann and U.S. Senatorial candidate George Johnson on the California ballot.

In the biggest single state ballot effort this year by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, California socialists aim to collect well over the 101,000 signatures required for both the presidential and the senate race.

Because the California petition drive begins on June 9, it is urgent that contributions to the campaign fund be sent in *now*.

Thousands of dollars will be required to bring at least fifty full-time campaign volunteers from around the country to help with the ballot drive. For example, the average cost of sending one volunteer to California will be roughly \$200.

These supporters will arrive on the weekend of June 7 and 8 to participate in campaign rallies to kick off the ballot drive, which are scheduled to be held in the Bay Area, Los Angeles, and San Diego (see the box on this page).

Hundreds of campaign supporters will take part in the drive, which runs until July 3, at a cost of tens of thousands of dollars. What will be the return on this huge investment of time and money?

First, and most important, the petitioning drive will recruit new members to the Young Socialist Alliance. Just since December of last year, the YSA has gained 136 new members nationally, most of whom first became interested in the YSA through the SWP election campaign.

Petitioners will be signing up Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann, and inviting them to rallies, forums, and educational talks to be held during the drive at petitioning headquarters (see list on this page).

In addition, many new supporters who have not yet joined the YSA or SWP will be volunteering to help. In the 1976 socialist ballot drive, for example, 10 to 15 percent of all petitioners were not members of the YSA or SWP. But for many young people interested in a working-class alternative in the elections, it is a small step from circulating nomination petitions to joining the YSA.

Second, the ballot drive will make hundreds of thousands of new people aware of the SWP candidates, its program, and its goals. Two hundred and fifty thousand copies of a campaign leaflet in English and Spanish will be distributed during the petitioning effort.

The drive should attract increased news coverage of the socialist campaign as Pulley, Zimmermann, and Johnson tour the state during the petitioning. One recent example of media interest in the campaign was a large feature-length article in the San Diego edition of the May 6 *Los*

Angeles Times on Kathryn Crowder. Crowder is the SWP candidate for Congress in the 42nd district and a leader of the San Diego Young Socialist Alliance.

Another example came during the recent Miami rebellion against racism and cop terror. Several California radio stations contacted Andrew Pulley in Miami for his firsthand account of the events.

A third achievement of the drive will be getting the SWP on the ballot in the most populous state in the country.

California is known nationally as the home state of slick capitalist politicians such as Jerry Brown and Ronald Reagan. But it is also the home of millions of workers in the steel, aerospace, oil, rail, and agricultural industries. With the SWP on the ballot, these workers will have a chance to vote for candidates who defend their interests.

In 1976, supporters of the SWP presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid gathered 150,000 signatures and gained a line on the California ballot for the first time ever.

A favorable court decision won since then means that in 1980, in addition to having the names of the socialist candidates listed, the party's name will also appear on the ballot.

The Socialist Workers Party is able to take on a project as ambitious as the California ballot drive because of the support of working people like yourself.

If you aren't able to go to California to participate in the drive, please contribute now as generously as you can.

If you've already made a pledge but haven't yet paid, help us meet the June 15 deadline by mailing in your contribution today.

Hear Socialist Workers candidates Andrew Pulley for president and George Johnson for U.S. Senate from California at the following rallies:

Bay Area

Saturday, June 7. Oakland Civic Auditorium, Gold Room. 10th Street (near Lake Merit Bart), Oakland. Reception 6:30 p.m., Rally 8:00 p.m. \$3.00 donation; \$1.00 for high sch. students/unemployed.

Los Angeles

Sunday, June 8. 2209 N. Broadway. Champagne lunch 11:30 a.m., Rally 2:00 p.m. \$5.00 donation; \$2.00 for rally only.

San Diego

Sunday, June 8. San Diego State University, Council Chambers, Aztec Center. Reception 5:30 p.m., Rally 7:00 p.m. \$3.00 donation.

Help petition!

California petitioning centers;

East Bay: 2864 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Tel: (415) 763-3792.

Los Angeles: 2211 N. Broadway. Tel: (213) 225-3126.

San Diego: 1053 15th St., Tel: (714) 234-4630.

San Francisco: 3284 23rd St., Tel: (415) 824-1992.

San Jose: 201 N. 9th St., Tel: (408) 998-4007.

Socialist Workers \$50,000 Campaign Fund

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ ____
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Union/School/Org. _____
Make checks payable to:
Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane,
New York, N.Y. 10014.

Auto company propaganda blames workers

By Stu Singer

The crisis of the U.S. automobile industry is severe. It produced 1.171 million fewer cars by mid-May this year than in the same period in 1979. That is a cut of 30 percent.

The cost of production cuts is loaded on workers. Over 220,000, one third of the work force, are on indefinite layoff and tens of thousands go on and off temporary layoff every week.

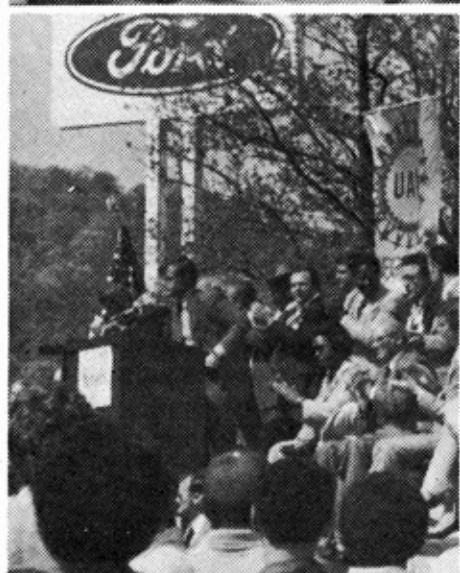
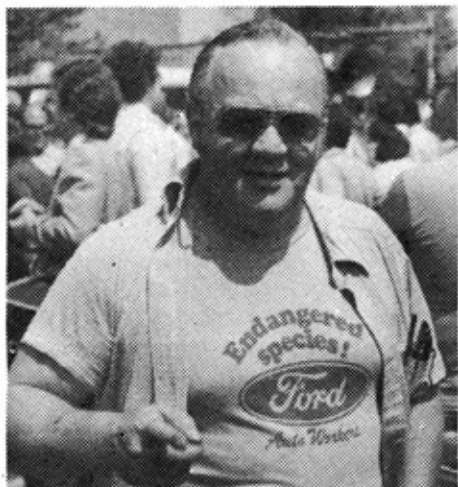
Consider the fate of people hired at three plants in the New York-Northern New Jersey area in the last year. If you worked at Ford Metuchen or General Motors Tarrytown the week of May 18, 1980, you had to put in between 40 and 45 hours. If you had been hired at GM Linden, you would be on indefinite layoff.

Work one plant overtime, shut down the next one. That business practice makes sense in the world of the auto companies. It makes no sense for auto workers.

At Linden, your bad luck did not stop with being out of work. The government also excluded you from the Trade Readjustment Allowance supplement to unemployment pay.

Indefinite layoffs of Linden workers who make Cadillacs were declared *not* to be a result of competition from Mercedes. So, no TRA.

On April 15, Ford announced the permanent closing of the Mahwah, New Jersey, assembly plant.



Militant/Stu Singer
Kennedy at Mahwah, May 5: No help for 'endangered species.'

A rally was organized in the parking lot of the Mahwah plant May 5.

Many auto workers thought the rally was to protest the plant closing.

But it was organized with company cooperation on company property. No speaker criticized Ford.

The United Auto Workers officials who spoke, led by veteran union leader Victor Reuther, said nothing except, "Vote for Kennedy" in the New Jersey primary because "Carter is another Herbert Hoover."

Kennedy spoke, blaming Carter's economic policies for the Mahwah closing. And his solution? He did not mention it, although he implied there should be more restrictions on imports.

The reactions of Mahwah workers to Kennedy varied. Most I talked to preferred Kennedy to Carter, but there was little enthusiasm. One worker said, "It may do some good to vote for him. He says he is for the workers." Another said, "I'll believe it when I see it. They all talk when they want to get in."

'ZD' and 'QWL'

At Ford Metuchen and GM Tarrytown the companies use the Mahwah closing in propaganda for their own productivity drives.

At Metuchen, Ford uses a supervisor who used to work at Mahwah to help give talks to groups of fifteen to twenty workers relieved from the line. They are told Mahwah was closed because of bad quality work.

Supervisors offer to pitch in to help improve quality, but "there will be no change in line speed." To the company, the improvement in quality, to say nothing of working conditions, that would come from slowing the inhuman pace of the line is not acceptable.

Ford gives out "ZD" buttons—"strive for zero defects."

"Don't worry about wearing them," the supervisors say. "The union supports the effort to improve quality."

Does Ford want to improve quality? I heard an interesting story about this from an assembly line worker at Metuchen.

Someone down the line from her installs covers that require a fastener to hold them securely. The fasteners were not on the cars.

The worker complained to the foreman. The foreman said to continue without them.

The worker complained to the supervisor, knowing without the fasteners, the covers would fall off after a few uses. Then the cars would be returned under warranty, the defect traced back, and he would probably get blamed.

But the supervisor said to keep working, that it would "get corrected down the line." The worker knew this would not happen and wanted a written statement. The company refused. So he continued the poor quality work.

At Tarrytown, GM has propaganda classes called Quality of Work Life (QWL). They take groups of about thirty off the line for three days for



Metuchen assembly line. Ford uses layoff threat to press speedup.

these sessions. A Tarrytown worker I spoke to said: "They tell us, 'If you maintain high quality on this car you'll keep your job.' It's a threat."

Tarrytown now makes the GM "x-body" cars like the Chevrolet Citation. They closed down a truck assembly line there in 1975 because of the recession. Now in the QWL class, that shutdown is blamed on poor quality work.

Is Toyota the enemy?

GM links the imports and quality issues. They bring in the "enemy," a Toyota, for the workers to study. "The enemy is perfectly made," GM says.

"So work harder and buy American."

The effect of these propaganda classes is not entirely what the companies intend. For one thing workers are beginning to argue in the classes. And even those who keep quiet are not all buying the idea that their own work quality or imports are the cause of the

economic problems of the auto industry.

These classes and the rest of the barrage of company lies do inspire discussions. And out of discussions will come calls for action.

The discussions can start on any issue, but auto workers report they more and more extend to every topic from the economic crisis, to the unacceptable Carter-Reagan "choice," to Iran, Cuba, and the Black rebellion in Miami.

Not many auto workers seem to be taken in by the company "zero defects" or "quality of work" campaigns. But the challenge now is to discuss and organize actions to protect jobs and living and working conditions, prevent war and preserve the environment.

The economic crisis and world events are producing the discussion. Company propaganda drives are not succeeding in ending the discussion or settling any issues.

Proposals for UAW fightback

Three auto workers are running for Congress on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in New York and New Jersey. Jon Britton, who works at Ford Metuchen, is the SWP candidate in the 11th Congressional District in New Jersey; Reba Williams Dixon from General Motors Tarrytown, 19th C.D. in New York; and Robert Miller from Ford Metuchen, 17th C.D. in New York.

In a leaflet being distributed at local auto plants, the socialists raise some proposals for dealing with the economic crisis in the auto industry:

- Full compensation for all victims of layoffs and shutdowns for as long as they are out of work.
- A shorter work week with no cut in pay in order to spread around the work. No forced overtime.
- Open the financial books of the corporations. What are their real profits?
- Use the \$150 billion military budget for a massive public works program.

- Nationalize the auto industry. Operation for private profit produces layoffs, shutdowns, speed-up, and dangerous working conditions.

To win such demands, the socialists say, auto workers cannot rely on the Democrats and Republicans. The United Auto Workers should take the lead in helping to organize a labor party. It will take a party based on the unions to fight politically to defend auto workers from the economic crisis of the companies.

The socialists are against the companies' anti-import drive, which UAW officials are backing. They believe it breaks down solidarity and weakens the union. Instead, the UAW should support the struggles for union recognition, higher wages, and better working conditions of auto workers in Japan, Mexico, Brazil, Spain, and elsewhere.

The socialists urge that these proposals be discussed at the 1980 UAW Constitutional Convention.

Cleveland local strikes against takebacks

By Glen Arnodo and Jeff Powers

CLEVELAND—"This company wanted a strike. Well, they sure as hell got one!"

That sentiment, expressed by one member of United Auto Workers Local 451, reflected the feelings of the entire local following our first union meeting since the strike against the Baker Material Handling Corporation began on April 21.

The 500 members of our local listened intently as our international representative described the efforts of the company to destroy our seniority system and our right to hold job classifications. "We're UAW members," said, "and we walk with our heads held high. You are entitled to justice and dignity on the job." This brought a

round of thunderous applause from the membership.

Next he addressed himself to a recent letter that the company had sent to each employee. The letter claimed that many employees had contacted the company about the status of negotiations.

"Who here has contacted the company?" he asked. Not one hand was raised.

A brother got up and made a motion that all letters from the company be returned unopened. The membership cheered as the motion passed unanimously.

The Baker lift truck plant is owned by the Linde Corporation of West Germany, the largest lift truck manufacturer in Europe. According to 1977 figures, Linde ranks 255 in corpora-

tions outside the United States. In 1977, sales exceeded one billion dollars with after tax profits of 40 million dollars. This represented a 21 percent return on stockholders investment.

Yet Linde management refuses to even discuss terms coming close to those reached in contracts between the UAW and Caterpillar. Caterpillar also has a lift truck plant in Cleveland.

The company continues to insist on having the right to move workers from job to job regardless of their seniority or job classification.

Our membership realizes that if we lose seniority rights the existence of the union will be at stake.

Local 451 is no stranger when it comes to fighting for basic union principles. We're one of the oldest UAW locals in Cleveland, and with only one

exception, we've had to strike for every contract since 1958.

As our local president said, "We're facing the 1930s all over again. We had our backs to the wall then when we fought for union recognition and seniority. We fought across too many battlegrounds to give these things up now."

It was also announced to the meeting that an official of Local 1741 from the Baily Controls Corporation visited our strike headquarters and offered the support of his local. We were the first local to take up a gate collection for them during their five-month strike last year.

The meeting ended with the strikers determined to stay on the bricks for as long as it takes to win a just and decent contract.

U.S. moves to beef up arsenal

Behind charges of Soviet chemical warfare

By David Frankel

Within days of the Soviet army's entry into Afghanistan last December, the capitalist press began issuing reports that the Soviets were using poison gas. "Afghan Rebels Say the Russians Have Already Used Gas in Some Attacks," said the December 29, 1979, *New York Times*.

It later turned out that the pitched battles reported in the capitalist press in late December and early January never took place. It seems a safe bet that if the battles didn't occur, neither did the gas attacks.

British television cameraperson Nick Downie, who left Afghanistan in December after spending four months with the rebels in Kunar Province, pointed out in the April 4 *New Statesman* that he had seen no chemical weapons used. In a number of cases in which rightist forces claimed that gas had been used, Downie was there and said it wasn't true.

Furthermore, Downie noted that the charges were hardly credible on the face of it. He told the *New Statesman*:

When I was there . . . Russian pilots were flying helicopter gunships. There was certainly no concerted policy to kill civilians, and this is exactly what you would achieve with nerve gases. . . . The tribesmen are so thinly spread out over large areas—one group here and the other miles away—that gas would be ineffectual.

Nevertheless, there has been no let-up in the poison gas charges in the four months since the Soviet intervention. The only thing lacking is a shred of proof.

How lies became "facts"

An indication of the painstaking documentation behind these charges was the *Wall Street Journal's* February 4 editorial, which declared: "Government officials privately confirm that Soviet forces have used nerve gas known as Soman against Afghan tribesmen."

Exactly who were these unnamed "Government officials"?

What was the basis for their information?

What about the news report in the *Journal* that same day admitting that "U.S. analysts conceded that some of the rebel reports . . . aren't believable"? Included in this unbelievable category were reports "asserting that the Soviets are using chemical weapons."

In fact, the claim that the Soviets were using Soman—a nerve gas developed by the Nazis during World War II—was reported by UPI on January 23. Anonymous U.S. intelligence sources in Washington and New York, themselves quoting Afghan refugees, said that Soman had been used against rightist positions near Faizabad and Jalalabad.

Exactly how were these Afghan refugees able to identify the nerve gas Soman? Sussex University Professor Perry Robinson told the *New Statesman*, "Even a trained chemist would have needed a well-equipped laboratory and a sample of the agent concerned to reach that conclusion."

Undeterred by such minor points of fact, the Carter administration has decided to raise the ante in its propaganda war. *Washington Post* correspondent Michael Gotler reported April 25:

"A team of U.S. chemical warfare experts will tour overseas capitals next month to gather support for creation of an international commission to investigate charges that the Soviet Union or its allies are using poison gas in Laos, Cambodia and Afghanistan."

Testifying before members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee April 24, administration spokesperson Thomas Davies noted that "many countries, including some friendly to us, may suspect that our principal motivation is to embarrass our adversaries; this is not the case."

Four years, no evidence

There was one sourpuss at the House hearing. Harvard University Professor

Matthew Meselson pointed out that reports on the use of poison gas in Laos have been circulated for years without any hard evidence. He said that he believed the reports on Laos to be false. And he had his doubts about those on Afghanistan too.

Why is Carter trying to get an international commission going? *Post* reporter Gotler explained, there is "an awareness that charges by the United States alone would be viewed as propaganda in many parts of the world."

Washington has been caught lying too many times. As Peter Niesewand reported in the April 27 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*:

"There is so far no evidence to prove that the Soviet army has been using poison gas in Afghanistan. . . . Although Afghan rebel groups based here [in Pakistan] continue to make such claims, they are not borne out by eye-witness accounts, by the evidence of injuries, nor by the reports of senior doctors in the main government hospitals here, where the worst cases are supposed to have been treated."

Why is Carter pressing ahead with a propaganda offensive that has already fallen flat outside the United States?

One reason was indicated by John K. Cooley in an article in the April 25 *Christian Science Monitor*. In a rewrite of a Pentagon press hand out, Cooley said:

"Persistent and increasingly detailed accounts of Soviet chemical warfare in Afghanistan and elsewhere are strengthening arguments that the United States should develop its own neglected chemical warfare capability as a deterrent."

U.S. and chemical war

Cooley's concern about the Pentagon's "neglected chemical warfare capability" is misplaced. According to journalist Alexander Cockburn, "The stockpile in this country stands now at about three million artillery shells containing such noxious vapors as GB (or Sarin), originally developed by the

Germans before World War Two, several thousand GB aerial bombs, and hundreds of thousands of two-gallon VX land mines. VX is another nerve gas." (*New York Village Voice*, April 21.)

This catalogue, of course, represents only what is publicly known.

Following an incident in 1968 in which a whiff of VX gas did away with some 7,000 sheep downwind of the army's testing ground in Dugway, Utah, the chemical warfare department fell on hard times. Appropriations in the military budget were hidden under other headings, and the hardworking researchers weren't given the respect and admiration they felt they deserved.

Apparently Carter hopes that this lack of enthusiasm for chemical warfare projects can be reversed by the old ploy of pointing to the supposed threat from Moscow. Thus, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown recently sent a letter to Congress urging stepped-up chemical warfare programs as a "deterrent" against the Soviets.

Although most of the propaganda has been in regard to Afghanistan, in March the State Department raised a hue and cry over an outbreak of anthrax in the Soviet Union, claiming that this was due to Soviet germ warfare research.

Professor Meselson, in his testimony before the House committee April 24, cast doubt on this claim. He said that anthrax is a major health problem in the Soviet Union, and that about one million Soviet citizens are inoculated against it each year.

But even if Moscow is working on anthrax bacteria, there's no cause for alarm. The Pentagon is on top of things, developing new ways to defend the American people. For example, the U.S. Army has come up with a botulinum toxin for which there is no known cure. One ounce could kill 60 million people. What could make you feel safer than that?

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Oregon draft opponents hold series of protests

By Jim Callahan

PORTLAND, Ore.—Oregon opponents of the draft have demonstrated their determination in a series of actions recently. The largest occurred on May 3 when 500 gathered on the State Capitol steps in Salem to protest Carter's invasion of Iran, as well as his draft registration proposal.

At its steering committee meeting on April 28, the Oregon Coalition Against the Draft had come out in opposition to Carter's war moves in Iran as a serious threat to world peace.

The coalition is made up of more than twenty groups, including local chapters of the American Civil Liberties Union, American Indian Movement, National Organization for Women, Socialist Workers Party, and Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon. A statement from the coalition was released at a well-attended news conference May 1.

On May 6, forty people picketed a Portland news conference held by Bernard Rostker, director of the U.S. Selective Service System.

The protesters, many of them high school students who had taken the day off from school, chanted, "One, two, three, four, we won't fight in Exxon's war." And, "Hell no! I'm no martyr. I won't die for Jimmy Carter!"

The Portland High School Students Against the Draft, with about forty-five active members, is planning a high school rally on May 31 at Waterfront Park.

With only four hours notice, more than fifty anti-draft protesters turned out May 7 to picket a reception for



Above, Vietnam veteran Ron Kovic addresses May 6 rally at UCLA. Right, May 3 rally in Salem, Oregon, protests Carter's invasion of Iran and draft proposal.



Militant/Seth Rockwell

President Carter's son, Chip Carter, at the Carter-Mondale campaign headquarters in Portland. Among the demonstrators were fifteen high school students and a busload of students from Reed College.

At one point, Chip Carter walked through the crowd shaking hands and saying his father was not in favor of a peace-time draft.

The demonstrators had seen too many of Carter's war moves to be taken in by this and responded by holding up peanuts and chanting, "Billions for bombs—peanuts for people!"

Then on May 13, a lunch-time picket at the same site was held, joined by fifty people.

LOS ANGELES—Veteran Ron Kovic, confined to a wheelchair from injuries suffered in Vietnam, spoke here Tuesday, May 6, to about 500 students at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA).

The action commemorated the tenth anniversary of the killings of four antiwar Kent State students in Ohio

and two Jackson State students in Mississippi.

Kovic had just arrived from Kent, where he spoke at a memorial rally. "We should no longer mourn the four who died at Kent State," he said, to prolonged applause, "but we must fight and organize so that what happened to me and countless others will never, ever, ever, happen again!"

The rally was cosponsored by the Campus Coalition for Peace and the Concerned Asian Pacific Students for Action.

June 7 antinuclear march set for Chicago

By Manuel Barrera

CHICAGO—Opponents of nuclear power from throughout the Midwest are scheduled to demonstrate here June 7.

Chicago is the home of Commonwealth Edison, the nation's largest nuclear utility with six operating nuclear power plants. It is the only utility to have ordered a new nuclear plant during the past three years. About 45 percent of Chicago's electricity is generated from nuclear plants.

The June 7 "Rally for a Nuclear-Free Midwest" was called by the Chicago-based Citizens Against Nuclear Power. The June 7 Coalition is made up of more than forty-five organizations. These include antinuclear and environmental groups in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, South Dakota, and New Mexico.

Also endorsing are Local 1010 of the United Steelworkers in East Chicago, Indiana; Midwest Coalition Against Registration and the Draft; Socialist Workers Party; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Gray Panthers; Women of All Red Nations

in Minneapolis; and others.

Speakers at the rally are scheduled to be Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH; Gerald Hawkins of the United Mine Workers; Mary Jo Wuetrich, co-chair of the health and safety committee of USWA Local 65; Russell Means of the American Indian Movement; and Dr. Michio Kaku, one of the first nuclear physicists to inspect the Three Mile Island plant after the accident began there last year.

Leaflets on the demonstration have been distributed to recent national mobilizations, including the March 22 antidraft, April 26 antinuclear, and May 17 jobs actions in Washington, D.C., and the May 10 march for the Equal Rights Amendment here.

The June 7 demonstration will begin at noon in Grant Park at the Old Bandshell Area and will be followed by a march to Commonwealth Edison's building at Dearborn and Monroe.

For more information contact the June 7 Coalition at 407 South Dearborn, room 370, Chicago, Illinois 60605. (312) 472-2492, 786-9041, 427-2539, or 764-5011.



Militant/Karl Berman

...canal

Continued from back page

too much attention," explained Lenice Betton.

"And," she continued, "if Hooker left Niagara Falls, the city would lose thousands of tax dollars."

A few years ago, the city gave Hooker land at a low price to build its national headquarters, said James Clark, a Love Canal resident. Clark is co-chair of the Niagara Frontier Coalition, a group of labor, citizens, and environmental organizations fighting industrial pollution.

"Now the city is hoping that Hooker will build a multi-million-dollar vinyl chloride plant here. Then everyone can get cancer," he added.

His conclusion: "This is a government of industry, for industry, by industry."

Residents fight back

The homeowners and renters have fought back, forcing the government to test residents, release information on contamination, close two schools, and in 1978 to permanently evacuate 237 families nearest the canal.

The Love Canal Homeowners Association, founded in 1978, is at the center of the fight. It is led by Lois Gibbs and other women, who just a few years ago were average working mothers and housewives.

They have organized public protests, rallies, marches, motorcades, and petitioning campaigns.

Unions—in particular the teachers and the United Auto Workers—and religious and campus groups have rallied to their cause, explained resident Phyllis Whitenight. She staffs the association office—one of the abandoned houses.

The residents are demanding to see the results of soil, air, and blood tests; funds for medical expenses; and permanent evacuation of all residents, which means government purchase of homes and relocation subsidies for renters.

The recent findings of chromosome damage to 30 percent of a test group has only brought funds for temporary evacuation. And this came only after the homeowners protested by locking up two officials of the Environmental Protection Agency in the association's office, while 200 residents rallied in the yard.

Sarah Herbert, president of the Love Canal Renters Association, charges the state with ignoring residents of the LaSalle Housing Project. "We've been overlooked just because we don't own homes and because we are 80 percent Black," she told the *Militant*.

"Right now some of the children need to have tests. They have seizures,

nausea, nose bleeds. Women are losing babies," Herbert continued.

Herbert and her family have also been stricken. Her grandchild has a deformed ear. Her son has hearing damage. She said for four days she could not sleep because of a burning pain on her body.

"The frightening thing," she said, "is not knowing what's wrong."

'Chemical nightmare'

Some Love Canal residents deny there is a problem. But for most, this industrial disaster has evoked fear and anger.

"I can't say the government is screwing us," said nineteen-year-old Steve Boddecker, who used to swim in Black Creek, "but on the other hand, my parents are upset, and that bothers me."

Janet Kendrick feels trapped. She has had two children and two miscarriages. Her ten-year-old son is underweight, and her daughter has headaches and nose bleeds.

"My husband works at Hooker and will retire in a few years," she said.

"He is worried because the house isn't worth anything, and he worked 25 years here and has nowhere else to go. We can't really get away from it."

James Clark is angry. A former Green Beret who fought in Vietnam, Clark has radically changed his views. "I was on the wrong side for a long time," he said, "but now my eyes are open. I believed America was a ship of light in a total sea of darkness. Now I believe it's our inalienable right as Americans to protest."

Clark has had his share of personal tragedies here. One son's growth is stunted. His German wife has had "her American dream turned into a chemical nightmare." She just entered the hospital.

He has seen his friend, a Native American, have his bladder and half his brain removed. "Before he died," Clark said, "he paid for his house here and squared things."

One of Clark's kidneys, he says, "has atrophied to stone."

Clark knows Love Canal is just the tip of the iceberg and believes that "we have to involve citizens groups, labor, and others to build a mass movement."

The revelation about Love Canal and the residents' demands for permanent housing and reparations come at a time when industry and government are rushing headlong to ditch "costly" pollution controls.

But Love Canal will not go away. And the American people are going to want to know where the 50,000 other dangerous waste dumps are located. They will look to the courage of the people of Love Canal and to their fight for inspiration.

No nukes!

Notes from the movement against nuclear weapons and nuclear power



Cops attack Seabrook occupation

Some 1,300 protesters tried to occupy and blockade the nuclear construction site in Seabrook, New Hampshire, over the Memorial Day weekend. "The demonstrators were attacked by police, state troopers, and national guardsmen," reports *Militant* correspondent Gary Cohen. "They used clubs, pepper fog, mace, water hoses, and dogs. Numerous protesters were hospitalized with concussions, bruises, and broken bones. More than forty people were arrested."

The action, sponsored by the Coalition for Direct Action, was similar to the attempted occupation last October.

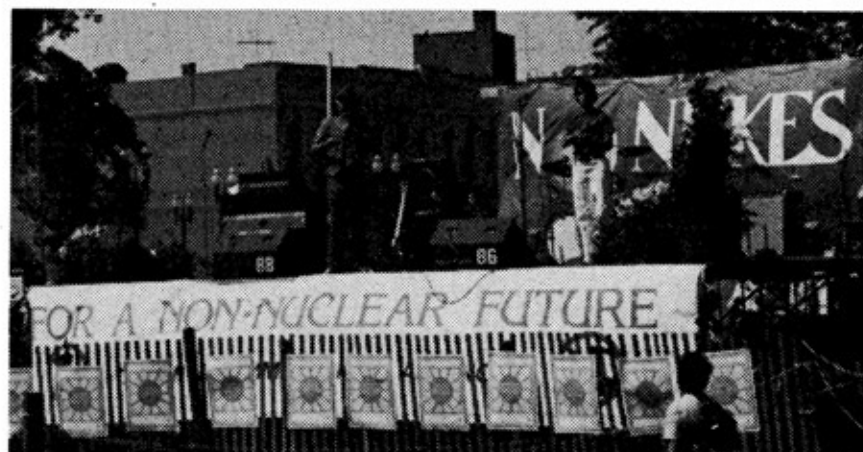
Nearly 500 protesters also marched on Saturday, May 24, to the main gates at Seabrook where picket lines were then set up.

In Manchester, New Hampshire, twenty-seven people were arrested when they sat in at the offices of Public Service Corporation, main owner of the Seabrook plant.

3,000 demonstrate in Oregon

Nearly 3,000 people joined the May 17 Rally for a Non-Nuclear Future in Portland, Oregon. Speakers at the action, which was called by the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance, included Bob Baugh of the International Woodworkers; radiation physicist Dr. Ernest Sternglass; and Russ Redner of the American Indian Movement.

Rally organizers urged a massive petition effort in Oregon to demand voter approval of nuclear plant licensing, a ban on future nuclear plant construction, and closing of the state's one existing nuclear plant.



Militant/Seth Rockwell

Corroded door stalls TMI entry

Two engineers failed in their May 21 attempt to enter the Unit 2 containment building of the Three Mile Island nuclear plant. They were to have inspected the damaged reactor for fifteen minutes, but the entire operation fell flat when they couldn't get the corroded door open. An official of Metropolitan Edison, owner of the plant near Harrisburg, said corrosion may also have damaged the ventilation system, which could lead to "uncontrolled releases" of radioactive krypton gas.

Born-again Silent Majority

It's no wonder that when a group of central Pennsylvanians visited Washington recently, Nuclear Regulatory Commissioner Joseph Hendrie welcomed them "with open arms," according to the *Harrisburg Patriot*. The group of twenty-five (count them, twenty-five) said they had come in support of the NRC and claimed to represent the "silent majority" of residents near Three Mile Island. They apologized for the "raucous conduct" of their neighbors who have publicly confronted the NRC, demanding an end to the lies and secrecy about the year-long nuclear accident.

"I'm sorry to add to my thanks that you may have to stand up again and again on down the line," sighed Commissioner Hendrie.

Compiled by Nancy Cole

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Or, perhaps, vice versa?—The *Los Angeles Times* says, "State Department officials suspect Fidel Castro is trying to provoke a confrontation with the United States."

Take this stadium and . . . ?—Johnny Paycheck, who's "Take this job and shove it" is a continuing hit, was told by the city fathers of Huntington, West Virginia, that he can no longer perform at the local civic center. They said Paycheck smoked and drank beer during the performance there.

Tough-situation dep't—Anita Bryant says her antigay efforts have cost

her \$500,000 in TV bookings. She's still living in her plush Miami Beach mansion. But, she says, "where before you didn't have to worry how you spent your money, all of a sudden I had to start buying choice meat instead of prime."

Those dogmatic Cubans—"Cuban Paper Claims That Riots in Miami Reflect U.S. Racism"—Headline in *Miami Herald*.

Papal diet—The *New York Times* reported recently that the pope told an audience in Treichville, Ivory Coast,

"How I would love to defend Africa from partial and materialistic visions of man and society." The report described Treichville as "a mass of tumbledown shacks, most of them constructed from flattened tin cans, cardboard and wood crates."

The wheels of justice—A Bank America exec was convicted of "lending" \$126,000 to fictitious borrowers. He was fined \$5,000 and given five years probation.

Sound advice—"Every time Carter opens his mouth he scares everybody

to death. He ought to shut up."—Manager of a Los Angeles area restaurant where business took another drop after the president's pronouncement on tightening credit restrictions.

News-of-the-week dep't—"Survey Reveals a Dramatic Increase in Cost of Owning, Operating Car"—Headline in *Miami Herald*.

Not to worry—If you were concerned about the Nixons spending hot summers in New York, you'll be comforted by the reports that they're shopping for a summer home on Cape Cod.

Women in Revolt

Suzanne Haig



Phyllis Schlafly, Mothers Day is ours

The May 10 march for the Equal Rights Amendment took Mothers Day back from Stop ERA zealot Phyllis Schlafly and put it in the camp where it really belongs.

Mothers Day was a theme of the march. Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, which called the action, urged ERA supporters to "make this a Mothers Day that no one will ever forget."

And it won't be forgotten, for it showed the power that the women's movement, along with its allies in the unions and Black community, can unleash in the fight for equality.

Addie Wyatt, vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, also stressed this theme. "On May 10 we will march together in demonstration of our equality," she had said at the Illinois Labor Conference for the ERA in Chicago on April 26, "not only for mothers, but equality for men as well as women."

Some marchers interviewed by the *Militant* also mentioned Mothers Day, and it was probably on the minds of many, echoed as it was by the rally speakers.

"I came in memory of my mother," said a Pennsylvania NOW member, a physical therapist and nurse. Her mother had raised three children alone and had died at forty-two.

"Women must be fighters," she said when asked about how women will win our rights. That's why she was marching.

How many of us have come to the same conclusion, not only because of our own frustrations, but because of the problems our mothers had?

I thought about some of the mothers of women and men I know.

The mother who gave up a job when she married and spent her life raising children, doing the housework, giving emotional support, and desper-



Chicago, May 10

Militant/Susan Ellis

ately trying to stretch out one paycheck.

How frightening when her husband lost his job, and car payments and a house mortgage had to be met.

One mother from a working-class family in New York's Lower East Side went back to school after raising four children. She got her degree at sixty, and now, at the age of seventy-one, teaches English.

Unfortunately, opportunities like this are rare. Many older women who never worked are practically starving, living off the meager funds of their husband's social security.

One mother raised six children alone as a migrant farm worker, living in abandoned houses or the shacks that are provided by the owners of the fields they harvest. This mother, unable to speak English, came from Mexico hoping for a better life

here, but was a victim of racism and poverty.

Then there is the Black woman who left her family every night to join other Black, Latino, and East European women who scrub the floors in the office buildings in Chicago because her husband's wages are too low.

Then there is the mother who worked as a secretary for twenty-five years. She's still doing the same job at about the same pay.

There was no women's movement for these women to identify with. Nothing to explain their misery, their anger, their poverty, their feelings of inferiority and injustice. And there was no movement they could join to fight for the things they and their families needed.

Things have changed since our mothers were young. The number of married women in the work force is over five times as large as in 1940. Of all women working, 53 percent are mothers and 24.6 percent are divorced, widowed, or separated.

But the problems have not been solved.

That's why women are fighting for equal pay, equal opportunities, child care, abortion rights, affirmative action, pregnancy benefits, the right to join a union.

These are the rights our mothers never had. We are fighting for these today, so that our mothers, ourselves, and the mothers of the future will have a better life.

That's why thousands were marching May 10: mothers, daughters, fathers, sons, and husbands—all those who will benefit from equal rights and justice for women.

Phyllis Schlafly, Mothers Day doesn't belong to you.

As a young department store cashier told the *Militant*, "This is my Mothers Day present to my mother."

And she couldn't have gotten a better present.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA SAN FRANCISCO

EL SALVADOR VIDEO: "This is the BPR," a one-hour documentary. Sun., June 1, barbeque and chicken dinner. 6 p.m., program with speakers and music 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$5/\$2.50 program only. 362 Capp St.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

WRIGHTSVILLE AND MIAMI: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. Speaker: August Nimtz, member, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., June 8, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. NE. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

RALLY FOR A NUCLEAR FREE MIDWEST. Sat.,

June 7, rally 12-4 p.m. Grant Park Old Bandshell Area. Speakers: Rev. Jesse Jackson, Operation PUSH; Dr. Judith Johnson, leader of Citizens Opposed to Three Mile Island; Russell Means, American Indian Movement; Dave Dellinger; Dr. Michio Kaku, nuclear physicist; Sydney Lens, *Progressive* magazine and Citizens Party candidate for Senate; Mary Jo Wuetrich, health and safety committee of United Steelworkers Local 65; Gerald Hawkins, United Mine Workers; representatives of Coalition of Labor Union Women, Mujeres Latinas, Student Coalition Against Nukes Nationwide; music and entertainment. 4 p.m. march to Commonwealth Edison office. For more information call (312) 663-5053 or 427-2539.

NORTH CAROLINA WINSTON-SALEM

THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA. Speakers: Steve Craine, Socialist Workers Party, visited Cuba in

1970 and 1979; representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Slide show. Sun., June 1, 7 p.m. 216 E. 6th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: YSA and SWP. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

UNION VICTORY AT NEWPORT NEWS. Speaker: Eli Green, member of United Steelworkers Local 8888 in Newport News, Virginia, member of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., June 8, 7 p.m. 216 E. 6th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OREGON PORTLAND

PACIFIC NORTHWEST LABOR HISTORY. Speaker: Jerry Lembke, Humanities Coordinator of Pacific Northwest Labor College and state vice-president of Oregon Federation of Teachers. Sun.,

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

GOVERNMENT ATTACKS AGAINST THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT. Defend Dennis Banks, Kamook Banks, Kenneth Loudhawk, and Russell Redner. Speakers: Fred Auger, Socialist Workers Party; Russell Redner, American Indian Movement, defendant in government frame-up attempt. Sun., June 8, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW. Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

UTAH SALT LAKE CITY

THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA. Speakers to be announced. Sun., June 1, 7 p.m. 677 S. 7th East. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

'Now is time for labor party'

During the summer of 1940, with President Franklin Roosevelt preparing to lead the United States into World War II, the *Northwest Organizer* launched a propaganda campaign in support of an independent labor party.

The *Northwest Organizer*, official organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, was voice for Teamsters Local 544 (originally 574). This fighting local had led the historic Teamsters strikes of 1934 in Minneapolis. It went on to spearhead the organizing campaign among over-the-road drivers, opening the way for transformation of the Teamsters into a powerful national union.

To underline the urgency of a break with the capitalist parties, the July 18, 1940, *Northwest Organizer* proposed—"as a starter"—the nomination of Daniel Tobin, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, for president of the United States.

The editorial concluded with a call for readers to write in their ideas on the labor party proposal. The August 1 issue printed the first reply, which judged the time "not yet ripe for such a move owing to the two evenly divided groups of organized labor [AFL and CIO] that cannot work together."

Major excerpts from the *Northwest Organizer's* editorial response are printed below.

The series of four books on the Minneapolis Teamsters by participant Farrell Dobbs is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 (*Teamster Rebellion* \$4.45, *Teamster Power* \$4.95, *Teamster Politics* \$4.95, *Teamster Bureaucracy* \$4.95).

* * *

We believe that . . . now is the time to make the start. We believe that there never will be an "ideal" time to launch a labor party, and that the sooner labor realizes this, the sooner labor will buckle down to the task that must be accomplished if the union movement is to survive and prosper in America.

Probably one of the most deeply-rooted illusions among workers is the illusion that they will be "left out in the cold" by the Republican and Democratic parties if they organize a labor party that fails to win the national elections the first year in the field.

Actually, just so long as labor does not have its own party, just so long as it is the poor relation at the tables of the Republi-

can and Democratic parties, just so long will the old parties continue to kick labor around and treat its demands with contempt.

The truth of the matter is that a national labor party, based upon and controlled by the unions, a labor party that could at the start poll even five million votes in a national election, would win organized labor more respect and more concrete gains than fifty years of the "non-partisan" policy.

Once Big Business saw that organized labor was striking out boldly and resolutely on the path of independent political action, no national administration would dare starve the unemployed in the way that Hoover did, nor railroad union men to prison for alleged violations of the anti-trust laws and for other reasons, as Roosevelt is doing.

Far from the AFL-CIO schism being an argument against laying the groundwork for a labor party NOW, a national labor party with respected union officials as its candidates, and a progressive labor platform, might much more likely be the very quickest way of achieving unity in action between workers of the AFL and the CIO and the railroad brotherhoods.

Will the new national labor party that we propose make mistakes, will some of its officials be too timid in office, will some even betray the great cause of the working people? Of course. But we will learn in the process of growth and experience, and thanks to the organized labor base upon which such a party rests we will find means to control the policies of our elected officials or to eliminate traitors from the labor movement.

Any talk that the workers are incapable of governing is very false and wrong, and workers who say such things are doing a grave injustice to themselves and to their brothers. That the American working men and women have an enormous capacity for efficient administration is shown by the central labor bodies, the various union councils and policy committees and area committees that have arisen, especially in recent years.

As it is today, organized labor as a whole is pretty much at the mercy of the two old parties. When labor can no longer stomach the anti-labor actions of an old-party politician, they dump him, only to find they have replaced him, not by a labor representative, but by just another slick skate who also takes orders from the bosses, and is also dumped, etc., etc. We feel that organized labor must break its own way out of this vicious circle, and that NOW is the time to start.



Likes workers' news

I have been reviewing your publishing volumes of the *Militant* issues of April and May. I have become very, very interested in being placed on your free-to-prisoners' subscription list so that I may continue to stay abreast of the hard-fought battles for equal rights the working people are rightfully waging.

I shall be incarcerated herein for forty-two weeks and I am without funds. We don't get paid for work here. They only allow us the privileges of additional phone calls or visits if we do choose to work.

A prisoner
New York

Rail workers polled

The Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks recently conducted a political issues poll. The answers to the energy section, particularly support to nationalization of the oil industry and rejection of nuclear power, I found smile-producing.

The big majority of the respondents rejected labor as cause or victim of the economic crisis.

Asked what source of energy they favored to replace "dwindling oil reserves," 54 percent said coal while only 19 percent favored nuclear power. Fifty-one percent favored nationalizing the energy industry to control energy costs.

On inflation, 58 percent thought it was not necessary to lower the country's standard of living to reduce inflation. Fifty-seven percent disagreed with the notion that wages cause inflation. When asked if they thought workers should "settle for less" as an anti-inflation measure, fifty-four percent said no.

I noted the age of the respondents: sixty-four percent were fifty years or older.

Sara Smith
Salt Lake City, Utah

Thanks for the truth

Just a small note to let you know that your work is well appreciated and that your struggles are just. I thank you for providing me with truthful information about world politics. You're doing a wonderful job.

Jeff Martin
Jonesville, Georgia

Convinced on Iran too

At a campaign table at the University of California, Berkeley, the Young Socialist

Alliance met three young men from Reno, Nevada, who were staunchly opposed to the draft. They bought antidraft buttons and signed up as Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann. They agreed with everything we said.

After we had been agreeing for some time, one of the young men bragged to us that it had been they who organized the anti-Iran riot in Reno last year. Taken aback for a moment, we explained that the logic of Carter's anti-Iran campaign was to send us young people off to war against the Iranian people.

They quickly were convinced of the Iranians' just struggle.

Enclosed is a check for copies of the Iran supplement. The *Militant* gets better every week. So do the events in the class struggle.

Candace Wagner
Berkeley, California

Food stamp crisis

I was surprised that the May 9 and May 16 issues of the *Militant* neglected to report the food stamp crisis. Some reports estimate one out of ten people in this country, or about 21 million people, use food stamps. Coverage of this could help to educate on how and why millions of people in this country live in abject poverty.

While the threat of no food stamps in June stopped, cutbacks in eligibility and the amount of stamps are still being threatened and not enough money has been appropriated to cover the fiscal year.

Sandy O'Neill
Atlanta, Georgia

Ballot rights fight

It was good to read of the fight the Socialist Workers Party is putting up in Michigan against their law that tends to keep all but the Democrats and Republicans off the ballot by making other parties run along with the two "major" parties in their primaries on their primary dates.

This is a fairly new law in Michigan. They had another law that got knocked off for being unconstitutional in 1969. That one made socialists and other parties outside the two-party system get signatures from around the state—that is, in white rural areas—in order to get on the ballot.

It discriminated against city workers, particularly Blacks, and got axed as violative of the "one man, one vote" principle of the Constitution. Why, the

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Free trade vs. protectionism

SWP successfully argued, shouldn't a party be able to get signatures to put a candidate on the ballot from anyone in the state and have all signatures weighed equally?

But now they have enacted another discriminatory law.

How frail our rights are. How short-lived the last victory was. Democratic rights under capitalism are never secure. How could they be in a system that to survive, in the long run, can only do so as a police state?

Michael Smith
New York, New York

A 'fair' trial

Returning from Miami after covering the rebellion there, I drew a plane seat near a young man who was a member of the legal staff of Florida state's attorney Janet Reno. Reno's office had tried the Arthur McDuffie case.

I asked him a question. When the presiding judge granted a defense motion to transfer the case to another city, did the state have the right to appeal this to another court?

He said, yes. But, even though it formally argued against the change of venue, it did not appeal because it agreed the cops couldn't get a fair trial in Miami.

I thought about that as I reread a *Miami Herald* interview with David Fisher, the foreman of the all-white Tampa jury that acquitted the killer-cops.

Fisher said even his wife was surprised by the verdict. "You've got to be kidding," she told him.

Fisher felt the wrong people were in the dock. The three cops given immunity for their testimony against the killers were the ones that should have been tried.

His only other concern about the verdict was the timing. The jury should have waited until Monday to give the verdict, rather than on Saturday.

"Years ago," Fisher said, "my father had a business. He paid his people on Monday; didn't pay them on Friday or Saturday. And he never had them get drunk [on Saturday]."

Yes indeed. A fair, nonracist trial.

Harry Ring
New York, New York

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Should workers demand import restrictions to "save jobs"? As the U.S. economy slumps into recession and hundreds of thousands of workers are laid off, the call for protectionist measures is getting a lot of publicity.

Those shouting the loudest against imports are top union officials, especially in the steel, auto, textile, and electrical industries. But the slogan does not originate with them. They are simply repeating what they are told by the capitalist owners of corporations that face increasingly stiff competition on the world market.

The protectionist argument boils down to this: workers depend on "our" employers for jobs and wages, therefore we should support and strengthen "our" industries against foreign competition.

This discussion over trade policy has been going on for as long as there have been capitalists and workers.

Karl Marx delivered a speech on free trade in January 1848. It was widely distributed as a pamphlet in French, German, English (now available in Marx-Engels *Collected Works*, Volume 6). The specific circumstances were quite different from those today, of course, but Marx's ideas still offer a useful perspective.

The rising industrial capitalists of nineteenth century Great Britain were staunch free traders. They had fought for years to abolish the Corn Laws—protective tariffs on grain imports. The Corn Laws kept food prices high and protected the income of the land-owning aristocracy in Britain. (At that time capitalists and big landowners were still separate social classes with conflicting economic interests.)

The capitalists needed the support of the powerful British workers movement of that time, the Chartists, in the anti-Corn-Law fight. So they argued that free trade was the answer to the workers' problems. They promised that abolition of the tariffs would mean "cheap food and high wages." One free trade leader went so far as to declare, "Jesus Christ is Free Trade, and Free Trade is Jesus Christ."

Marx pointed to the propaganda blitz mounted by the capitalists: "They send an army of missionaries to all corners of England to preach the gospel of Free Trade; they print and distribute gratis thousands of pamphlets to enlighten the workingman upon his own interests. They spend enormous sums to buy over the press to their side."

The British workers, however, recognized the free traders as "their worst enemies and the most shameless hypocrites," Marx said. They knew these capitalists were "the very men still busy fighting against the Ten-Hours Bill, which was to reduce the working day of the mill hands from twelve hours to ten." They were the same manufacturers who mercilessly drove down wages every chance they got.

As one British worker shouted out at a free trade meeting: "If the landlords were to sell our bones, you manufacturers would be the first to buy them, and to put them through the mill and make flour of them."

The real intent of the capitalists in opposing the Corn Laws, Marx and the Chartists pointed out, was to lower wages of the workers when food prices went down. The net effect would be to shift income from the agricultural landowners to the capitalists.

That didn't mean the Corn Laws should be supported. To the contrary, Marx agreed with the stand of the British workers for abolition of the protectionist tariffs—"for the purpose of destroying the last remnant of feudalism, that

henceforth they may have only one enemy [the capitalists] to deal with."

What Marx directed his fire against was any notion that the way for the workers to advance was to help the profit drive of the capitalists. He said:

"The whole line of [the capitalists'] argument amounts to this: Free Trade increases productive forces. When manufacturers keep advancing, when wealth, when the productive forces, when, in a word, productive capital increases, the demand for labor, the price of labor, and consequently the rate of wages, rises also."

Marx's reply was: "The most favorable condition for the workingman is the growth of capital. This must be admitted: when capital remains stationary, commerce and manufacture are not merely stationary but decline, and in this case the workman is the first victim. He goes to the wall before the capitalist. And in the case of the growth of capital, under the circumstances, which, as we have said, are the best for the workingman, what will be his lot? He will go to the wall just the same."

The reason, Marx explained, is that the growth of capital means concentration of capital, speedup, replacement of workers by machines, breakdown of skilled jobs into unskilled. Competition among the workers "becomes more fierce as the division of labor enables a single man to do the work of three. Machinery accomplishes the same result on a much larger scale." The outcome is unemployment and lower wages.

Marx cited the example that in Manchester in 1829 there were 1,088 cotton spinners employed in thirty-six factories. "In 1841 there were but 448, and they tended 53,333 more spindles than the 1,088 spinners did in 1829."

The built-in dynamic of capitalism hasn't changed. In the transportation equipment industry in the United States—including autos, aircraft, and shipbuilding—production increased 93 percent from 1953 to 1977. But jobs declined 16 percent. That meant 244,000 fewer jobs. They were wiped out not by imports but by the productivity drive of the capitalists.

Today the U.S. auto and steel industries blame their problems on imports. But they have no intention of retreating from world markets. They plan to become stronger competitors. How?

By shutting down older plants, by drastically increasing productivity, by cracking down on the work force, by eliminating safety and pollution regulations, and by paying the lowest possible wages. These plans of the U.S. corporations pose the real threat to American workers' jobs.

What Marx underlined in 1848 is just as true today: Whether at any given moment the capitalists favor free trade or protectionism, they are always looking out for their profit interests.

The workers' fight for jobs, just like the fight for higher wages, can only be a fight against the capitalists. A shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, for example, could make higher productivity benefit workers instead of wiping out jobs. But that cuts into profits.

Workers can safeguard jobs and wages by organizing independently and fighting for their own needs—as the British workers did in the Chartist movement. Identification with the economic snake-oil peddled by the capitalists only weakens that fight.

—Andy Rose

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THE MILITANT

Chemical nightmare at Love Canal

Residents demand gov't action to save their lives

By Suzanne Haig

NIAGARA FALLS, N.Y.—Children are born with birth defects, their growth stunted. Signs warning motorists to watch out for deaf children dot the street corners. They and their parents suffer from nervous disorders, kidney and liver failure, leukemia, and cancer.

People have died at Love Canal.

This is the legacy of the Hooker Chemical and Plastics Company.

In 1953 Hooker, now a subsidiary of Occidental Petroleum, sold the canal property—into which it and the U.S. Army had dumped 21,800 tons of toxic waste—to the school board for one dollar.

The deed included a clause disclaiming liability for injuries or deaths that might occur at the site.

Modest homes and a school were then built on the land.

From 1971 to the present, some eighty-two identified industrial chemicals, including dioxin and other toxic and radioactive materials, have bubbled to the surface, seeped into basement walls, entered creeks and drainage ditches, and flowed into underground streams, contaminating the land and air and carrying disease and death in their path.

Today, 800 families—some 2,000 people—are still here unable to leave permanently because they lack the money. The city, state, and federal governments refuse to provide it.

The tragedy of Love Canal—with its destroyed lives, its ruined dreams—is, as one resident put it, “a criminal act perpetrated by industry in concert with the elected officials.”

From the beginning, residents ran up against lies, evasions, and cover-ups from government officials at all levels, as well as from Hooker.

Most people weren't even aware that they lived on a former canal and dump.

They watched unknowingly when the area glowed green at night. The barrels that surfaced in their backyards was just *their* problem. They saw the black oily slime and red syrupy liquid seeping through cinder blocks in their basement as just a nuisance.

Lenice Betton, a Black homeowner, told the *Militant*, she “spent hours in the basement scrubbing at the black liquid that gave off noxious odors and would not go away,” little knowing that it contained carcinogens.

At first the county health department refused to conduct a formal study

of people's health. Department officials responded to the concern of several residents about noxious fumes by installing fifteen-dollar window fans in their basements.

The state even wanted to hire mentally retarded youths to dig drainage ditches in the canal area until residents protested.

Pam Van Volkinburg, who has rented a house here for the last two years, remembers when officials put up a high fence in her backyard to bar access to Black Creek. “They just said it was to prevent people from getting hurt.”

Black Creek, which many children played in, was found in 1979 to contain dioxin, one of the most dangerous chemicals known to science.

One woman explained that the news media portrayed residents as “crazies and beer-drinking animals living it up in the motels” when they were occasionally evacuated during hazardous clean-up operations.

“They tried to make the public unconcerned about what was happening to us,” she charged.

Many people here cite government and industry complicity.

“Tourist trade would suffer if we got
Continued on page 20



Militant/Suzanne Haig
Phyllis Whitenight at office of Love Canal Homeowners Association.

Socialist: 'Industry greed caused disaster'

By Suzanne Haig

NIAGARA FALLS, N.Y.—Pat Mayberry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the Twenty-eighth District in Albany, New York, made a fact-finding trip to Love Canal over Memorial Day weekend.

Mayberry, a railroad worker and member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, told residents that “Albany has its own Love Canal.”

She explained that the NL company (formerly National Lead) has been discharging uranium into the atmosphere during the past year causing a serious epidemic of cancer in the area of Albany adjacent to the plant.

While talking with Tony Johnson, who lives at the LaSalle Housing Project, the dangers at Love Canal quickly sparked a broader discussion on the question of justice in capitalist America.

“The Love Canal is a direct consequence of industry putting profit before human lives, and we can expect more of these tragedies to happen,” Mayberry said.

“All levels of government have dragged their feet—when they should have provided immediate reparations and evacuation years ago—because they are in league with the big corporations, not the working people who produce the wealth,” she went on.

“Look what happened in Miami. It



Militant/Suzanne Haig
SWP candidate Pat Mayberry talks with Love Canal resident Leola Jones

took a massive Black rebellion just for the federal government to investigate the murder by white cops of Black insurance executive Arthur McDuffie.

“Love Canal and the slaying of Arthur McDuffie. That's American justice.”

Johnson interjected that job safety is also a critical issue.

“They could have safe jobs and a safe place to live,” he said. “But in this country people are starving—with no jobs. There is so much poverty. Something must be done.”

Mayberry said that working peo-

ple have the power to change things when we organize to use it. “Look at the situation here. The only time you've gotten any action from the government is when you've organized visible protests.”

The government has the money to clean up Love Canal but prefers to spend it on military hardware, she added.

Johnson agreed. “The people with money and power,” he said, “are playing with us and with the people around the world like we were puppets on a string with them looking down on us.”

“They're looking down at the mess they have made and gotten us into. And now they want to draft us.”

In her discussion with residents, Mayberry pledged that through her campaign she would help get out the truth about Love Canal and urge the following measures:

- Immediate evacuation, total compensation, and full medical coverage for life for the Love Canal residents and their descendants.

- Indict and prosecute owners of the Hooker Chemical Company and all those involved in this crime against the people of Love Canal.

- Open the records of all chemical and waste disposal companies to public inspection.

- Nationalize the chemical industry to take its decision-making—which can have such life-threatening consequences—out of the hands of private profiteers.

Medical and environmental tests and clean-up operations should be supervised by and controlled by the residents of Love Canal, Mayberry says.

Mayberry believes the disaster at Love Canal shows that working people cannot rely on a government run by Democratic and Republican politicians, whose interests lie with those of the big corporations like Hooker Chemical.

“What we need is a party of working people, a labor party, which would put our health, safety, and well-being first.”