

THE MILITANT

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

State Dept. fraud on El Salvador, Cuba

The governments of Western Europe and Latin America—and the media—have been provided copies of a State Department report purporting to prove that the revolution in El Salvador is not a popular movement but rather a plot by Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Soviet bloc to impose a “communist” regime on El Salvador against the will of the people.

It's a case of charging your adversaries with the crimes that you are committing. The simple fact is that Washington is providing the money, guns, and military “advisers” to keep a hated regime on the backs of the people of El Salvador.

The State Department report was accompanied by an ominous threat to Cuba. On February 22, Edwin Meese, counsel to Reagan, warned that if

An editorial

Cuba did not halt its alleged shipment of arms to El Salvador, Washington would take measures against it that could include a military blockade.

In 1962 President John F. Kennedy instituted a blockade of Cuba like the one suggested by Meese. It brought the world to the brink of nuclear destruction.

Washington is not concerned with supposed arms shipments, which Cuba firmly denies sending, but with the example of the Cuban revolution. Washington knows that Cuba has been a powerful inspiration to the struggles of the oppressed in all of Central America.

The State Department report purports to include a “distillation” of secret guerrilla documents. These allegedly establish that Salvadoran rebels have obtained some 200 tons of weapons via an elaborate pipeline stretching from Vietnam, Ethiopia, and Eastern Europe to Cuba and Nicaragua. Cuba and the USSR are claimed to be prime movers in this elaborate operation.

The Salvadoran guerrillas have challenged the authenticity of the documents and deny receiving Soviet-bloc arms.

During the Vietnam War, forgery of such “captured documents” by the

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Atlanta: Are cops covering for child killers?



Funeral for Jeffrey Mathis, age ten. See page 9.

Coretta King calls nat'l marches

ATLANTA—Coretta Scott King has called for nationwide Moratorium on Murder demonstrations March 15 to protest the slayings of Black children in this city.

“In 1966 Martin Luther King, Jr., led a March Against Fear in Mississippi to challenge terror against Black people at the polls,” Mrs. King said. “Today we are announcing a campaign which is very much in this tradition.”

The purpose of the actions is “to challenge terrorism directed against Black youth in

Atlanta,” she said. “We are determined to provide an assertive, nonviolent alternative to the fear and despair which has gripped our city.”

Sponsoring the action, said King, is the Association of Christian Student Leaders.

She also announced a march in Atlanta Sunday, March 1. Protesters will gather at 2 p.m. at the Georgia State Capitol and march to the Martin Luther King, Jr., Chapel at Morehouse College.

Secret gov't plot to deport 'subversives'

Socialist suit uncovers INS spy network

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...fraud

Continued from front page

Pentagon and the Saigon regime was a common event. But, leaving that aside, the revolutionary forces in El Salvador have every moral right to take arms wherever they can get them. Throughout history, people fighting for freedom have taken such aid. Our own forebears were branded "French agents" for accepting guns from France in the 1776 war for national independence.

The State Department propaganda includes patent absurdities. The day the paper was released, a department spokesperson said that the Salvadoran guerrillas are an isolated force of no more than 4,000, with perhaps a few thousand "occasional" supporters.

Yet it claims to have evidence that Vietnam agreed to provide the rebels sixty tons of weapons, including 1,620 rifles and 2,000,000 bullets. Ethiopia is said to have offered 2,500 M-16 and M-14 rifles. And Hungary is supposed to be providing 10,000 uniforms.

Quite a stockpile for an allegedly small, isolated force.

The paper shamelessly asserts that the rebel forces are waging "a campaign of terrorism—bombing, assassinations, kidnappings and seizures of embassies. . . ."

Was it the rebels that assassinated Archbishop Romero as he stood at his altar?

Was it the rebels that opened fire on the people attending Romero's funeral?

Did the rebels kidnap, torture, rape, and murder the three U.S. Catholic nuns and their lay coworker?

The gory record of the Salvadoran ruling class is so widely known that even a white-wash job like the State Department paper can't duck it completely. It notes:

"Since its independence in 1838, the country has experienced chronic political instability and repression, widespread poverty and concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few families."

It even politely suggests "the tendency of some members of the security forces to abuse their authority."

But, it assures us, with the aid of Washington, the present regime is moving toward "reform and democracy."

U.S. financial aid, the paper asserts, "has helped create jobs, feed the hungry, improve health and housing and education. . . ."

That's hardly the way others see it. And we don't simply mean partisans of the revolution, like ourselves.

A February 22 *New York Times* report

declares: "Malnutrition is endemic in El Salvador. . . . Hundreds of thousands of peasants live in hovels made of packed mud; naked children with swollen bellies and open sores wander among the grunting pigs. . . ."

In the February 24 *New York Daily News*, columnist Jimmy Breslin delivers a slashing polemic against the State Department report. Twelve families, Breslin declares, have controlled El Salvador. "They lived in mansions protected by the army," he wrote, "while nearly everyone else starved in shacks."

He added, "Most of the 12 families have fled, leaving the army to suppress the people."

The State Department paper also includes gross lies.

For instance, it asserts that another of the "more extreme claims" of the guerrillas is "that the Government's security forces were responsible for most of the 10,000 killings that occurred in 1980." The paper claims that the guerrillas boasted of killing nearly 6,000 people during that period.

But the previously cited *New York Times* report offers an opposing set of facts. It says:

"According to El Salvador's Human Rights Commission, a private organization, 13,194 people have been killed in political violence in the last year, most of them by Government security forces and rightist paramilitary groups. . . ."

And Archbishop Romero and his successor, acting Archbishop Rivera Damas, placed primary blame for the bloodshed on government forces.

Yet for all its brutal repression, the junta lacks confidence.

It does take exception to the Pentagon's recent candid estimate that the Salvadoran military has "no hope" of winning.

But it admits, according to the February 25 *New York Times*, that even with the escalated U.S. military aid, it anticipates a "protracted guerrilla war."

This confirms the depth of the opposition to the dictatorship. And it also explains the pressure on the Reagan administration to move toward direct military intervention in El Salvador, or strike a desperate blow at Cuba.

But there are other pressures on Washington as well.

Answering a question on the possibility of direct U.S. military involvement, Reagan said February 24, "I know that this is a great concern. I think it's part of the Vietnam syndrome. . . ."

Echoing his earlier glorification of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, Reagan asserted that U.S. troops withdrew from there "not because

they'd been defeated, but because they'd been denied permission to win."

Washington was "denied permission to win" by the Vietnamese people who fought them to a standstill, by countless GIs who said, "enough," and by millions of Americans who took to the streets demanding a halt to the war.

Today Reagan faces developments such as the boycott of U.S. military shipments to El Salvador by West Coast dockworkers and the actions called by the recent antidraft conference attended by 1,200 people.

American workers and youth are taking the first steps toward joining the Salvadoran people and the solidarity movement around the world in denying Reagan "permission to win" in El Salvador.

Bal Harbour

Across the country February 18, workers watched as millionaire Ronald Reagan talked about taking food out of our mouths—cutting school lunches, food stamps, unemployment compensation, and black lung benefits for coal miners. Millions were outraged.

There wasn't a hint of this anger when the AFL-CIO Executive Council met in Bal Harbour, Florida, the next day. Instead there was disgraceful capitulation.

Far from urging a fight against the cutbacks, the AFL-CIO bureaucrats expressed fear that Reagan's proposals would make it harder for them to sell working people on Washington's war preparations. Cuts in social programs, they warned plaintively, "risked undermining support for military spending among the poor, minorities, and workers."

It would be hard to be more out of touch with union members than the "labor leaders" who met in Florida. But the growing desire of the ranks for a fight to defend their living standards is beginning to make itself felt.

Examples are the warning by Miners' president Sam Church that the union will strike if black lung benefits are cut, and the role of Miners, Auto Workers, Machinists, and other unions in building the March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg against nuclear power, for jobs, and in defense of the miners union.

Such actions point in the opposite direction of the disastrous course reaffirmed at Bal Harbour. They point toward labor fighting for its own demands and taking the lead in struggles of all the oppressed.

And they point to the need for labor to break with the parties of its big-business enemies and form a labor party based on the unions.

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The changing Steelworkers union

Socialist steelworkers find that workers in their industry are moving left, despite media claims to the contrary. And an important union election campaign opens up in the Chicago-Gary district. **Page 19.**

The Militant

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Gov't threatens power blackouts unless Three Mile Island reopens

By Suzanne Haig

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) is now threatening that unless Three Mile Island Unit 1 is restarted, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland could face power blackouts.

Unit 1 is basically a twin of Unit 2, which was damaged in the near-meltdown on March 28, 1979. At the time of the accident, Unit 1 was out of service for refueling. It has many of the same design flaws discovered during the investigation of Unit 2.

Citing a report by the Department of Energy, NRC attorney James Tourtellotte made the blackout threat on February 4 in testimony before the Federal Atomic Safety and Licensing Board, which is conducting TMI Unit 1 restart hearings. He suggested that the NRC authorize operation of Unit 1 "at power levels up to 5 percent."

Tourtellotte noted that the NRC "has the authority to lift the license suspension of TMI Unit 1 without completing

For more information on the March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg contact: Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, 1037 Maclay Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17103. Telephone (717) 232-0396.

the restart hearing provided that the NRC sets forth an adequate basis for the decision."

And a possible power shortage is just the "adequate basis" they need. But how real is the threat?

Last year's long hot summer and cold winter did not cause blackouts. If extra power is needed, why can't the utilities request it from other areas—which is normally what happens when a shortage is foreseen?

The NRC's scare tactics are just the latest attempt to force the reopening of Unit 1.

On January 16, the NRC decided to allow Metropolitan Edison, which operates TMI, to begin using Unit 1 for training and testing in preparation for restarting the reactor.

At that time, Robert Pollard of the Union of Concerned Scientists (and former member of the NRC) warned that this was a typical NRC tactic.

"You get people used to the idea slowly that the plant is going to restart, taking very small steps, so the next thing you realize, the plant's operating at full power," he told the January 17 planning meeting of the



Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment in Harrisburg.

The Labor Committee has called for a rally March 28 (second anniversary of the accident) in Harrisburg against reopening TMI, for jobs, and in solidarity with the miners' fight for a decent contract. The mine workers, auto workers, and machinists unions are among those building it.

The NRC has another sinister motive for the blackout threat.

Some members of the United Mine workers believe it's the opening shot in a propaganda war against the strike which may be forced on the miners when their contract expires March 27.

The coal operators are out for blood, demanding that the mines be kept open seven days a week, that miners accept mandatory overtime, and that miners be on the job whenever employers want them. The operators also want to be able to assign new miners to run equipment—a safety hazard. Currently, the company must wait forty-five days so that new miners can be trained.

The miners think the government and the employers are using the threat of power failures not only to justify reopening TMI Unit 1, but also to blame it on the miners.

During the 1977-78 miners' strike, which lasted 110 days, the press in Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois constantly warned of possible blackouts due to the strike. These warnings escal-

ated when other unions began to organize solidarity actions for the UMWA, and to collect money and food for the strikers.

Joe Jurczak, chair of Pennsylvania UMWA Political Action Committee (COMPAC), told the *Militant*, "They're saying 'Open Unit 1, or no electricity.' That's a club being used."

As for an attack on the miners, "There is the timing of it," he said. "This is speculation, but it seems to coincide with the contract negotiations."

Any brownouts or blackouts in the event of a coal strike can be assumed to be employer maneuvers. According to the February 21 *Patriot News* of Harrisburg, the State Public Utilities Commission is adding a \$1.44 surcharge to residents' bills for the next two months to allow Met Ed to stockpile coal because of the possible miners' strike.

But there's plenty of coal already on hand. Jurczak estimates there is a ninety-day supply, and with the option of purchasing power from other sources, "the coal could last for months."

The NRC blackmail is also an attempt to reverse the momentum for the March 28 demonstration.

March 28 represents the growing unity of trade unionists, environmentalists, youth, and other working people in the fight against nuclear power.

The National Antidraft Conference held in Detroit, February 13-16, and

attended by 1,200 people, voted overwhelmingly to endorse and build the demonstration.

March 28 is bringing to bear the strong sentiment of solidarity with the embattled coal miners. It is a powerful expression of labor's desire to fight back against Reagan's antilabor, anti-human policies.

"It is so positive to see labor involved in such important social issues of the day," Jurczak said.

The employers and their government would like nothing better than to isolate the miners and break growing union opposition to nuclear power plants.

Battle lines for the future of nuclear power and the unions are being drawn in Harrisburg. If the industry is successful and TMI is restarted, the drive to build more plants and operate current ones regardless of public opposition will get a boost.

Similarly, the prospects for all working people will be greatly affected by the ability of the miners to defend living standards, job conditions, and their union.

Making March 28 the biggest, broadest action possible is the best way to counter the schemes of the Reagan administration, the NRC, and the energy barons who own the coal fields, utilities, and the nuclear power industry.

Unions support H'burg action

Union endorsement and support for the March for Safe Energy and Full Employment is on the rise.

Eight international unions—the International Association of Machinists, United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers of America, International Chemical Workers Union, United Furniture Workers of America, International Woodworkers of America, Graphic Arts International Union, and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union—have endorsed the demonstration.

In last week's *Militant* (February 27) article "Harrisburg march gains union support," we incorrectly reported that the international of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union endorsed the march. However, UFCW Local 72 in Burwick, Pennsylvania, and Local 525 in Asheville, North Carolina, have endorsed March 28.

Read the ideas they're out to suppress

In a courtroom in New York City one of the most important trials of the 1980s will open on March 16. To be fought out will be the right of American workers to hold socialist ideas and to put those ideas into practice.

Unfortunately, they're not going to let you watch it on live television. But you can read about it in the *Militant*. Subscribe now.

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Fired Lockheed worker tells her story

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance held a rally in New York February 7 to win support for their lawsuit against the federal government. Among those speaking was Alison Beckley. She is one of the fifteen workers fired from the Lockheed plant in Marietta, Georgia, because of their union activity and political views. The following is an abridged version of Beckley's remarks.

* * *

The Lockheed story really began last October 19. That day, my union, Lodge 709 of the International Association of Machinists, took its vote on our contract. After that meeting, I stood with Janice Prescott, who was the Socialist

But this case is not simply about finding out who is a socialist and then figuring out a way to get rid of him or her. This is about something much bigger. It's about getting rid of any worker who is seen by Lockheed as a threat to the company's interests. And that certainly includes members of the SWP and YSA. But it also includes many more. And this kind of union-busting activity was going on long before we socialists were on the scene.

Lockheed vs. Blacks

I'll give you one example. During the Korean war, in the 1950s, Lockheed was compelled to hire Blacks for production jobs. Even after that, formal segregation of Black workers continued until 1964. And the discrimination went on after that. In 1968, at the request of about 100 workers, the NAACP filed a federal discrimination suit against Lockheed.

These workers had been meeting regularly to discuss racism on the job and how to fight against it.

After a bitter five-year battle, they won some concessions from the company. But during that fight, Lockheed waged a campaign of retaliation against those workers similar to the one they are carrying out now. They used company spies, tapped telephones, accused workers of passing out "subversive" literature and talking to each other about such "subversive" things as the civil rights movement.

Some of the most outspoken of these workers were called into plant security and grilled about their political activity, personal lives, and what was on their job applications.

Some of them were fired. To those who are still in the plant, what happened to us was no surprise. And they are on our side.

But the company documents Lockheed turned over to our lawyers did surprise and shock me. And people all across the country—especially unionists and civil rights activists—are reacting the same way.

Here is some of what the files expose. With the help of company spies, FBI Bob and his security partner, George Slich, tried to eavesdrop on our conversations, conducted intensive investigations into our private lives and job histories. They watched us do our laundry, shop, and go to dinner.

One day, their creeping around paid off. They "caught" us doing something that confirmed their worst suspicions. FBI Bob found us participating in a civil rights protest. There we were—carrying signs, chanting slogans, talking to people about how to fight racism.

Why we were fired

This is why we were fired. Because we support Black rights. Because we protest the murder of children in Atlanta. Because we support women's rights. Because we're against nuclear power, against the draft. Because we're for building a stronger union, for building a labor party.

It is our *ideas* that upset Lockheed, not simply membership in a political group. It is the ideas that Lockheed doesn't want in its plant.

It bothered the company that we were active trade unionists. That we spoke up on the shop floor and in union meetings about speedup and dangerous conditions in the plant, that we encouraged others to join the union and to attend union meetings.

Response to case

All across the country, every day, in every plant, the companies and their government are stepping up their attacks on unions. We see this in our national tours on the Lockheed case. Everywhere workers have their own



Militant/Lou Howort

Alison Beckley, one of fifteen workers fired from Lockheed-Georgia for their political views, speaks to February 7 rally against government spying.

union-busting stories. And they are outraged over our case. We see this in union officials supporting us. This would not have happened a while back.

Workers today know they are being

seriously threatened and that they have to fight back. They are watching us and wishing us the best.

As one worker put it: "Lockheed really stuck its neck out this time. I hope it gets chopped off."

UAW official sends protest

William Tate, vice-president of United Auto Workers District 65 in New York, and twenty-four other participants at the January 30 National Anti-Klan Network Conference in Washington, D.C., sent the following statement to Robert Ormsby, president of Lockheed-Georgia Company. Tate spoke at the January 15, Martin Luther King demonstration of 100,000 in Washington, D.C.

I oppose the firings of fifteen workers at Lockheed for their political beliefs and affiliations. I further protest the Watergate-style spy operation, which involved physical and electronic surveillance, both on and off the job, that was carried out against the workers at Lockheed and against Local 709 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.

This is a blow against the rights of all workers to engage in political and union activity. I do not necessarily agree with the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party but I do strongly support their rights as guaranteed in the Constitution.

I demand that these workers be reinstated and that company spying be stopped immediately.

Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Georgia. We passed out a leaflet expressing Prescott's support for my union's contract struggle and for the IAM's stand for a labor party.

My coworkers were friendly and interested, and I thought the day went pretty well. But I did not know that present at that meeting were company spies. Or that their report to Lockheed on this particular meeting would include the fact that socialist literature was passed out.

But that is exactly what happened. Apparently Lockheed gets regular reports from its spies at union meetings. And sometimes things occur that Lockheed decides require special investigation. The day after the contract meeting the SWP case was initiated.

Handling the case was Lockheed security officer Robert Lang—"FBI Bob," a former FBI clerk. By the end of October he had contacted police departments in Tennessee, Georgia, Virginia, and California on his newly compiled list of identified and suspected SWP members—his hit list.

Not that it's difficult to find out if someone is in the SWP or YSA. You just ask. It was certainly no secret to my coworkers that I was a socialist.

'Every worker has right to job, freedom of speech'

The following letter was sent to Lockheed President Robert Ormsby by Peter L. Teel, business agent, and Frank Emspak, executive board member, of the International Union of Electrical Workers Local 201, in Lynn, Massachusetts, on February 4. It was written after Lockheed fired the first nine of the fifteen workers.

We protest the firing of nine members in good standing of I.A.M. Local 709. It is our belief that [the] nine individuals were terminated for their political beliefs and not for just cause under your contract. Termination of employment due to political beliefs is abhorrent to us as trade unionists and Americans.

Eleven members of United Steelworkers Local 3937 in Phoenix, Arizona, sent the following letter to Lockheed.

We, the undersigned members of United Steelworkers Local 3937, protest the firing of nine Lockheed workers because of their socialist political views. We believe that every worker has a right to a job, and the right to freedom of speech and of political association. We demand that they be immediately rehired with back pay.

Airman Robert L. Wright sent the following letter to Lockheed on February 10.

I am an Air Force Staff Sergeant presently stationed in Germany.

I'm writing in response to Lockheed's firing of nine employees allegedly for falsifying job applications. Is it your company's intent to fire every employee whose application is found to have a misstate-

ment or been incorrectly filled out? I don't believe that to be the case.

It is obvious Lockheed fired the nine socialist workers for having political views opposed to that held by the company. This is of concern to me because it is my intention to enter the work force in a couple of years as a thinking individual with differing points of view than the company I might work for.

Just like the socialists you fired I also oppose the Ku Klux Klan, draft registration and nuclear power. I support women, minority and union rights as well as jobs for all.

These views are not criminal or dangerous, but the action taken by the Lockheed company certainly is.

This company is threatening myself and anyone else who stands for social justice and wishes a job.

I strongly hope you reverse this attack on workers now!

The next letter was sent to Lockheed from the staff of the Thomas Merton Center, a Pittsburgh religious organization.

We, the staff of the Thomas Merton Center, strongly protest the firings of members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party by Lockheed. This situation has been brought to our attention via the numerous news reports and articles describing events.

We have reviewed copies of reports from Lockheed Company files detailing spying activities on union meetings and employee personal lives and we find this behavior unacceptable. It is in direct conflict with the rights of individuals provided for by our constitution.

We urge you to make every effort possible to rectify this situation in the most exactly equitable manner.

Nicaragua prime target

Reagan escalates use of food as weapon

By David Frankel

Nicaraguan officials have said that their country may face a wheat shortage in March. Although Nicaragua has made great strides in overcoming the devastation inflicted by the Somoza dictatorship, its economic condition remains precarious.

The response of the Reagan administration has been to hold up approval for a \$9.6 million sale of U.S. wheat to Nicaragua. State Department officials announced the delay February 10, referring once again to charges that the Sandinista government is providing arms to the liberation fighters in El Salvador.

A cruder case of blackmail would be hard to find. What the U.S. rulers are really demanding is that the Nicaraguans turn their back on the atrocities of the Salvadoran junta and withhold their moral and political support to the Salvadoran people. Otherwise, Washington will try to starve the Nicaraguan workers and peasants into submission.

Behind gun-running charge

U.S. officials talk about Nicaragua supplying arms to the revolutionary forces in El Salvador both as a pretext for this blackmail operation and as a means of covering up the real foreign intervention in El Salvador—that of the U.S. government.

Despite repeated charges by U.S. officials, Washington has yet to substantiate its claim that the Sandinistas are running guns into El Salvador.

One of the last acts of the Carter administration was to suspend \$15 million in loans to Nicaragua on the basis of false reports that guerrillas from Nicaragua had landed in El Salvador. Although the U.S. embassy in San Salvador initially backed these charges, it was forced to retreat. As the *New York Times* reported January 26:

"When Nicaragua's revolutionary Government strongly denied the charge that the boats had left its territory, United States officials appeared to retract their initial claim, conceding that 'our rush to believe what we were told was not totally warranted' and 'there was some overstatement in the beginning.'"

Such admissions, however, have not had the slightest effect on U.S. policy, as the latest move by the Reagan administration indicates.



Reagan is orchestrating campaign of economic pressure against Nicaraguan revolution.

While Washington continues to talk about Nicaraguan arms flowing into El Salvador, it has also begun to make its political demands explicit. Thus, Alan Riding reported in a dispatch from Managua in the February 12 *New York Times*:

"In several meetings with [Nicaraguan] junta members, the American Ambassador, Lawrence A. Pezzullo, reportedly warned the Government to silence a Salvadoran leftist radio station, allegedly broadcasting clandestinely from Nicaragua. . . ."

Ideas, not guns, are what Washington is trying to stop in Central America. Nor did the *New York Times* seem to find anything strange about a U.S. ambassador demanding that another government act to suppress freedom of speech and of the press.

'The greatest weapon'

John R. Block, Reagan's secretary of agriculture, blurted out his view on this without even waiting to take office. Speaking at a pre-Christmas news conference, Block declared December 23, "I believe food is now the greatest weapon we have. . . ."

Food as a weapon, of course, is not something that was originated by Block and his cronies in the Reagan administration. It has been a traditional part of U.S. foreign policy. Selective food aid played a big part in Washington's attempts to manipulate European politics following World War II.

In 1954, at the height of the Cold War, Congress passed the "Food for Peace" program, which was designed—in its own words—"to make maximum use of surplus commodities in furtherance of the foreign policy of the United States."

Food was desperately needed by the

people of Kampuchea in 1979, when famine stalked the country and the remaining forces of the genocidal Pol Pot regime were still wreaking havoc.

Washington, however, did its best to block aid to the Kampuchean government. Moreover, it sought to prolong the famine by funneling aid to the butcher Pol Pot.

World economic crisis

Although Carter's attempt to pressure the Soviet Union last year by cutting off grain sales fell flat, U.S. officials continue to hold high hopes for the food weapon.

"The Agriculture Department is predicting that a year from now the world's reserves of cereal grains will be at the lowest level in five years in proportion to what is consumed," Seth S. King reported in the November 3, 1980 *New York Times*.

He added: "Insofar as food can be used as a diplomatic instrument, this tight supply strengthens the hand of the United States, which remains the largest producer of soybeans and feed grains as well as the largest supplier of wheat."

Even without the malevolent efforts of U.S. imperialism, the worldwide capitalist economic crisis has had a devastating impact on the masses in the semicolonial countries.

"To the surprise of demographers," Robert Reinhold reported in the Febru-

ary 8 *New York Times*, "progress in reducing mortality in the world's poorer countries over the last generation, which had been considered remarkable, now appears to be faltering."

Population growth in the poorer lands has begun to drop not just because of lower birth rates, but also due to persistently high death rates. Mortality rates in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have actually increased.

Reinhold notes that "the leading causes of death in the poorer countries now are diarrheal diseases, respiratory infections, malnutrition and other problems that do not yield easily to modern medical technology."

Not, that is, in the absence of adequate food. Lung diseases such as tuberculosis have long been associated with inadequate diet and poor living conditions. And no well-fed person ever died of malnutrition!

The normal mechanisms of the capitalist market condemn millions—especially the children who are too young to fend for themselves—to a slow and painful death. But that is not enough for Reagan and the class that he represents.

By threatening to withhold wheat from Nicaragua, the Reagan administration has stated its willingness to offer the scourge of famine a helping hand.

What an admission of historical bankruptcy! The U.S. rulers are so completely incapable of inspiring humanity with a vision worth fighting for that they can only defend their interests by threatening to starve whole peoples.

Reagan, however, has not reckoned with the people of Sandino. Having won their freedom at such a cost in blood and suffering, the Nicaraguan workers and peasants are not about to sell their birthright for a few bushels of wheat.

U.S. role in Salvador hit at Nonaligned meet

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA—Foreign Ministers of the Nonaligned nations meeting in New Delhi, India, during the week of February 9, delivered sharp rebukes to U.S. intervention in Central America.

In a February 12 speech, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto warned that U.S. interference could provoke a Central American-wide war.

"If the aggression against Nicaragua has the characteristic of a cold war—with lies, threats, and economic aggression—in the case of El Salvador, it is a good deal hotter—with arms and U.S. military advisers used against a people struggling for its liberation."

"This situation, we want to warn, endangers the peace of the entire region and makes possible, or almost inevitable, the generalization of the conflict to all Central America."

D'Escoto was elected chair of the conference political commission by unanimous vote of the eleven Latin American member countries. It had previously been decided that the choice would be Latin America's.

The danger of outside intervention in the region was also denounced in a declaration issued by the Latin American group for inclusion in the conference's final statement.

The Latin Americans condemned the political and economic pressures against Nicaragua by "international financial organizations."

The group also condemned all forms of intervention and interference in El Salvador's internal affairs and called

on all governments to stop supplying arms and other forms of assistance.

Also at the conference was a delegation representing the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador.

In an interview with the Cuban news service Prensa Latina, FDR leader Rubén Zamora explained that "intervention in El Salvador is tied directly to the attacks on Nicaragua, Grenada, and Cuba."

In his speech D'Escoto expressed support for the Grenadian revolution. He also called for U.S. withdrawal from its Guantánamo naval base in Cuba, independence for Puerto Rico and Belize, and the right of Panama to exercise full control over the Panama Canal.

From Intercontinental Press

Solidarity group in Guyana

A Committee for Solidarity with the People of El Salvador was formed in the South American country of Guyana January 13.

The Guyana Agricultural and General Workers Union, which represents some 25,000 sugar, garment, and furniture workers, responded by offering \$2,500 to an El Salvador solidarity fund established by the committee.

On January 17, the U.S. embassy in Georgetown was picketed by the committee.

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By Suzanne Haig

The National Antidraft Conference held in Detroit February 13-15 marked a big step forward in building a movement that can stop Washington's attempts to restore the draft and escalate military intervention in Central America.

The conference was organized by the National Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (NCARD). The 1,200 participants included some 200 high school students.

The breadth of support for the conference was indicated by the opening

sion focused on deepening the involvement of the unions and the Black and Latino communities in the struggle.

On Sunday, the last day of the gathering, participants voted overwhelmingly for an action proposal presented by conference coordinator David Cortright, director of SANE.

As a first priority, it proposed that CARD actively support and build the March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The Harrisburg action, sponsored by such international unions as the mine workers, machinists, auto workers, and furni-

nuclear power, the fight for jobs, the draft and war, they will turn out to help us."

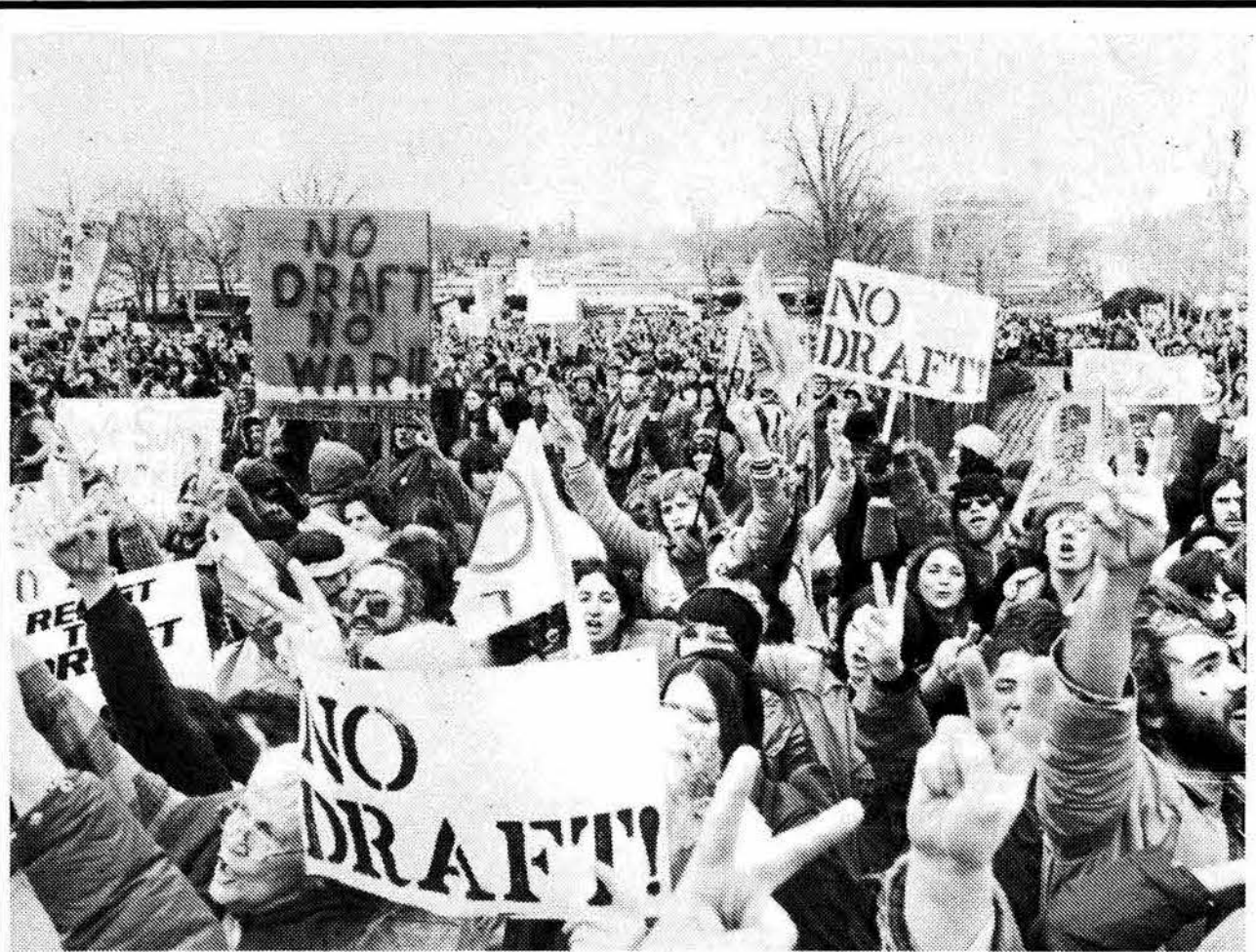
The proposal also called for the building of local antidraft actions during the week of April 4-11, and for participation in national days of protest against U.S. military intervention in El Salvador, called by CISPES for March 24 and April 18.

The spring actions are to culminate in national antidraft marches to be held in Washington and San Francisco May 9. CARD organizers projected further discussions with civil rights

Near-unanimous adoption of the action proposal sparked an outpouring of enthusiasm. Conference participants rose in a standing ovation, chanting "No draft! No war! U.S. out of El Salvador!"

The conference also unanimously adopted proposals from the Third World Caucus. These included calling a conference of Black, Latino, and Asian opponents of the draft for the weekend of May 9 in Washington, D.C., and publishing materials on the importance of the fight against the draft for Black and Latino youth.

Antidraft conference: a plan of action against Reagan's war threats



Antidraft demonstration in Washington, D.C., March 22, 1980

Militant/Lou Howort

rally Friday night which heard representatives of top officials of the United Auto Workers and International Association of Machinists, leaders of the National Black Independent Political Party and the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, the president of the Detroit City Council, and others.

The largest group of participants came from local CARDS and antidraft committees from thirty states across the country.

Broad representation

According to Andrea Lubrano, a conference organizer, other participants came from such national organizations as the National Lawyers Guild, American Civil Liberties Union, U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Association in Solidarity with Guatemala, Black Veterans for Social Justice, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, National Organization for Women, War Resisters League, Fellowship of Reconciliation, American Friends Service Committee, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, Veterans for Peace, Clergy & Laity Concerned, SANE, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, Young Workers Liberation League, Youth Against War and Fascism, and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

From the repeated standing ovations that greeted Arnulfo Ramos, representing the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador at the conference, it was clear that participants saw opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America and solidarity with the people of El Salvador as central to the antidraft movement.

Sentiment for action

From the start of the conference, there was strong sentiment for calling national actions against the draft and U.S. intervention in El Salvador that could attract wide support. Discus-

ture workers, demands: "No more Three Mile Islands" and no more moves to restart the power plant; jobs for all; and solidarity with the United Mine Workers in their fight for a decent contract.

Looking to labor

Participants in the antidraft conference saw the March 28 demonstration as highly important to the future of the antidraft, antiwar struggle.

Lovie Forrest, a member of Maryland CARD, told the *Militant*, "If we turn out to support the coal miners and steelworkers, they will reciprocate, and if we point to the connections between

and labor forces to widen support to and participation in these marches.

The demands adopted by the conference were: "No Registration. No draft. Stop the U.S. war buildup. Fund human needs, not war. U.S. out of El Salvador."

Near unanimity

The action proposal presented by Cortright was submitted jointly by SANE, Detroit CARD, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Young Workers Liberation League and was backed by most CARD chapters and national organizations present.

Fired Lockheed workers gain support at Detroit meeting

Eleven participants at the February 13-15 National Antidraft Conference, including several rally speakers, sent the following letter to Lockheed-Georgia Company.

I protest the firings of fifteen members of the International Association of Machinists Lodge 709 by Lockheed-Georgia Company. These unionists, according to your own internal documents, were rounded up and fired because of their union activities and political ideas—because they are members or "suspected" members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

Your files show company spying on union meetings and on individual unionists as well as contact with FBI offices around the country. This is an attack on the rights of all unionists to organize free of company and government harassment and of every worker to hold a job regardless of his or her political beliefs.

I demand that the fired workers be rehired immediately.

Copies of the letter were signed by Suzanne Kelly, National Education Association, Virginia Labor for Equal Rights Now; Joseph Blanding, United Auto Workers Region 1 Youth Council; Norma Becker, War Resisters League; Bokeba Enjuenti, National Black Independent Political Party; Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael), All African People's Revolutionary Party; and Russell Bellant, Detroit Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

Other signers included Lorne Arnold, Unitarian/Universalist Church; LeRoy Wolins, Veterans for Peace; Michael Moore, *Flint Voice*; Abdeen Jabara, attorney; and Curtis Lee Pittman, National Third World Student Coalition, United States Student Association.

The organizations are listed for identification purposes only.

More than fifty other conference participants signed a petition on behalf of the fired workers.

The conference condemned the "poverty draft"—the forcing of Black and Latino youth into the "volunteer" army through poverty and unemployment.

Right-wing opposition

The efforts of the antidraft movement to forge stronger links with the 25 million-member union movement and with the Black and Latino communities faced opposition at the conference from the right-wing Libertarian Party. This outfit calls for abolishing the minimum wage, Medicare, Social Security, unemployment compensation, civil rights legislation, and all government job programs.

At the Sunday plenary, Jeff Friedman of Students for a Libertarian Society demanded that CARD not endorse March 28 and drop the demand, "Funding for jobs, not war."

"I don't believe CARD has any right to be in Harrisburg or fighting for funding human needs and jobs.

"Let people fund human needs ourselves. . . . We should not look to the state for funding."

The Libertarians claimed that those arguing for building March 28 or for the demand "Funding for human needs, not war" were violating the unity of CARD and seeking to drive them out of the antidraft movement.

There was no truth to the charge, which was an attempt to obscure discussion of how to build the movement. Contrary to the Libertarians' claims, the conference proceeded in a nonexclusionary and democratic manner from start to finish.

The hints of splits came from the Libertarians themselves, who suggested that they could not live in an antidraft movement that related to the needs and demands of labor and the Black and Latino communities.

The overwhelming majority of participants saw building March 28 and demanding funding for jobs, not war, as measures which would strengthen

the movement and build *greater* unity with the unions and the oppressed nationalities.

Power of unions

Jerry Gordon, national coordinator of the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, which initiated the March 28 activity, answered the Libertarian charge "that support for the demonstration is somehow a diversion or a distraction from the goals and objectives of this movement."

"I want to suggest that the most important consideration—in addition to uniting the people most deeply and personally involved, teenage youth—is to reach out for allies. And there is no ally more important to the antidraft movement than the labor movement."

"The labor movement has the numbers and the organization and the ability to move masses, and the apparatus and the clout and the muscle to put an end to problems like the draft and foreign intervention."

"The question," he emphasized, "is joining the power of this emerging movement with the power of that section of the labor movement that is moving out in the streets."

The Libertarians' reactionary stance attracted little support.

The majority of the participants at this conference represented a new generation of young fighters against the U.S. war drive, determined to resist the future of dwindling living standards, the draft, and war which the U.S. rulers hold in store for them.

High school fighters

The militancy and desire for action was most evident among the high school students. They helped organize the defense and provided many of the monitors and other staff who kept the conference functioning smoothly. Tamar Rosenfeld, a leader of Cass Tech High School CARD, chaired sessions. Their caucus meetings projected an ambitious campaign to organize high-schoolers against the draft. On Sunday morning presentations by several high school antidraft fighters set a tone of enthusiasm and seriousness that carried through the rest of the session.

The final session voted on a structure for CARD.

Democratic structure

One proposal, presented by Jim Laferty on behalf of Detroit CARD, called

for an open steering committee composed of representatives of all CARD chapters and national organizations belonging to CARD.

Another proposal sought to have the steering committee elected at future regional conferences.

The issue was how best to maintain democracy in the movement, and how to draw new forces into CARD with full representation as soon as possible. Proponents of the Detroit CARD proposal explained that the alternative proposal was less democratic and would limit the expansion of the group.

The Detroit CARD proposal would enable hundreds of CARD chapters, which were a driving force in the building of the March 22 rally of 25,000 last year and in the building of the conference, to be democratically represented in decision-making.

Mike Gaffney of the National Lawyers Guild argued that the Detroit CARD proposal was "the best way to build the action without delay and to provide access for new groups to join CARD. Otherwise we could freeze them out, especially labor and minorities. Their access would be blocked by a rigid structure."

After considerable debate the Detroit CARD proposal was adopted by a clear majority.

Lessons of antiwar fight

The conference participants showed that the lessons of the anti-Vietnam War movement have taken deep root in a new generation of antidraft fighters.

From the beginning, the great majority at the conference stood on the principles of nonexclusion, democratic procedures, and the need to build a strong, united movement capable of winning massive support.

On Saturday night, long hours were spent hammering out principles of unity. Despite the obvious difficulty of the project, it was carried through. The principles of unity reaffirmed opposition to the exclusion of anyone from the movement because of political views, committed CARD to oppose any U.S. military moves in El Salvador, the Middle East, and elsewhere, defended the right of youth to refuse to register for the draft, and vowed to defend resisters threatened with government prosecution.

The principles of unity included firm opposition to the drafting of women. This point was questioned by Virginia Watkins, a member of the National Board of the National Organization for Women. She suggested that it might be seen as advocating special privilege for women in the event men were drafted.

Speakers replied that being drafted was not a right but a violation of rights, and that the antidraft movement must stand without reservations against the U.S. government registering or drafting anyone. The proposed statement was unanimously adopted by a show of hands.

Identify with struggles

The young people at this conference knew who the enemy was. They were not about to be shaken from their convictions by the U.S. campaign to portray Cuban and Nicaraguan solidarity with the people of El Salvador as "foreign aggression." Most identified with the freedom struggles in Central America, and with those in Southern Africa and elsewhere.

The conference participants hissed and booed administration statements claiming that "Cuba is masterminding leftist guerrilla efforts to take over in El Salvador" when these were read to the Sunday morning plenary session by FDR representative Arnuldo Ramos.

Ramos summed up the spirit and significance of the gathering as he concluded:

"It seems to us very clear that the rebirth of the peace movement in the United States is intimately linked with the rebirth of the freedom fight not only in our nation, but in Central America, Latin America, in Asia, in Africa—all over the world."

Rally speakers: 'Jobs, not war'

The following are excerpts from talks given at the Friday night rally of the National Antidraft Conference in Detroit, February 13-15.

David Rosenfeld, founder of Cass Tech High School CARD; member of Detroit CARD; public registration resister

On January 5, the first day of registration for eighteen-year-olds, I went down to the post office, not to register, but to carry a picket sign and announce that I would be joining a million nineteen- and twenty-year-olds and hundreds of thousands of eighteen-year-olds by refusing to register.

I went down to the post office mad—mad at a government that wants to draft me into another Vietnam war, mad at a government that dumps billions of dollars into the war budget while at the same time people my age are forced to join the army because they can't find a job. The so-called volunteer army is really a poverty draft.

I am very optimistic about the antidraft movement. For the past few weeks, I and dozens of other activists have been working quite hard here in Detroit to build this conference. The powerful support we got for the conference surprised a lot of people, even ourselves.

The government cannot afford another movement like the one against the Vietnam War. And that's exactly what they'll get if they start the draft and intervene in El Salvador.

Arnuldo Ramos, representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador

This is the most moving salute the people of El Salvador have ever received from an American audience.

You are the true representatives of North American society. And with you there are thousands and thousands who disagree with the political policy of your government in Central America.

We are here because your society and our society are locked in a deadly embrace, which, if not stopped immediately, will turn the whole Caribbean basin into a senseless conflagration parallel to and perhaps worse than the tragedy of Vietnam.

The only thing that separates us from final and total victory is the logistical flow of military aid provided by your government. We need the active solidarity of the American people in this very difficult moment in our history.

So, dear brothers and sisters, please help Salvadorans provide Salvadoran solutions to Salvadoran problems.

Jerry Gordon, national coordinator, Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment

[Referring to the March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, demanding no more Three Mile Islands, jobs for all, and support to the United Mine Workers in their fight for a decent contract.]

I want to tell you tonight that we need your support. We need you to mobilize. We need a big presence of the antidraft, antiwar movement together with us, marching with workers and environmentalists in Harrisburg March 28.

No ally is more important than the labor movement, which must be won to the side of the antidraft movement.

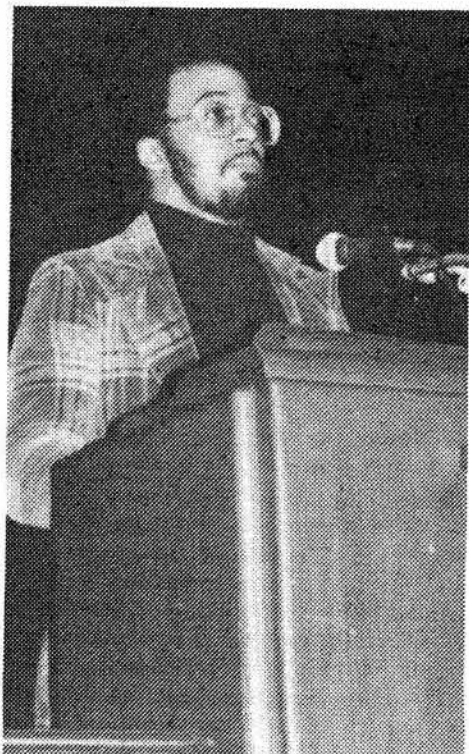
At the conference we had in Pittsburgh, UMWA President Sam Church warned against the danger of sending young Americans to fight for the oil interests. Now the miners need your support. And we hope you'll be out there at the rally in support of that demand for the miners.

We have nine million workers out of work in this country and a million more are projected to be out of work in the next six months. We know there has been a whole generation of young workers, millions of whom have never had jobs.

In my opinion, no social movement that addresses itself to any question in the political horizon can be the ostrich and ignore the job plight of millions of Americans. We have to tie together jobs with antidraft, with nuclear power and all the other issues.

Beth Melcher, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Women feel the effects of domination and violence, which are the main components of militarism. Every day we



Militant/Suzanne Haig

Bokeba Enjuenti, Detroit co-coordinator of National Black Independent Political Party.

become victims of rape, abuse, and discrimination. For our government to legitimize further and glorify militarism and dominance as part of its foreign and domestic policy is an inexcusable outrage.

We will not stand for it.

I will not allow my sisters in other lands to become victims of a war which the U.S. government starts for its own profits.

A government which has totally ignored the needs of women will get no support from women. And we will not be fooled into thinking and believing that registering for the draft or enlisting in the army is a new path to equal rights.

Bokeba Enjueni, Detroit co-coordinator, National Black Independent Political Party

Of concern to the Black Independent Political Party is the impact that registration and the draft has on the national Black community. It is our contention, given the current social situation, that the draft is another form of systematic genocide to eradicate young Black men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five.

Our youth have always been the focus of our enemies. Even today they are focusing on destroying the minds and bodies of our youth with drugs, alcohol, television, junk food, miseducation, imprisonment, high unemployment, murders, racist attacks, and yes, when all else fails, war.

We feel there is a direct relationship between economic recession, high unemployment, and the military industrial war machine in this country.

Black youth and not Uncle Sam will carry the burden of any new wars waged by the government.

SANE leader: 'Build May 9'

David Cortright, Director of SANE and an organizer of the Detroit conference, responded February 24 in Washington, D.C., to Reagan's attempts to justify increasing intervention in El Salvador:

"The May 9 action, called at the National Antidraft Conference in Detroit, is a crucial response to the reactionary Reagan policies at home and the attempts to create a red scare campaign around Central America," he told the *Militant*.

"Unless we mount a mass campaign, then there will be renewed attempts for intervention and conscription."

"A Mobilization Task Force has already been formed in Washington, D.C., to build May 9 and will begin meeting this weekend."

"The *Antidraft* [newsletter of the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft] will be out shortly with the first draft of a building leaflet for May 9. We are preparing a mass mailing to raise funds for the mobilization and will be seeking endorsements from labor and other domestic organizations."

For more information contact CARD, 201 Massachusetts Avenue N.E., #111, Washington, D.C. 20002; or call (202) 547-4340.



Campaigning for new readers

In two weeks, beginning March 14, socialists will be shifting the focus of their circulation efforts from subscriptions to an ambitious drive to increase single-copy sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Branches should begin planning now so that the single-copy sales goal they have set can be met each week. Socialists who work in industry should also set weekly goals.

Target Week

A national sales target week has been set to begin March 21. Coming during the second week of the single-copy sales effort, the target week will see a special effort to boost sales. Branches will want to project surpassing their weekly goals.

Building the labor-led March 28 antinuclear demonstration in Harrisburg will be a key part of the target week activities.

In addition, socialists will be spreading the word on the historic lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, and INS, set for trial March 16.

Both the building of the important Harrisburg action and the trial will be featured in coming issues of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Target week plans should be mapped out now. Branches may want to consider organizing teams to tour the region during the week as part of the special sales effort.

San Antonio demonstration

A rally held February 21 in San Antonio to protest the freeing of a killer cop was attended by 175 people. Thirty-six demonstrators bought copies of the *Militant* featuring a back-page article on the case.

Renewal work

Many areas are carrying out successful renewal work as part of their subscription efforts. Both New Orleans and the Twin Cities obtained four renewals as part of their door-to-door subscription canvassing.

Election campaigns

Subscription work can be tied in closely with local election campaigns. The Piedmont branch has successfully combined campaigning for Betsy Soares for mayor while introducing new people to the *Militant* and *PM*. Going door-to-door in working-class neighborhoods in Greensboro and Winston-Salem, they also built their local rally against government harassment.

Tony Prince, SWP candidate for mayor of San Antonio, is an electrical worker. At the plant where he works, five subscriptions have been obtained by selling campaign rally tickets. The price of the ticket included an introductory sub to the *Militant*.

New York mayor uses cops to exclude opponents

By Raúl Gonzalez

NEW YORK—Nearly 400 New Yorkers, many of them Black and Puerto Rican, got another dose of "open town meetings" a la Mayor Edward Koch February 9 in a school auditorium here.

One hundred cops, twenty in riot gear, were on hand to ensure "order." Koch opened the meeting by declaring that it would be cancelled if there were any "disruptions" of his presentation.

This announcement was greeted by hisses and boos from an audience sick and tired of the abuses heaped by the Koch administration upon the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

Koch responded by moving the meeting to the cafeteria, where cops and Koch's goons set up a screening committee.

Large numbers of Blacks and Latinos were pointed out and excluded from the smaller meeting by the cops.

I attempted to enter the meeting but was stopped. I wanted to participate as a transit worker and Socialist Workers

Party candidate for city comptroller. When I protested this exclusion, the cops physically pushed me outside.

If a person in line was wearing a mink coat, they got in. But if they were wearing a union button, they were excluded. Among the many excluded were three other transit workers.

After Koch left the auditorium, many people stayed and conducted a real open meeting. Susan Wald, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council president and a pipefitter in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, spoke on the antilabor and racist role of Koch and the Democratic Party.

She pointed out the role that a labor party could play in fighting against the cutbacks and deteriorating city services. Her remarks were well received.

Koch later labeled his opponents "nuts" and "red fascists." But epithets will not change the fact that it is Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other working people who are greeting the mayor with boos and hisses every time he sets foot in their communities.

Subscription scoreboard

As of February 21, 1981

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	SUBS REC'D	PM GOAL	SUBS REC'D	TOTAL GOAL	TOTAL REC'D	%
Washington, D.C.	70	45	10	8	80	53	66
Cleveland	40	28	10	4	50	32	64
Birmingham	75	42	0	0	75	42	56
Newark	110	58	20	11	130	69	53
Kansas City	61	29	10	8	71	37	52
Denver	35	18	5	1	40	19	48
San Diego	40	23	10	1	50	24	48
New Orleans	75	35	0	0	75	35	47
Piedmont	80	31	0	0	80	31	39
Houston	45	19	15	4	60	23	38
Louisville	50	19	0	0	50	19	38
Milwaukee	70	26	10	4	80	30	38
Boston	100	39	10	2	110	41	37
Iron Range	30	10	0	1	30	11	37
Portland	30	11	0	0	30	11	37
Philadelphia	65	21	15	8	80	29	36
Los Angeles	105	33	35	13	140	46	33
Manhattan	150	53	75	18	225	71	32
San Antonio	40	17	20	2	60	19	32
Twin Cities	88	25	12	7	100	32	32
St. Louis	45	15	5	0	50	15	30
Tidewater	80	24	0	0	80	24	30
Toledo	35	10	0	0	35	10	29
Brooklyn	105	32	25	5	130	37	28
Salt Lake City	60	13	5	5	65	18	28
Albuquerque	45	12	15	4	60	16	27
Phoenix	40	12	10	1	50	13	26
Chicago	85	21	25	6	110	27	25
San Francisco	80	21	20	2	100	23	23
Detroit	75	16	10	0	85	16	19
Atlanta	60	11	0	0	60	11	18
Cincinnati	50	8	0	1	50	9	18
Morgantown	50	8	0	0	50	8	16
Seattle	75	10	5	2	80	12	15
Gary	40	6	5	0	45	6	13
Indianapolis	65	9	5	0	70	9	13
Miami	35	5	5	0	40	5	13
Baltimore	60	7	0	0	60	7	12
Dallas	40	8	25	0	65	8	12
Capital District	42	5	8	0	50	5	10
San Jose	30	3	10	1	40	4	10
Oakland	60	4	10	2	70	6	9
Pittsburgh	75	5	5	1	80	6	8
Charleston	20	0	0	0	20	0	0
Miscellaneous		69		8		77	
TOTAL	2711	916	450	130	3161	1046	33
SHOULD BE		678		113		790	25

Support union boycott of Perdue chickens

By Vivian Sahner

The AFL-CIO executive council has called for a nationwide boycott of Frank Perdue chickens "until the company ceases its unfair and illegal anti-union activities."

The February 23 action was taken in solidarity with the 1.3 million members of the United Food and Commercial Workers who launched an East Coast boycott of Perdue chickens on December 8.

Teamsters General President Frank E. Fitzsimmons has pledged the UFCW the Teamsters' support in its battle.

"Perdue has declared war on the unions," charged Jerry Gordon, assistant director of UFCW Region 4, and coordinator of the boycott.

At a news conference Gordon reported that Perdue recently purchased several unionized plants, closed them down for renovation, and reopened them with a nonunion work force.

He said that more than 400 production workers were fired at one Perdue plant, and that penalties and discipline for asking to be "relieved from the line to go to the bathroom" are common.

The 6,000 workers in Perdue plants are paid \$4.29 an hour.

Perdue is one of the largest poultry processors in the nation. More like a GM assembly line than a chicken farm, Perdue plants raise 4 million chicks a week.

Each chick lives precisely fifty-six days. When they are slaughtered, eggshells, feathers, blood, beaks, feet—everything that is not marketable—is

processed and used as part of the next brood's chicken feed.

Gordon told the *AFL-CIO News* that the UFCW is "gearing up a major public education effort on Perdue's oppressive employment practices, the company's serious health and safety law violations, and its refusal to clean up operations that are charged with polluting air and water in several communities."

Frank Perdue claims to understand his work force better than any "third party." He says he grew up in his father's chicken coops "not knowing any better than to work a seven-day week." According to estimates by *Fortune* magazine, he is worth nearly \$100 million.

Perdue is a widely recognized figure on the East Coast because of his aggressive media promotions. A look-alike of New York City Mayor Edward Koch, Perdue boasts "My chickens eat better than you do." In one particularly sexist commercial he asks "Is your husband a breast man or a leg man?"

The deluge of commercials has captured Perdue a high share of the market despite the fact that his chickens cost an average of ten-cents-a-pound more.

But this high visibility and recognition of Perdue products could help the AFCW win wide support for an effective boycott.

"He showed everybody down here how to really market chickens," commented Tex Walker, the union organizer in Virginia. "Now we're going to show him how to treat people like human beings."

Sinister cop cover-up in Atlanta slayings

By Cindy Jaquith

You turn on the television and see the pictures of eighteen murdered children. And you can't help asking, Why don't the Atlanta cops find the killers?

The murders stretch back to 1979. The victims, all Black, range in age from seven to fifteen. All but two are male.

Can you imagine no arrests if eighteen white children were the victims?

Yet the Atlanta police, and their FBI helpers, insist they have no clues.

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

This has been the police line from the beginning. Denying the killings are racially motivated, they have

steadfastly refused to investigate terrorist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, which openly boasts of its military training camps in several parts of the South.

In fact, to divert the heat they are feeling from Blacks and whites alike, the police are increasingly trying to blame the Black community itself for the terror.

A front-page story in the February 22 *New York Times* reported that "... many law-enforcement officers involved in the investigation believe that some victims may have been killed by someone in their immediate or extended family."

The *Times* says the cops "also speculate that drugs or drug dealing may have been involved," with the children "being used as unwitting runners."

Including the seven-year-olds? Apparently. "Virtually all the victims came from homes with one parent or no parent and spent much of their lives hustling for odd jobs and good times on the street," the *Times* says.

This outrageous attack on the victims and their families—on the Black youth especially—is aimed at convincing people not much can be done about murders like these. They're always happening in the Black community, according to this racist logic.

There's also a sinister implication that the cops are out to "catch" a Black suspect they can pin the killings on.

The cover of "crime prevention" is being used to justify stepped-up harassment in the Atlanta Black community as a whole. A 7 p.m. curfew has been imposed on youth. They face jail and fines for violation. And in the state legislature, bills have been introduced to reinstitute the death penalty.

David Duke, former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, recently did his part to bolster the police campaign. Challenged at a campus speaking engagement, Duke agreed to donate \$1,400 to the Atlanta investigation. His publications director James McArthur told the *Atlanta Journal*, "We believe the killer is black, and when he's caught, it will have repercussions in our favor."

The cops' story, backed up by scum like Duke, is raising more and more questions about what the police actually are doing and why they are keeping their investigation wrapped in total secrecy. Some have begun to suggest that a cover-up is involved to shield the police themselves.

ABC-TV news said February 24 that "one of the many theories" circulating in Atlanta is that "a regular police officer could be involved in luring the children away."

The March 2 *Newsweek* reported: "A

fifth-grader at Kirkwood Elementary School, according to principal Jesse Lanier, recently suggested that the killer might be a policeman—not such a far-fetched idea, investigators reluctantly admit, since an officer could approach children without making them suspicious."

Black children have begun talking of the murderer as "The Man," *Newsweek* says, a common street term for cop.

* * *

Who is the real target of the cop-FBI investigation in Atlanta?

Why do the police rule out a racist conspiracy, refuse to even consider known right-wing paramilitary groups as suspects?

Why won't the FBI and local cops open their files on such groups, which they admit they have informers in?

Who are they protecting?

Solidarity armbands

Black radio stations and other media across the country are urging people to wear green armbands in solidarity with the children in Atlanta.

All-news station WLBI in New York City has spot announcements every five minutes, requesting listeners to don the armbands and reporting the latest news on the killings.

"We're trying to heighten consciousness of what's going on in Atlanta," a station representative told the *Militant*. "People are putting on armbands all over the country."

Black Party youth set N.Y. meeting

By Melvin Chappell

The youth caucus of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) will sponsor a Northeast Regional Organizing Conference at Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn, New York, on March 27-29.

The conference is hosted and actively supported by the Student Government Association of Medgar Evers College. All Black students and youth are encouraged to attend.

The conference theme is "Black Students/Youth Unite to Meet the

Challenge of the 80s: Build the National Black Independent Political Party." The tentative program will include workshops on the draft, Black colleges, youth unemployment, the Klan, and many other issues facing youth and students. There will also be a keynote address by Manning Marable, a national leader of the NBIPP.

For further information contact your local chapter of the NBIPP, or contact Medgar Evers College, Student Government Association, 1150 Carroll Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11225. Telephone (212) 735-1820.

Death toll escalates; Blacks seek answers

By Tom Fiske

ATLANTA—The toll of missing and murdered Black youth here has now reached twenty, with eighteen children dead.

Eleven-year-old Patrick Baltazar is one of the most recent victims. He was found strangled to death on February 13, one week after he was reported missing.

Skeletal remains of another child found the same day were identified as those of Jeffrey Mathis, ten. He has been missing since March 11, 1980.

In the last two months the killers have struck with increasing boldness. For example, the body of Patrick Baltazar was deposited during the day in a wooded area near a busy corporate office park.

Vice-president George Bush has just announced the establishment of a task force to coordinate federal efforts to aid the city investigation of the murders.

But the police investigation has not turned up a single clue, and local officials refuse to inform the public of the progress or details of the investigation. Many here suspect that no real investigation has been carried out.

The burden of trying to prevent more killings is being borne by the Black community, mainly the children.

A curfew ordinance passed last week by the city requires children fifteen and under to be off the streets by 7 p.m. Under the ordinance, the children's parents are liable for curfew violations. A second curfew violation, for example, would result in a \$500 fine for the parents.

It is now an unusual sight to see children playing on the streets in the afternoon, or playing in the park. Children in large numbers are simply kept at home when they are not at school.

Many parents have to leave their

jobs early in order to promptly pick up their children from school.

There has been an outpouring of concern from working people here about the murders of the Black children. Weekend searches by teams of volunteers continue. Prayer meetings and vigils have been held in the community. Funeral services for the slain children have been attended by hundreds.

Atlanta area unions have begun to get involved. One hundred machinists, members of Lodge 1690 of the IAM, representing workers at Eastern Airlines, recently participated in one of the weekend searches.

The Atlanta NAACP is planning a program of neighborhood youth centers. Evelyn Hall, Community Affairs Coordinator for the Atlanta NAACP, explained, "These would be for both learning and fun. They will be set up in the churches. We will use volunteers

to staff them."

The United Youth-Adult Conference (UYAC) is the group which has organized weekend searches for the missing children since October. UYAC is initiating a program to patrol the streets. "We will start with 200 people on the street. We've got applications from three to four hundred. We call it the Community Watch Patrol program," said UYAC leader Arthur Langford.

The program efforts, said Langford, will be coordinated with the Atlanta Police Department.

The Atlanta NAACP has urged parents to stand outside their homes at the end of school, just to observe and see that nothing happens.

A leader of the U.S. Veterans Association told the *Militant* his group also plans a type of community patrol. They will get gun permits and, keeping within the law, help protect youth at the parks and gymnasiums.

San Antonio socialist backs struggle against cops

By Steve Marshall

SAN ANTONIO—When Tony Prince launched his campaign for mayor here in January most of the city's media reported his support for the demand by the Chicano community that killer-cop James Cammack be jailed for murder.

Since then the Socialist Workers Party candidate and his supporters have been in the middle of organizing efforts against racist police terror in this majority Latino city.

They participate in the marches that wind from the Alamo through downtown San Antonio every Saturday.

Prince explains, "These actions organized by LULAC and the GI Forum are what broke through the cover-up of the killing of Héctor Santoscoy." Cammack shot Santoscoy, an undocumented Mexican worker, last Christ-

mas Day.

Prince has used speaking engagements and media coverage to publicize the demonstrations, and his canvassing team distributed 400 copies of Prince's statement to his fellow members of the International Union of Electrical Workers at Friedrich's Air Conditioning Company.

Prince's stand contrasts with that of his front-running opponent, City Councilman Henry Cisneros.

A pro-business, anti-union Democrat, Cisneros has expressed confidence in the internal police "investigation" of the murder.

"The way to force a real investigation," said Prince, "is exactly what LULAC and the GI Forum are doing now, mobilizing the community to protest."



Socialist mayoral candidate Tony Prince holds sign

Militant

Hundreds pay tribute to Karolyn Kerry

By Vivian Sahner

Hundreds of comrades and friends attended meetings in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York City on February 22 to honor the life of Karolyn Kerry and her dedication to the cause of the working class.

Kerry, a leading member of the revolutionary socialist movement in the United States for almost forty-seven years, died unexpectedly of a heart attack in San Diego February 5.

In New York City 250 people gathered at the Marc Ballroom, in San Francisco 100 people held a meeting at the First Unitarian Church, and 85 paid tribute to Kerry at the Los Angeles headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party.

At the New York meeting, Mary-Alice Waters, cochair of the SWP, explained why Kerry was such a valuable comrade.

"In the 1930s Karolyn learned from and became part of the titanic struggles of the American working class. She was not an observer, she was a participant and activist in a broad range of class-struggle battles.

"It was out of this that she gained the unshakable confidence in the fighting capacity of the women and men of the American class."

It was this, Waters said, that gave Karolyn the staying power to be active for forty-seven years in the revolutionary socialist movement.

Frank Lovell commented, "Karolyn absorbed this concept of working-class solidarity. Her motto expressed in relationship with others, both personal and political, was 'a help to one is a help to all.'"

Another socialist, Louise Armstrong spoke of working with Kerry at Pathfinder Press in New York and recently in the San Francisco branch of the SWP.

New role for women

"Probably the one thing that Ka-

rolyn loved the most about the party today is the role that our women comrades play in all facets of our political life. The women's liberation movement unleashed the energies and talents of the new generation with added confidence and Karolyn embraced this change from the beginning.

"She was an active member of the National Organization for Women, first in New York and later in San Francisco. She wouldn't miss a demonstration or rally for the Equal Rights Amendment, for abortion rights or child care. She'd be there staffing a table, or pitching in on a NOW booth," said Armstrong.

"She knew how much more powerful our party and our class are with women right in the forefront."

Dr. Annette Rubinstein, a widely known writer and lecturer on literary topics, came to the New York meeting to pay her respects to Kerry, with whom she became friends when Rubinstein ran on the United Socialist ticket for lieutenant governor of New York in 1958.

"She enjoyed life so much, she enjoyed the work she was doing," Rubinstein said.

Kerry "showed the kind of human being that she hoped would build a world more properly constituted."

Los Angeles meeting

At the Los Angeles meeting Art Sharon, a member of the SWP for forty-eight years, remarked "It was comrades like Karolyn who constructed this party during a long and difficult period. We have many cadres who were recruited or educated or inspired by Karolyn and Tom Kerry.

"Isn't the immediate job for all of us to go out and help in one way or another to reach the new thousands of Karolyns and Toms?"

Bobbie Bagel, a member of the San Diego branch of the SWP, described helping Tom and Karolyn Kerry settle



Militant/Lou Howort

Mary-Alice Waters at New York City tribute to Karolyn Kerry.

into a new apartment in San Diego just a few weeks ago.

"I was over there one afternoon helping them unpack. We hadn't gotten all of the cartons open yet when Karolyn was anxious to know all about the San Diego branch," Bagel said. "She was asking the fastest route to the headquarters . . . the subject of the next forum.

"You could never retire her kind of energy and her enthusiasm."

Other speakers at the Los Angeles meeting included Virginia Garza, Della Rossa, and Rebecca Finch.

In New York Dorothy Breitman and Sarah Lovell spoke of Kerry's thirty years in New York. They described her work at the Mountain Spring camp where the party had a leadership school and children's camp. During most of these years, Kerry worked full time for the SWP.

New opportunities

"She was the *Militant* business manager from 1959 to 1967," Sarah Lovell pointed out. "These were years of expansion and new opportunities after the long drought of the 1950s.

"The Cuban revolution changed a lot for us, as did the civil rights movement and the anti-Vietnam War mobilizations of those years.

"Kerry's job was to increase the circulation of the *Militant* commensurate with these new opportunities. And she did that. Not only by organizing what needed to be done but also by doing a lot of hard work by herself.

"Karolyn had style," Lovell added. "And I'm not only talking about her clothes or her attire, although I think Karolyn was a pacesetter in that respect as well. But when I think of Karolyn's style, it was her manner, behavior, and attitude toward others.

"She loved her friends and comrades and hated the oppressive powers of society. Karolyn was a proud revolutionary who commanded respect and influence all through her life."

Betsy Stone, Nan Bailey, and Michael Maggi also spoke at the New York meeting.



Kerry helped organize San Francisco's Fairmont Hotel in the 1930s as a member of the Waiters' and Waitresses' Union. Striking waitresses held workers' fashion parade out front when hotel displayed Easter finery for rich guests.

At the San Francisco meeting Sylvia Weinstein commended Kerry's professional approach to tasks.

"Karolyn always liked that slogan of the Minneapolis Teamster strikers in the 1930s, 'Whether it's a picnic or a strike, do it right.'"

One thing Kerry was an expert at, Weinstein added, was convincing supporters to give financial contributions to the socialist movement. "If anyone so much as walked into the SWP offices in New York wearing a matching pair of socks, Karolyn would manage to get a contribution out of him or her.

"The beautiful thing about Karolyn was that she was part of the working class. She wasn't one of a kind," Wein-



Militant

KERRY. It's those who fight all their lives who are the most remarkable.

stein said. "There are millions of Karolyn Kerrys out there in the working class; what we have to do is go out and find them."

Speaking with Weinstein in San Francisco were Bertha Dertz, Catarino Garza, Asher Harer, Carole Seligman, Barry Sheppard, Roland Sheppard, and Kwame Somburu.

Messages were read at the three meetings from the San Diego branch, Farrell Dobbs and Marvel Scholl, Agusta Trainor, Willie Mae Reid, Jean Tussey, and from British socialists Connie and Alan Harris. A message from Chen Pi-Lan and P'eng Shu-tse, founders of the Chinese Trotskyist movement, was read at the Los Angeles meeting.

At each meeting contributions were made to the Karolyn Kerry Special Militant Fund. Throughout her life, Kerry's political activity was closely identified with the *Militant* newspaper—from sales on the waterfront in San Francisco in the 1930s to her nine years as *Militant* business and circulation manager.

At the New York meeting \$2,344 was donated, \$1,300 in San Francisco, and \$600 in Los Angeles. Anyone wishing to make a contribution can send it to: Karolyn Kerry Special Militant Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

S.F.: Celebrate Int'l Women's Day

By Caroline Lund

SAN FRANCISCO—This year International Women's Day will be celebrated in this city on March 7 with a mass march through the center of the city ending with a rally at Golden Gate Park.

The rally will be the sixth annual, but the march is a first. The fact that there will be a march reflects the desire of women here to take more militant action to defend their rights.

Among the featured speakers will be TV personality Ed Asner, along with Sonya Johnson of Mormons for the Equal Rights Amendment, Bella Abzug, and a representative of the striking clerical workers at Blue Shield.

One of the chief marshalls will be Dorothy Reed, the prominent Black news-

woman who was recently fired from her job because she came to work with her hair in the corn-row style.

Initiated by the National Organization for Women, the march and rally has the support of a broad spectrum of women's, labor, and community organizations. Some 126 groups have asked to set up tables at the rally site.

NOW is experiencing a spurt of growth here as new layers of women are deciding they want to get out and do something about the threat posed by a new administration in Washington which openly opposes such things as the ERA and the right of women to choose abortion.

The International Women's Day event has attracted increased attention here this year due to a threatened

"countermarch" by the so-called Moral Majority—the "immoral minority," as they have been dubbed by leaders of San Francisco NOW.

The immoral minority has announced that it is targeting San Francisco for a special drive to try to rid the city of gays and lesbians who live there. This vicious campaign is also directed against the rights of women in general, and the March 7 day in the park for women's rights is designed to send a militant powerful message to this outfit.

At the rally NOW will announce plans to launch a drive for 1,000 new members by June, in preparation for the final year of the drive to win ratification of the ERA.

The march will assemble at the Civic Center at 10 a.m. on March 7.

'State Dep't lied to us'

By Jay Fisher

After a recent fact-finding tour of Central America, several members of Congress are sponsoring a bill to prohibit all military sales, training, and assistance to the government of El Salvador. H.R. 1509 was introduced by Rep. Gerry Studds (Mass.).

At a February 7 meeting of 300 in Baltimore, Rep. Barbara Mikulski explained her support for the bill.

"The State Department people told us we could go to El Salvador, if we did it quietly," she said. "Then they leaked it to the press."

"The State Department misled us, lied to us and jeopardized our lives. But it not only jeopardized our lives. It jeopardizes the lives of thousands and thousands of the inhabitants of the entire region."

State Department briefings, she said, branded anyone who disagreed with the U.S. policy in Central America as a subversive.

In a meeting with then-U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua Robert White, her delegation played taped interviews with Salvadoran refugees. They described the government's destruction of food crops; the murder, rape, and mutilation of pregnant women; and the butchering of children with machetes.

"He refused to believe them, saying the people we interviewed were just communist plants," she said.

Mikulski blamed the Salvadoran military and the right for the countless atrocities. But she also blamed the U.S. government, because of its heavy mil-



Mikulski describes junta's butchery

itary and political support to the Salvadoran junta.

The meeting was sponsored by the Peace and Justice Committee of the Catholic Archdiocese of Baltimore and the Salvadoran Solidarity Committee.

The U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) has put out several mailings urging support for H.R. 1509. For more information, contact: Heidi Tarver, coordinator, CISPES East Regional Office, 1322 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone (202) 887-5019.

they're at school. When they're home, I'm at work. I'll be damned if I'll ever vote to work weekends."

Miners do have "traditions"—the UMWA led the fight for the eight-hour day at the turn of the century. The shorter workweek is an idea whose time has come—again.

Today we can produce a lot more tons of coal with fewer miners. Why should we suffer because of advances of mining technology? Today these advances mean only speedup and layoffs for us. Instead, technology should benefit us through a shorter workweek—at no loss in pay—and earlier retirement.

As the current contract runs out, miners are working alongside other unionists and antinuclear activists for a public demonstration on March 28 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. This antinuclear, pro-miners demonstration features these demands: No more Three Mile Islands; Support the UMWA in their fight for a decent contract; and Jobs for all through a shorter workweek.

If coal miners can win the six-hour day, other workers won't be far behind.

...black lung

Continued from back page

retirement because they have some signs of black lung.

Literally thousands of coal miners die annually from black lung while waiting for answers on their claims.

Defend every worker

We are here today to ensure that the victories we have won after decades of struggle are not tossed aside under the pretense of saving a few dollars. We are also here to assure that the health and safety rights of every American worker, from steel to automobiles, from farm to factory, are not eroded in the same callous manner as the miners' rights are being attacked.

We will fight in 1981 to guarantee that these victories are not taken from us by an administration that apparently has no concept of coal mining and what it does to the people who are simply trying to make an honest living. We will fight to maintain their basic, God-given right to life.

...contract

Continued from back page

sit idle one or two days a week because of traditional UMWA practices?"

The "traditional UMWA practices" Brown wants to junk are safety enforcement, job security, and union working conditions.

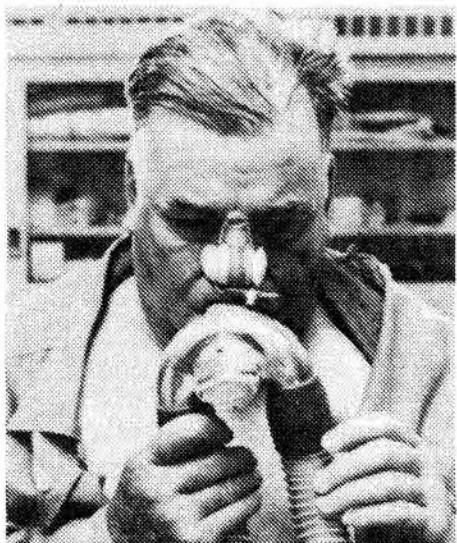
In the past year productivity in UMWA mines was up 7.7 percent, according to the UMWA *Bargaining Bulletin*. Some 825 million tons were produced in 1979. Accidents and fatalities were up too. The President's Commission on Coal projected that, based on 1979 accident rates, some 200 miners would die and 25,000 would be disabled each year when the nation's coal production reaches one billion tons annually. That's what "increased productivity" means to coal miners.

Miners' traditions

Consolidation Coal's Brown says, "Coal miners, especially those in the Appalachian coalfields, are tradition-bound and have religious scruples against working on Sunday."

When it comes to overtime work miners want a choice, not company orders. Most of us appreciate weekends off, away from the mine, away from our dangerous jobs, to spend some time with our families and friends.

As one young miner I work with put it: "I work afternoon shift. My kids are strangers as it is. When I'm awake,



Miner taking black lung test

Solidarity with Central America

and the
Caribbean



Refugee plans tour

"We feel really good that after weeks of raising money for Tulio he will finally be granted his freedom," said Antigona Martinez, head of the San Diego based Salvadoran Refugee Defense Committee.

Martinez was referring to Salvadoran refugee Tulio Mendoza Figueroa. Mendoza Figueroa, a former regional leader of the National Association of Salvadoran Educators, was recently released from the El Centro, California, detention center.

Figueroa said that the 15,000 members of the union which is known in Central America as an opponent of the Salvadoran junta are on the government's death list.

He left El Salvador when "a group of about eight or ten goons dressed with hoods came into the town looking for a student leader. When they couldn't find him, they killed the student's father, brother, and six neighbors." After the death squad left, Mendoza said, he gathered his family and drove a truck to Guatemala, where his family still remains.

Although freed on bail, Figueroa faces a preliminary hearing on deportation. He plans to apply for political asylum because he is certain that he will be killed if he is sent back.

At a press conference organized by the Refugee Defense Committee upon his release, Figueroa announced that he will now appear before groups nationwide, to discuss the war in his country and to appeal against the deportations of Salvadorans who have come to the United States to escape political repression.

For more information on Mendoza Figueroa's tour, contact the Salvadoran Refugee Defense Committee, c/o ACLU, 1546 5th Ave., San Diego, California 92101. (714) 232-2121.

Canada NDP members back FDR

Eight hundred members of the New Democratic Party (NDP)—Canada's Labor party—met in Winnipeg, Manitoba, February 1. The convention of the Manitoba NDP unanimously passed a resolution on El Salvador which resolved:

"... that the NDP strongly condemn the mass murder and political repression which occurs daily in El Salvador, and

"Be it further resolved that this convention ask the Federal NDP to condemn the actions of the U.S. government in this situation, and

"Be it further resolved that the NDP demand that the Canadian government take a public position against continued U.S. intervention in El Salvador, and

"Be it further resolved that the NDP demand that the Canadian government break diplomatic and economic ties with the government of El Salvador, and that it recognize the FDR as the legitimate representative of the vast majority of the El Salvadoran people and

"Be it further resolved that the NDP undertake to educate the public on the nature of the struggle in El Salvador and the need to support the people against the current government."

U.S. Marine supports revolution

Direct Action, the newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party of Australia, featured an article describing the experiences of a socialist sales team in Perth, where more than 5,000 U.S. marines and sailors are on recreation leave.

The warships the servicemen were from were part of the naval task force dispatched by Carter to the Persian Gulf to try and intimidate the Iranian Revolution.

When one marine saw the headline of *Direct Action* which read "El Salvador fighting for its freedom," he commented, "I know about El Salvador. I've been there. I am from Panama." When he was asked if he knew what was going on there, he replied, "There is a revolution. I support the rebels."

A Latino sailor was impressed by a leaflet being passed out which appealed to U.S. service people. It stated, "Will you give up your lives so that giant corporations can continue to exploit Central America?" He had been following politics in El Salvador and thought the U.S. government was wrong.

As he left he encouraged the sales team to "keep up the good work."

One marine thought that the U.S. should intervene in El Salvador to prevent the murder of nuns and bishops. When he was told that the United States was in fact supporting the murderers, he commented that he was "misinformed" and bought a copy of *Direct Action*.

According to the sales team, a great many marines, particularly Blacks, bought the paper during their time in the city.

Solidarity film goes a long way

Steve Millen reports that more than two thousand people have viewed the film, "El Salvador: Revolution or Death," in the Indianapolis area.

Some twenty-seven screenings were organized by the Bloomington Committee for Democracy in Latin America.

One thousand people viewed the film on January 28 at Indianapolis Central College. Six-hundred others viewed it at screenings in three high schools.

The Bloomington Chapter of the Iranian Student Association showed the film at Purdue and other Indiana universities.

In the Indianapolis area, the film was shown at three local colleges, a Catholic high school, and a church group. As a result, an Indianapolis Committee for Democracy in Latin America was launched.

Reagan's budget: destitution for Blacks

By Osborne Hart

President Reagan's supposedly even-handed budget cuts concentrate on the programs—limited as they are—that aid the poor.

Food stamps, school lunches, public housing, rent subsidies, day care, and medicaid are scheduled for drastic reduction. Those most in need face total destitution.

Reagan claimed that his cuts would maintain a safety net under the "truly deserving needy." The fact is that many of the "truly deserving needy" are already in free fall under existing federal assistance programs.

According to the National Urban League's "State of Black America 1981" report: "In most of the governmental income assistance programs for the poor, blacks are represented in close approximation to their representation among the poor and long-term unemployed. Thus, thousands of black individuals and families in need have

received vital support and benefits from these programs.

"At the same time, it is equally important to emphasize that: (1) *the overwhelming majority of the recipients of most of these income support programs are white, not black and* (2) *that the overwhelming majority of low-income blacks do not receive benefits from most of the income transfer programs for the poor.*" (Emphasis added.)

"Income transfer programs" include the aforementioned programs and social insurance benefits, Social Security, Medicare, federal retirement, and veterans benefits.

The Urban League report continues: "According to the NUL Black Pulse Survey, (which is based on a nationwide sample of 3,000 black households in the fall and winter of 1979), *the majority of unemployed and low-income blacks did not receive the income supports that are 'universally*

available to the poor." (Emphasis added.)

The statistics speak for themselves:

- "Seventy percent of all unemployed blacks never receive any unemployment benefits."

- "Over half (56%) of all poor black households receive no AFDC [Aid to Families with Dependent Children] or General Assistance (GA)."

- "Half of all black welfare households receive no Medicaid coverage."

- "Three-fifths (58%) of all poor black households receive benefits from only two or less of the major seven income programs for the poor."

The reason Blacks are missed?

The Urban League explains: "A primary reason why most low-income black households were not being reached by these income support programs for the poor was because of conflicting, uncoordinated, insensitive and punitive state and county regulations. These findings underscore the vital need for more centralization of

the administration of social welfare programs by the federal government if the needs of *all* the poor and jobless are to be effectively met."

Reagan's proposal is the opposite—to slash the programs, and to encourage the states to introduce more regulations, bureaucratic red tape, investigations, and general harassment of recipients.

On the federal level he proposed a witch-hunt style campaign against "fraud"—certain to have an intimidating effect on many applicants for assistance.

Reagan had the nerve to suggest that fraud and corruption are endemic primarily in programs that provide some benefit to poor and working people. That was his way of letting it be known that while food stamp recipients will come under the surveillance of investigators, millionaires who profit from the massive corruption involved in military contracts and other big business programs can relax.

At Portland rally Mel Mason hits FBI crimes

By Bev Hansen

PORTLAND—Mel Mason, a socialist city council member from Seaside, California, was the featured speaker at a February 15 rally to support the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against government spying and harassment.

Fired Lockheed worker Chris Hoepfner, currently on national tour, also spoke.

"The FBI somehow doesn't seem to be too efficient when it comes to investigating the deaths of Black people and civil rights fighters in this country," Mason said. "If it did real investigation, I think it would have solved the child murders in Atlanta.

"If it did real investigation, the FBI would have built an airtight case against those racist killer-cops that killed Arthur McDuffie in Miami.

"If it did real investigation," Mason continued, "it would have uncovered the hired assassin who shot Vernon Jordan."

Mason contrasted how the FBI investigates the Ku Klux Klan on the one hand, and how they investigate socialists and Black rights fighters, on the other.

"When they are investigating the Klan, they suddenly become concerned about constitutional rights," Mason

pointed out. "The same constitutional rights that get kicked out of the window when they are investigating you and me.

"A good example is the case of Gary Rowe, an FBI infiltrator and informer in the Klan, that racist terrorist group supposedly detested by this government.

"When he infiltrated the Klan, what did Rowe do? Did he try to disrupt the Klan like the FBI did to the socialists? No.

"Did he create divisions within the Klan by spreading rumors about the Klan and causing internal strife as FBI informers did with the Black Panther Party? No.

"Did he try to disorient and demoralize the Klan leadership by spreading rumors that their wives were pregnant by Black men, like they did to movie actress Jean Seberg? No."

FBI helped plan attacks

"So what did he do?" Mason asked. "Rowe sat in on the planning sessions for attacks on civil rights workers, which led to the death of Viola Liuzzo and others. He was a co-conspirator in that murder.

"When you look at the hands-off policy that the FBI has toward the Ku

Klux Klan and other hate groups, and contrast it to the hands-on policy it has to progressive organizations like the Socialist Workers Party, it's easy to determine what the true role of the FBI is. To infiltrate and destroy progressive political movements—in effect, to put down anything that even faintly resembles a struggle for human rights in this country."

Chris Hoepfner told the audience more about the role of the FBI.

Hoepfner is one of fifteen members of the International Association of Machinists Lodge 709 who were recently fired by Lockheed-Georgia Company because of their political views and union activity. He has been on a national tour to win support for the fifteen and to expose Lockheed's union-busting attack.

"Every place I go people have stories to tell about company spying and harassment of workers," Hoepfner said. "In Seattle, Boeing workers told me of twenty-one workers who were recently fired for suspicion of using illegal drugs."

Unions are central targets

"It has become clear to me," he said, "that the unions are central targets of the FBI's spying. The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Al-

liance, because we are strongly pro-union, have also become targets of this company spying."

Hoepfner described how Lockheed used electronic surveillance, followed workers home, spied on union meetings, and contacted the FBI in an effort to finger union militants. Lockheed security even drew up a list of suspected "undercover socialists."

"Most of those on the list were union activists," Hoepfner said. "Most were not members of the SWP or YSA, and a high proportion of them were young Black workers.

"That's who they were after, the young workers, the Black workers, who had something to say about the conditions in the plant and in society and how they should be changed."

Fred Auger, the Socialist Workers candidate for Portland City Council, explained the importance that the outcome of the socialists' lawsuit will have for working people in this country—from women fighting for the Equal Rights Amendment to those opposed to military aid to El Salvador.

Auger urged the audience to contribute to the Socialist Fund to publicize the case. They generously responded with pledges and contributions totaling \$750.

Taking our Marxist ideas to working people

By Dave Prince

On March 16 the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance will bring the U.S. government to trial for its attacks on political freedoms. A central part of the upcoming trial will

be the right of socialists to advocate and put into practice Marxist ideas.

**\$75,000
Socialist Fund**

In the next month and a half—as part of our efforts to explain the ideas the government is trying to suppress—the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance will be holding classes on the fundamental ideas of Marx and Engels and how these ideas fit into the history of the American working class.

It was the struggles of the workers themselves that taught Marx and Engels Marxism. They saw the 1844 revolt of the weavers of Silesia, the struggles of the new British industrial proletariat, and the fight of the oppressed Irish and Polish peoples for their rights. They also followed closely the development of the working class movement in the United States.

Marx and Engels and other leaders of the Communist League openly proclaimed their views to the world. And then, as now, they had to fight government attempts to silence socialists. Our court battle today continues the fight by Marx and Engels against a series of frame-ups of Communist League leaders. Those frame-ups led up to the notorious Cologne Trial in 1852, carried out after the defeats of the 1848-49 revolutions in Europe.

Many of the classes sponsored by the SWP and YSA will deal with Marx and Engels' writings on the development of capitalism in the United States and the rise of the working-class movement. The classes will take up such

questions as the establishment of the trade unions, the peculiarities of American capitalism and how they affected the labor movement, the question of the labor party, the Mexican-American war, and Marx and Engels' analysis of slavery and the civil war. Others will take up Marx and Engels on defense policy against government frame-ups.

The classes will discuss some of the political questions taken up in the new book by Farrell Dobbs: *Marxist Leadership in the U.S.—Revolutionary Continuity—The Early Years, 1848-1917*.

For more information on the conferences contact the SWP or YSA in your area. (See directory on page 27.)

The classes are being prepared by graduates of the first two sessions of the SWP Leadership School. The school conducts two five-month sessions a year where leaders of the SWP and YSA are freed from day-to-day responsibilities to study and develop a better understanding of basic Marxist ideas.

In the tradition of Marx and Engels we want to significantly expand the

ability of socialists to get out our ideas to working people. The Socialist \$75,000 Fund has been established to help us do that in the coming weeks as we bring the government to trial.

The fund has already collected \$32,305. Special thanks should go to the seventy-eight supporters who have already contributed \$3,661 to the fund in response to a special appeal to *Militant* readers. A total of \$64,673.96 has been pledged.

You can contribute at upcoming rallies, or you can fill out the coupon below. Mail it to the Socialist Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

.....
Clip and mail to Socialist Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.
☐ I am pledging \$ _____.
☐ Enclosed is \$ _____.
Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Where we are

Collected to date
\$32,305

Pledged to date
\$64,674

\$75,000

INS: weapon against working class

The most important weapons used by this Service in combating the Communist conspiracy are the exclusion and deportation processes.
INS Investigator's Handbook

By Nelson Blackstock

Through their suit against the government, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have succeeded in lifting the lid on a vast secret police network—virtually unknown to all but those responsible for it.

Even its victims have often had little idea about what was really happening to them and why.

What is involved is a quarantine. A quarantine not of a disease, but of political ideas. Ideas that the rulers of this country wish they could seal off at the border—thus blocking the contamination of American workers. The ideas they fear most are those of Marxism.

Of course they can't really keep these ideas out of the country. Some workers here are already infected. But they can and do use deportations and the threat of deportations to silence critics and to harass and disrupt legal political organizations.

The target is much broader than the socialist wing of the labor movement. Ultimately, it involves all workers.

The agency chiefly responsible for enforcing this quarantine is the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The story is told in material the court ordered turned over to the socialists. The SWP and YSA suit is set to go to trial March 16.

The material includes a foot-high stack of secret INS memos spanning almost thirty years. It includes sworn testimony taken from a top INS official; testimony from a high-ranking officer in the visa section of the State Department; and internal FBI files related to INS actions.

The INS and the State Department were added as defendants in the suit late last fall. Already included as defendants are the FBI and CIA. The suit asks for an end to spying and harassment, and \$40 million in damages.

"A few people might have suspected some of the things in these files were being done," said Larry Seigle, SWP Political Committee member, "but they never had any way of knowing for sure. It always appeared, for example, that socialists were singled out for special treatment. Now we have hard evidence, in the INS's own words.

"By bringing all of this to light, the socialists have performed a valuable service for many people here and around the world," he said.

"By unmasking the political basis for many deportation proceedings—that seemed on the surface to be for mere technical violations—these revelations provide strong legal basis for fighting back politically," Seigle stated.

Data now in the hands of the socialists document the following:

- An INS 'Subversive Deportation Program.' Carried out behind the scenes, it officially began in the 1950s and continues in one form or another today.
- A stable of INS informers parallel to FBI informers.
- INS collusion with the FBI, the CIA, and state and local police.
- INS collusion with secret police of foreign governments, including South Africa.
- A special INS relationship with police agencies in Canada and Mexico. Together they conspire in identifying and targeting for harassment suspected 'subversives' in each country.
- A years-long, secret—and ultimately unsuccessful—attempt by the INS to prove the SWP 'advocates the violent overthrow of the U.S. government.'
- A secret campaign to deport SWP members.
- An FBI-INS plot—eventually aborted—to get SWP National Secretary Farrell Dobbs indicted for perjury.
- The existence of INS 'subversive libraries,' made up of literature expressing forbidden ideas.
- An INS 'subversive index,' listing the names of native-born Americans as well as of noncitizens.
- New facts on how the U.S. government keeps out international visitors whose thinking doesn't correspond to its dictates. (See accompanying story on 'Den of spies'.)

Before going into details of these new revelations, let's look at the historical roots of this assault on our rights.

Deportation as a weapon against the labor move-

Socialist suit uncovers secret 'subversive deportation program'

ment is not new. In this century, in fact, it has been one of the major weapons of the employers and their government.

After World War I the government faced a militant labor movement. It included a fair share of politically conscious radicals, many of them immigrants.

It's interesting that the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover first made their mark in this very period.

As the authorized FBI history, *The FBI Story*, explains, the government tried in vain to find them guilty of violating some law. Finally, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer came up with the answer—deport them.

On January 2, 1920, in a series of swift, midnight raids, 4,000 in thirty-three cities were rounded up. Many were ultimately deported. The grounds were that they had "advocated the violent overthrow of the U.S. government," thus forfeiting their right to stay here.

The stage for the "Palmer raids" had been set by a red scare whipped up in response to a strike wave the previous year. On November 1, 1919, coal miners across the country walked off the job. Earlier that fall steelworkers had struck in their first big attempt to organize on an industrial union basis.



This cartoon, which appeared in the New York 'World,' illustrates red-baiting crusade against big 1919 steel strike. Mass deportations that followed were aimed at heart of labor movement.

The employers, assisted by Attorney General Palmer, went on a red-baiting rampage. T.T. Brewster, chief spokesman for the coal operators, announced that the coal strike was being waged under direct orders from Lenin and Trotsky. The "reds" were generally pictured as "foreigners."

This general assault had the hoped-for dampening effect on labor militancy. They helped to bring about a decade of relative labor quiescence.

While nothing as dramatic as the Palmer raids occurred in later years, selective deportations were readily used when needed.

To understand the new material in the possession of the socialists, we need to come up to the year 1952—the depths of the witch-hunt.

After World War II, the government went on a drive to curb the power of the labor movement. This included an effort to get radicals out of the unions, and out of political life in general.

On the international level the cold war with the Soviet Union was raging. After the war, the U.S. moved into the uncontested position of top dog in the capitalist world. It replaced the weakened, old European colonial powers in much of the underdeveloped world. The goal was to shore up capitalism on a world scale and to "contain Communism."

If communism was to be contained abroad, at home it needed to be stamped out.

The official INS secret manual is among the items secured by the socialists. Currently in use, it says that "the most important weapons used by this Service in combating the Communist conspiracy are the

exclusion and deportation processes." It is a how-to-deport-them manual.

Hunting reds

The statutory basis for this is the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952. It placed new, undemocratic restrictions on freedom of movement.

Specifically banned from citizenship were foreign-born members of the Communist Party. This was made retroactive, so those who had already been granted citizenship could be deported for having lied on their applications.

Under the law, hundreds of suspected CP members and sympathizers were hounded and deported.

The Socialist Workers Party was not named in the law. However, organizations "advocating the violent overthrow of the government" were subject to the same penalties as the CP. Since the SWP has never advocated this, there's obviously no grounds for government action.

Nevertheless, the INS launched a years-long quest to prove the SWP advocated the violent overthrow of the government. If the INS could establish this strongly enough to withstand a court challenge, they could move against SWP members with the same dispatch with which they were able to move against members of the Communist Party.

One thing should be kept in mind here, however. The INS did not sit idly by waiting for the results of any investigation. It continued to do what it had been doing for years: Use any pretext it could to go after socialists. (See accompanying story on Carl Skoglund.) The investigation itself—its chief purpose, in fact—was to be used as another weapon of harassment and disruption. It opened the door to the recruitment of informers, a broad range of spying, and related crimes.

Page after page of the INS files describe the effort to prove the SWP calls for the violent overthrow of the government. To understand what the INS was up to, you must first know how the mind of a policeman works. The INS is, after all, a cop agency.

Cops will always look for a plot. Ideas are outside their field. They cannot really figure out what Marxists are up to. What they understand is weapons and conspiracies, things they themselves are normally involved with on a day-to-day basis. Failing to find a plot or a bomb, through the years they have shown themselves to be willing to manufacture them. Marx and Engels explained all this years ago.

The INS was out to get the proof on the SWP. How did they do that? One of the first things, the files show, was to consult informers.

Through the 1950s and early '60s, these files show, the INS actively recruited informers—in addition to calling on FBI finks when needed. One prominent ex-member they tried to recruit was Grace Carlson. They failed.

One of the first INS informers was a member who had drifted away from the SWP in 1950. His testimony, some 134 pages in the files, makes a pitiful document.

It's 1953.

You see a man sitting in a room with a stenographer and a cop. He is fighting vainly to maintain what little dignity he has left. He insists over and over again that he is not there because pressure had been applied on him. But, if you read carefully, you notice that he has lost job after job, and that his wife was born in another country. (The INS seeks to use any potential citizenship problem as a lever to recruit an informer.)

His story rambles on and on. At times he drifts into the realm of philosophy, touching at one point on the views of Aristotle.

But the cop could care less about all this. He's looking for the evidence. At one point he asks if a suspected SWP member "advocates the overthrow of the United States government by force or violence?"

The informer refers the INS to socialist periodicals where "his viewpoint is voluminously documented." The informer doesn't find it possible to lie here. He tells the truth, that what the SWP believes is "voluminously documented" for all to read.

In its hapless search, the INS opens a new field of inquiry. They start to collect socialist books and periodicals, hoping these will lead them to the illusive proof. One series of memos deals with a frantic hunt for *The Third International after Lenin* by Leon Trotsky. They begin to haunt used bookstores trying to track this one down. Apparently, they suspect this will lay out the secret SWP plan on the violent overthrow of the government.

INS attention at one point focuses on the 1941 Smith Act convictions. Eighteen socialist and trade union leaders were sent to prison for their ideas.

In their trial, they openly explained what socialists

Continued on next page

INS victim: Carl Skoglund

By Nelson Blackstock

The Immigration and Naturalization Service finally left Carl Skoglund alone on December 11, 1960. It was the day he died.

The INS had hounded him more or less continuously for almost twenty years. In 1954 they put him in jail for six months on Ellis Island. From some of the windows, you could see the Statue of Liberty.

Once in the middle of the night they roused him out of his cell and threw him on a ship bound for Sweden. They didn't give him time to get a suitcase for his few personal belongings. What he couldn't get into an old satchel he had to carry in a grocery sack.

A public outcry forced them to let him go. But the ordeal had taken a toll on his health from which he never recovered. The INS regularly demanded he come in for humiliating interrogations during his last years.

Carl Skoglund's life was the stuff of which legends are made. It spanned several periods in the political life of two countries.

Born 1884 in Sweden. Drafted, thrown out of the army for anti-militarism. Joined Social Democratic Youth. Union organizer and strike leader. Black-listed—forced to emigrate.

Arrived Minnesota, 1911. Worked as lumberjack, laborer, etc., before landing job on railroad. Member Socialist Party and IWW (Industrial Workers of the World). Founder of Communist Party, 1919. CP district industrial director in 1920s.

Kicked out of CP in 1928 for insisting on right to hear views of those following Trotsky in opposing Stalin. Became leader of their new organization.

The Depression found him shoveling coal for a living. Out of that Minneapolis coalyard came the leaders of a fight that made the city a union town and went on to transform the Teamsters from a small, dying craft union into a huge organization that today includes much of America's transportation workforce. In 1938 they elected Skogie, as they called him, president of Local 544.

Local 544 was a different kind of union. When Roosevelt began beating the drums of militarism, Skoglund, along with the others, did what he had done in Sweden years earlier—resisted.

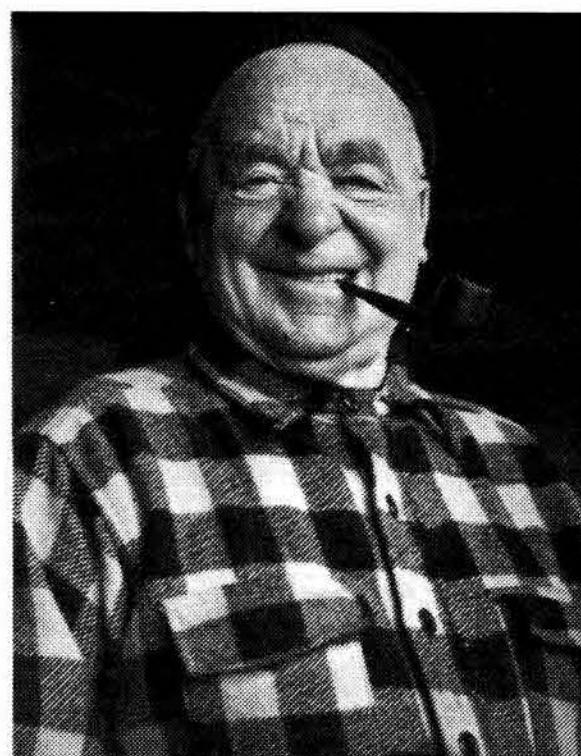
When the crackdown came, Skoglund was one of the union and socialist leaders indicted under the Smith Act in 1941. That was when the INS entered the picture.

True to form, the INS enforces its myriad rules and regulations when it's in the interests of those they serve.

They offered Skogie a deal—turn state's evidence and your immigration problems are solved. He told them where to go.

As one of eighteen convicted under the Smith Act, he spent sixteen months in prison. After he got out they started in on him again. For years a defense committee fought in his behalf.

Carl Skoglund was out of jail on \$1,000 bond when he died.



'There is one citizenship they cannot deprive me of, and that is citizenship in the working-class movement. I took out those papers back in Sweden when I was sixteen or seventeen years old, a member of the Young Socialists and of the union in the paper mill where I worked. Throughout the years, I think I have served that movement faithfully and to the best of my ability. The time is coming when governments all over the world will recognize loyalty to the interests of the working people as the highest form of citizenship.'

Carl Skoglund

...INS

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stand for. They answered all questions. The testimony of SWP leader James P. Cannon was printed and widely distributed under the title *Socialism on Trial*.

In answer to certain criticisms of how they had handled themselves in court, Cannon wrote a pamphlet called "Defense Policy in the Minneapolis Trial." The entire work is reproduced in the files.

Here at last, they hope, will be the key to the mystery of why they can't prove the SWP really calls for the violent overthrow of the government.

After studying the material on the Minneapolis trial, they write their interpretations: In court, they say, the tricky SWP tries to "enunciate its policy in the most innocuous form; in other words, the general aim is to make the Party policy appear as 'legal' as it is possible to make it."

The INS also monitored SWP election campaigns. Scattered through the files are pieces of election literature. Their attention was apparently captured by an October 30, 1962, article in the *New York Times*, headed, "Trotskyite Party Leaders Claim Vote Support From Cuban Crisis."

One of the more shocking items is an actual photocopy of an SWP nominating petition—revealing the INS was scouring the lists of people who signed for the right of socialists to be on the ballot in search of names of noncitizens to be targeted for harassment or deportation.

Despite all their informers and all their analysis of socialist literature, the INS couldn't pin anything on the SWP. In a document dated October 23, 1964, after at least twelve years of looking, they were forced to write: None "of the informants . . . could unequivocally state that the S.W.P. party line was the overthrow of the United States government by force or violence."

Move to deport

The files show the INS dogged the trail of foreign-born socialists.

One was a suspected SWP member who, the INS learned, had contact with the socialists while a news correspondent in China in the 1930s. The INS lined up a fink, a former seaman, who was willing to finger him.

Since he was born in South Africa, the INS collabo-

rated with the notorious secret police of the apartheid regime in its moves to deport him.

In the case of another individual, an August 7, 1953, memo says the INS is considering "the possible issuance of a Warrant of Arrest . . . on the basis of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party when a determination is made as to the nature of that organization."

Also under INS scrutiny was Joseph Vanzler, who wrote under the pen name of John G. Wright. He was a translator of Leon Trotsky and a leading contributor to SWP periodicals.

In 1958 the INS initiated deportation proceedings against a man solely on the basis of his membership in the SWP. Although he was born in Canada, George Scythes had lived in this country for well over twenty years when the INS tried to deport him.

After a five-year court fight, the INS lost. The U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago ruled, "... we find no substantial evidence that the SWP advocates or teaches . . . the violent overthrow of the Government."

Continued on next page

INS victim: Farm workers

The INS has consistently acted as a strike-breaker against the United Farm Workers in California.

Undocumented workers from Mexico are a source of low-paid harvest labor for growers. So the INS Border Patrol isn't too fussy at harvest time about whether those crossing have work permits. And, if there's a strike in the area, the INS cops are particularly cooperative in seeing that ranchers get field hands who can be used as scabs.

But when undocumented workers join the ranks of the United Farm Workers, then it's a different story.

In numerous cases, the INS has shown up at strikes, ignored undocumented workers scabbing in the fields while busily arresting those on the

picket line.

In one case at a poultry farm back in 1975, INS intervention on the eve of a union representation election was so blatantly pro-employer that the

chairperson of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board was moved to wire the U.S. attorney general assailing the "selective enforcement of the laws."



'Den of spies'

By Nelson Blackstock

When the Iranian students seized the American embassy in Tehran they proclaimed to the world that they had uncovered a "den of spies."

Now, through the socialist suit, new evidence has come to light to confirm that charge—not only in Iran, but throughout the world.

As a matter of routine, it turns out, all U.S. embassies and consulates around the world spy on citizens of countries where they are located.

This came out in pretrial testimony taken from Cornelius Scully, an official in the visa office of the State Department.

Scully admitted that U.S. consular offices abroad regularly collect data on socialist and communist organizations and individuals.

There is, he said, something called the Coordination Division (formerly known as the Security Division) to which he would refer the name of a questionable applicant for a visa.

Scully's testimony came after the addition of the State Department, along with the INS, as defendants in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying and harassment.

Scully said that the State Department regularly exchanges the results of its spying with the FBI.

Furthermore, Scully came out and boldly

stated that if a visa applicant "had been a member or was currently a member of the Socialist Workers Party, I think the Visa Office would render an opinion that that membership rendered the alien excludable."

But Scully was unable to explain how the decision to keep such a socialist out would be made or how anybody in his department would know about it.

Scully said that he himself happened to know about the SWP from reading about them "outside of the scope of my official duties" and from working on one case—that of Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International, not the SWP, who was for a time banned from entering the U.S.

But when asked, "How would a consular officer know that affiliation with the Socialist Workers Party" would block somebody from getting a visa? he answered:

"That's a good question. And I think in fact it could constitute a gap in our process, at least in a theoretical sense."

Scully also stated that as far as he was "aware of" the fact that the attorney general officially announced an end to their investigation of the SWP would have no impact on barring non-citizen cothinkers or members from the U.S.

Scully confirmed that the State Department keeps a list of individuals for possible exclusion if they apply for a visa.

Among the documents turned over to the socialists is a communication from the FBI to the State Department informing them that a seventeen-year-old from India had written the YSA in

1971, thus making him eligible to go on the lookout list.

How long would he remain on the list? Sixty-three years, Scully answered, since the policy is to keep an individual on until they are eighty!

"It's important that the American people—and people around the world—know that this is the policy of the U.S. government," said Larry Seigle of the SWP Political Committee.

"On the basis of the flimsiest evidence they will put you on a secret list—with you never knowing it—and keep you out of this country all your life."

Restrictions on the right to travel are an instrument of U.S. foreign policy, he said. "They throw the doors wide open for somebody like the shah or Somoza."

Interestingly, when asked what would happen to a visa applicant who "noted that he was a member of a Cuban exile [right-wing terrorist] group known as Omega 7," Scully after consulting with a government lawyer, refused to answer.

"Government policy was spelled out in the 'Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America,'" Seigle said.

Issued by a group of disgruntled government employees, this document said in reference to Cuban exile terrorists and right-wing Nicaraguans and Guatemalans: "... no attempt has been made to restrict their mobility in and out of the US or to interfere with their activities."

This required, the paper said, the cooperation of "at least four agencies: INS, CIA, FBI, and US Customs."

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This ruling was a terrible blow to the INS. It would seem on the face of it that this would settle the thing. The INS would stop worrying about the SWP. But that's not what happened.

The files show a flurry of memos on the advisability of appealing. But in the end, they decided against it, figuring a Supreme Court ruling to the SWP would be an even bigger blow to the INS.

(It is noteworthy that the INS has, in fact, never succeeded in deporting a single member of the SWP or YSA.)

Distressed at this outcome, the FBI was eager for the INS to take a fresh shot at the SWP. In an April 7, 1964, memo, the FBI said, "Obviously any case seeking to deport an individual because of association with the SWP immediately becomes in effect a trial of the SWP itself."

"A successful prosecution of the SWP," the memo continues, "would be of extremely great value not only to the INS but to the entire Federal Government."

"This could be the start of something big," exuded the FBI chief in New York City.

Nonetheless, the INS and the FBI couldn't get it together to mount another prosecution on these grounds.

But that didn't stop them from pondering another ploy. The FBI and INS got together and cooked up a scheme to get Farrell Dobbs indicted for perjury. The

Socialist Héctor Marroquín has fought deportation to Mexico since 1977. New evidence adds weight to his charge that INS victimized him because of his ideas.



grounds? Follow this closely, because the logic gets a little weird: Dobbs had lied in a trial in which it was decided that the SWP didn't advocate the violent overthrow of the government (that is, the Scythes trial) when he testified that the SWP didn't advocate the violent overthrow of the government. Not surprisingly, nothing ever came of this either.

Deport them anyway

After the courts slapped the INS down in the Scythes case, a few things changed. But not much.

The INS reclassified the SWP as a category III organization. The INS, it turns out, keeps its own enemies list of "questionable" organizations. The list is taken largely from the old House Un-American Activities Committee.

Staffed by professional right-wing zealots, red-bait-

ers, and stool pigeons, HUAC threw the subversive label around with reckless abandon.

The INS has five categories on its list. The Communist Party is number I, it being proscribed by name in the 1952 law.

An organization in the number III category, such as the SWP, is one "which has been held, or which appears, on the basis of all available information, NOT to be within the proscription of the Immigration and Nationality act." The question, then, is why is it still on the list at all?

Moreover, even though the SWP was put in number III, it was also put in a "pending inactive status," indicating that it was liable to be called up for reexamination on the violent overthrow charge.

Whatever the nuances between the various categories, one thing is certain. If the INS puts an organization on this list, it and its members can expect trouble.

As a matter of fact, it may well not make any difference what category your organization is in since the official INS policy is now (and has been from at least the mid-1960s) to find some other pretext to deport you rather than on open political grounds. They look for a technical violation, even for Communist Party members. And given the intricacy of the law, it's not hard to find some place you made an error.

Thus, a foreign-born worker—who perhaps never had anything to do with a suspect group but whose

Continued on next page

INS victim: Harry Bridges

By Harry Ring

Harry Bridges came here from Australia in 1920. Initially a merchant seaman, then a longshore worker, he was active in union organizing drives.

For a brief period Bridges was a member of the IWW, then for many years a political collaborator with the Communist Party. This the government used to hound Bridges and, through him, to strike at his union.

Bridges was the founding president of the Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association. In 1934, the ILA waged a bitterly fought strike that culminated with a general strike in San Francisco. The ILA won union recognition and a union-run hiring hall. In 1937, Bridges brought the ILA into the CIO, reorganizing it into the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

Two years later, in response to employer pressure, Bridges was hauled into an immigration hearing. A parade of finks testified as to his membership in the Communist Party, held to be grounds for deportation. However, the evidence against him was so flimsy that the trial examiner ruled in his favor.

In 1940, a special bill was introduced in Congress to deport Bridges. It passed the House, but died in the Senate.

Then a bill was passed amending the Alien Registration Act providing deportation for anyone who, at the time of entry—or "at any time thereafter"—was a member of, or "affiliated with" an organization deemed subversive.

Armed with this more ambiguous and drastic version of the law, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), aided by the FBI, opened a new drive against Bridges. In a new deportation hearing, the right-wing judge accepted testimony against Bridges from an admitted labor spy and Nazi sympathizer.

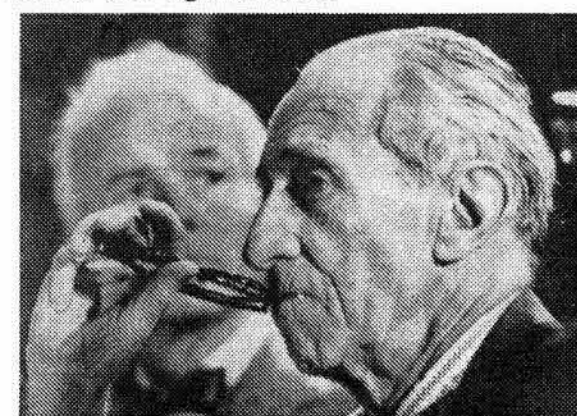
But his ruling against Bridges was so legally raw that the Board of Immigration Appeals felt moved to reverse it. Then the attorney general ordered Bridges deported. After several appeals, Bridges finally won reversal of this order by the Supreme Court in 1945. He became a naturalized U.S. citizen the same year.

As the cold war got underway, a compliant top union bureaucracy helped promote a witch-hunt within the labor movement.

On March 5, 1948, Bridges was fired as CIO regional director. That same day, the INS began yet another investigation. In May of that year, he was indicted for perjury in connection with his petition for citizenship.

Bridges was tried in 1949, but the government failed to win a conviction. They tried again in 1953 and 1955, each time unsuccessfully. (He retired as president of the ILWU in 1977.)

The government didn't succeed in deporting Bridges. But the whole ordeal added up to a serious blow against labor.



INS victim: Elias Ayoub

By Nelson González

If there is any doubt about the real mission of the Immigration and Naturalization Service as a political police, the case of Elias Ayoub should clear it up.

Ayoub, twenty-three, is a Palestinian with Israeli citizenship. He is fighting the cancellation of his student status and a deportation order.

His case clearly fits the pattern of selective deportations used by the INS to victimize noncitizen residents whose views contradict those sanctioned by the U.S. government.

The INS gives one reason for its actions. But behind the scenes lies another.

Here are the reasons they gave Ayoub: that he "failed to establish a definite educational goal" and failed to accomplish "the purpose for which he was admitted" to this country.

...INS

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name had been submitted by some spy, maybe one paid on a commission basis for names turned in—could suddenly find himself hit by a deportation proceeding. The real motivation behind it—since it would be on technical grounds—would be a mystery.

Why does the INS do it this way? The reason is that what they are doing can't stand the light of day. Workers have fought long and hard for the democratic rights they enjoy. They will not give them up easily.

The ruling class understands this and tries to avoid taking the question head on if possible. That's where the lies and underhanded subterfuges come in.

This leads to a contradiction between what they do and what they say.

You can see this in the case of Héctor Marroquín. A member of the SWP and YSA, he was ordered deported in 1979.

Supposedly, Marroquín's political views were not at issue. He was being denied asylum in the U.S., the INS said, because his life wouldn't really be in danger if he were deported to Mexico. This was despite massive evidence presented to the INS documenting the threat the socialist faced.

(Marroquín had escaped to the U.S. after being falsely charged with "terrorism." Several of his friends who did not escape were murdered or "disappeared.")

At his deportation hearing it was clear Marroquín's political views were on trial. "The U.S. doesn't grant asylum to those kinds of people," proclaimed INS prosecutor Daniel Kahn. The immigration judge said Marroquín should go to "Castro's Cuba." Then, in a legal brief to the appeals board, the INS lawyers claimed the right to keep out an "avowed Marxist."

Later, however, when the case reached the appeals board, the INS changed its tune. "The government concedes that its trial attorney was incorrect when he stated that Marxists can't get political asylum," the government then said. This is more in line with their stated public policy.

Now with the release of INS files on Marroquín's case, new evidence has come to light proving that the move to deport Marroquín is now and always was political.

Included among the documents is an odd page. Carelessly typed, it has nine numbered items, all obviously indicating one thing—that Marroquín is a member of the SWP and YSA.

But that is not an issue in the case. Nobody has ever denied it.

Also among the files is a page from "Information Digest." A shady publication indeed, at last report it was put out by one John Rees, on the staff of right-wing Congressman Larry McDonald. It has all the earmarks of a conduit for FBI spying.

"If the case against Héctor is not political," asked Larry Seigle, "then what is Information Digest doing in these files?"

Dated November 25, 1977, the page deals with a recent conference protesting the deportation of undocumented workers. The page says nothing about Marroquín, although it does note that the SWP was among conference sponsors.

"This strengthens Marroquín's case," said Seigle. "But not only his. Taken together, the stuff in these files will help all the others who face deportation for political reasons."

You can now prove that the INS is trying to deport you not—as it says—because you don't meet the requirements. Many others fail to meet the same re-

Ayoub, however, has gotten a bachelor's degree from Ohio State University and is currently a student at the New School for Social Research in New York City.

Facts unearthed from documents released by the INS to Ayoub reveal the real reasons for his deportation.

According to the files, on October 11, 1978, the INS sent a letter to the FBI informing them that Ayoub was the subject of a contemplated INS investigation as a "subversive."

Two weeks later Ayoub was told to appear for an INS interview.

In violation of Ayoub's First Amendment rights, he was asked to state his views on the Middle East situation.

The INS then accused Ayoub of failing to file according to schedule the forms necessary to maintain his status—despite the fact that his attempts to file were met with INS stalling.

Meanwhile, the INS sent a notice to the American Consul in Tel Aviv advising that Ayoub was about to be deported, adding that the "SUBJECT has been identified as a very strong activist in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine" [PFLP].

As a result, if deported, there is a good chance



quirements yet don't get deported. It is really trying to deport you because of your views.

This flies in the face of constitutional guarantees to equal application of the laws.

The INS also used technicalities to move against Marian Bustin. A socialist coal miner and native of Scotland, Bustin has been threatened with deportation since 1977.

INS and Canada

Another section of the INS files shows how the agency takes action against visitors with socialist views from other countries.

In sworn testimony taken from top INS official Glenn Bertness, he confirmed the existence of special Mexican and Canadian border programs. He said the INS would keep out somebody "if we have information that indicates that they are members of a proscribed organization."

Where would this information come from? In the case of Mexico, "usually [from] the local authorities immediately on the other side of the border... local police or the local Mexican immigration."

A significant number of the INS files deal with Canada. One astonishing document gives an indication of the degree to which Canadian cops pass on "adverse" information on Canadian citizens.

It is a letter on which the letterhead has been blocked out. But it is signed by a D.E. McLaren, "Insp., for Director of Security & Intelligence."

The letter is addressed to the Immigration Attaché, United States Embassy, Ottawa, Ontario. It is a response to an inquiry about some of the Canadian socialists spotted at SWP events in Seattle.

The letter says, "Extensive investigations have been carried out relating to the Trotskyist movement in Vancouver, B.C., however, we have nothing as yet to offer concerning the above named persons that would assist your Department. You will recall in our letters of October 28, 1957 and January 3, 1958... we furnished adverse and biographical data [on Canadian socialists], to date we have nothing to add to that information which you already possess."

"We realize the course of action your Department would favour when these individuals next make application for admission to the United States. It is regretted we cannot afford you the necessary information to attain this end."

"Should anything of value be received at this point, you shall be so advised."

This is among a series of documents on a prolonged

that Ayoub will end up in an Israeli jail—or worse.

"The government wants to deport me because they refuse to tolerate any criticisms of the Camp David Accords," Ayoub told the *Militant*. "In addition, they are afraid of the growing pro-Palestinian movement in this country and will do anything to silence it."

Although Ayoub is very active in the movement for Palestinian rights in this country, he denies being a member of the PFLP.

In addition to appealing the INS deportation order, Ayoub's attorneys have filed a civil rights suit against the INS. The suit will address "the INS role as an instrument for screening the political views of foreigners in the United States," Ayoub said.

The American Civil Liberties Union, which is supporting Ayoub's legal efforts, declared, "If the INS seeks to deport Mr. Ayoub as a subversive, it should so charge and try him," rather than denying him due process and employing subterfuge.

For further information write Elias Ayoub Defense Committee, c/o Department of Economics, New School for Social Research, 66 West Twelfth Street, New York, New York 10011. Telephone: 212-923-1906.

effort to block Canadian socialists from attending public SWP forums in Seattle.

At one point, according to the files, the INS "illegally" broke into the socialist offices and photographed a literature display.

The INS itself spied on forums, taking down license numbers. When Tom Kerry, an SWP leader, came to town to speak, the INS put all border crossings in Washington on alert to block the entry of the socialists from Canada.

Disappointed that the two socialists in whose home Canadians have been visiting are native-born citizens, the INS wants to do something to them anyway. So they put them on their "subversive index."

The files do not say whether the INS was ever successful in barring the two Canadian socialists who were the main objects of their frantic moves. (It says that they, like other Canadian socialists, were put on a lookout list.) However, a *Militant* call to the headquarters of the Revolutionary Workers League in Canada got the answer: "They weren't able to get into the United States for years."

"This is outrageous," said Larry Seigle. "You have the INS keeping Canadians from coming into this country solely because of their ideas. Not because of anything they've done. Just because of what they think."

YSA convention

The files reveal the INS conducted an operation around the YSA convention in 1971.

INS spies discovered that "four Canadian and three Mexican delegates [attended] the convention" in Houston. A memo says that they are expecting data on "additional foreign delegates" from the FBI.

The memo orders a "subversive-deportation type of investigation" of each delegate. An inquiry is to be made to the State Department to see if there was "willful misrepresentation" in visa applications.

As for the Canadian delegates, the INS will send all it knows about them to "the Liaison Officer at Ottawa... and request that he contact the Authorized Source [that is, Canadian cops] for additional information."

Key issue

The key issue raised by all these files is the same one that is emerging as central to the entire socialist case against the government:

Does the government have the right to deport you—or keep you out of the country, or spy on you, or harass you, or get you fired—because you are a socialist?

In their recently submitted plan for their line of defense at the upcoming trial, the government comes out and squarely bases itself on its "right" to take such action against socialists or anyone else with a viewpoint they don't like—whether they have done anything against the law or not.

The trial plan flatly states that "advocacy of views such as those held by the SWP [is] grounds for exclusion, deportation, and denial of naturalization."

The government doesn't say what those views are. Do they include opposition to nuclear power? Support for equal rights for Blacks? For women? Support for trade unions? The belief that capitalism isn't the best possible social system?

"In the course of this trial we will be explaining exactly what our views are," Larry Seigle said. "We expect that thousands of workers will want to hear more about those views. They will side with our right to voice them, and their right to hear them—free of government harassment and threats of deportation."

Expose fake claims of rights violations

Nicaraguans answer slander campaign

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—Several international news agencies carried dispatches from Rome on February 6 alleging violations of human rights in Nicaragua. The source of the news was José Esteban González, the president of a group with the official-sounding name, "Permanent Commission on Human Rights in Nicaragua" (CPDH).

González charged that "the Sandinista government uses methods of torture and repression very similar to those used in the past by the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua."

He claimed that there are 8,000 "political prisoners" in Nicaraguan jails, and that the number of "disappeared" has reached 800.

González also announced that he had personally presented an appeal to Pope John Paul II "on behalf of the people of Nicaragua who are still fighting for their freedom, and in particular on behalf of the political prisoners and those who have disappeared."

Paper organization

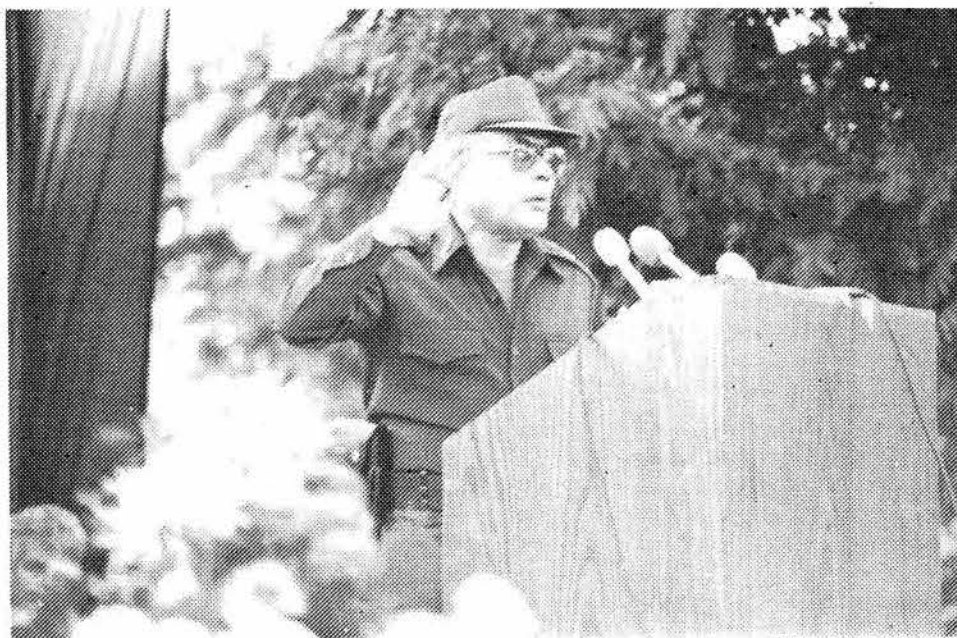
When the CPDH was established in 1977 it was a broad organization of opposition figures, including González, who wanted to denounce the real human-rights violations of the Somoza dictatorship.

But soon after the revolutionary victory, González and his fellow leaders of the Social Christian Party joined the list of bourgeois politicians who are today struggling much more energetically against the Sandinista government than they ever did against Somoza.

The vast majority of those who founded the CPDH left it when González turned against the revolution. Today it is a paper organization, consisting of little more than González himself. He spends most of his time traveling abroad in search of those who will take his slanders about atrocities in Nicaragua seriously.

But González has had little success. His bogus organization was excluded from the Latin American Conference of Families of the Disappeared, held recently in Costa Rica, as well as from the founding congress of the Latin American Association on Human Rights, held in Ecuador.

One unfortunate exception to this treatment is the citing of José Esteban González as a source of information in Amnesty International's 1980 report. González's charges are presumably the reason for Amnesty International's expression of concern about "large-scale detentions and delays in trial proceedings" in Nicaragua.



Nicaragua Interior Minister Tomás Borge.

Militant/Fred Murphy

A genuine human-rights organization does exist in Nicaragua today. The National Commission for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights (CNPPDH) is responsible for monitoring the treatment and trial proceedings for the ex-National Guard prisoners.

Dr. Leonte Herdocia, president of the CNPPDH, answered González's charges in the Nicaraguan press on February 7. He pointed out that the number of Somozaist criminals in jail is 5,500 and not 8,000, and that a complete list of their names has been submitted to international agencies concerned with human rights.

González calls the ex-National Guardsmen "political prisoners," as if their crime was passing out leaflets. But they are actually being put on trial for rape, murder, kidnapping, and torture.

None of the ex-National Guardsmen are threatened with the death penalty, which the Sandinista government outlawed as soon as it took power. As many as 3,500 Somozaist suspects have already been released from jail; this has even led to protests on the part of the population, which suffered so much at the hands of Somoza's National Guard.

Nor have the Somozaist prisoners received the treatment they undoubtedly expected when their own former victims came to power. In fact, during the National Literacy Campaign last year, special classes were organized in the prisons for the ex-National Guards-

men, 70 percent of whom could not read or write.

Herdocia also ridiculed the charge that 800 persons had "disappeared." He pointed out that the list González himself had just submitted to the United Nations had only seventy names on it.

Jurists slandered

One of the allegations González made in Rome February 6 was that a recent meeting of the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva actually issued two reports on Nicaragua—one, a public document praising the Sandinista government's record, and the other, a "secret report" accusing the Nicaraguan regime of practicing "a policy of vengeance by the winners against the losers."

Herdocia asserted that González had slandered the International Commission of Jurists with his mythical "secret report" in order to undercut the influence of the commission's real report. Among other things, that document said:

"In cases of internationally recognized civil war in which the new government has not been able to assert complete control over the country, accusations of disappearances that might have occurred during the period following the taking of power can in no sense be considered policies of the new government. This is the case in Nicaragua, where such activities have never been policies of the new government."

But González is not addressing a Nicaraguan audience. His entire purpose is to provide ammunition for the

anti-Nicaragua propaganda campaign being orchestrated in Washington.

González's slanders found an echo in the State Department's annual report on human rights, which spoke of some 5,000 political prisoners in Nicaragua "whose cases are submitted to questionable norms of justice," and of restrictions on freedom of the press and assembly. (This same report praised Argentina, Chile, and Brazil for "improvements" in human rights!)

His false accusations also provided the meat for *New York Times* editorials deploring the state of human rights in Nicaragua.

Catholics angered

In a February 12 speech, Interior Minister Tomás Borge blasted González:

"A man whose name I cannot even say because it makes me vomit went and told lies to the Vatican. That offends the Christian people of Nicaragua. The statements of this traitor have been used by those who are cutting off our loan to buy wheat. Is there anything more contemptible in this world?"

González's appeal to the Pope aroused special anger among Nicaraguans. On February 12 a delegation of prominent Nicaraguan Catholics held a news conference in Mexico City to denounce the efforts of the CPDH "to use Pope John Paul II himself as an ideological weapon against the people's revolution."

The delegation praised the humane treatment given to ex-National Guardsmen and said that no individuals have "disappeared" in the new Nicaragua.

CPDH shut down

On February 11 the revolutionary government suspended the activities of the CPDH's office in Nicaragua. It charged that the organization has failed to comply with the laws on registering organizations and providing documentation.

The following day, governing junta member Sergio Ramírez told reporters that an initial examination of the CPDH's files had shown that it was not only publicizing false information but also printing the anonymous counterrevolutionary pamphlets that have been circulating clandestinely in Managua.

Ramírez said that this evidence would soon be presented to the public, along with information on the sources of the funds used by the phony "human rights" organization.

From Intercontinental Press

How repression of media works in El Salvador

By Fernando Torres

On the night of January 25, 1981, Victor Medrano, the administrative director of the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission, was kidnapped from his home by heavily armed civilians. Days later he was seen in the National Police headquarters, where he was being subjected to "intensive interrogation."

Medrano had appeared in the U.S. television documentary, *El Salvador: Another Vietnam?*, which was first aired on January 18 by the Public Broadcasting System. Referring to the violence that afflicts his country, Medrano told the American people:

"If we are going to talk about repression against the people, we also have to talk about who's responsible for it. Repression here comes from the armed forces and not from the paramilitary groups that they've been talking so much about."

"It's been made to appear that

there's a struggle in this country between the ultraleft and far right organizations. . . . Even if it's true that paramilitary groups exist on the far right, the fact is that they are really an integral part of the state's official structure. It is a political struggle between two political alternatives, the government and the people."

Several days after Medrano's kidnapping, the Catalyst film crew, which produced the documentary, released a statement denouncing his abduction as an attack against freedom of expression and of the press and demanding that he be released.

"The horrible reality of the situation," the filmmakers stated, "only reinforces Mr. Medrano's statements," and they noted that "this recent act of repression may have been triggered by the statements he made in the film" as director of the Human Rights Commission.

They call on journalists, film mak-

ers, and all defenders of freedom of the press to demand an investigation into the conditions that led to Victor Medrano's arrest and urge them "not to be intimidated by these tactics."

"Everyone who spoke in our film did so knowing the risk they ran," Glenn Silber, the film's producer, told *Perspectiva Mundial*. "But there is the situation down there that needs to be talked about, and therefore they took the risk—in order to speak to the American people."

While making their film, the journalists themselves worked under the constant fear that something might happen to them, Silber stated. "While we were filming, there were people taking our pictures, which made us nervous. In addition, reliable sources had warned us that an attack on a U.S. journalist might take place to 'set some kind of example.'"

—Perspectiva Mundial



DUARTE

INS launches new war on immigrants

N.Y. Latinos aid victims

By Nelson González

On February 2, after an informant had tipped them off, an army of policemen invaded a South Bronx apartment. Eighty-five reportedly undocumented workers, mostly Dominicans, were captured.

They were taken to a detention center at the former Brooklyn Navy Yard and held pending a hearing before a federal immigration judge. They face possible deportation.

As more of the facts came out, a wave of sympathy and support for the victims developed in the Latino community.

By February 6 most of the prisoners were out on bail thanks to the thousands of dollars raised by New York's Latino community.

The Spanish language daily, *El Diario/La Prensa*, reported many phone calls from individuals willing to put up the bail money or a place to live for the prisoners, or with offers of employment.

"They have only come looking for work just like millions before them," commented a Dominican resident from Queens.

Unfortunately, all they've gotten is a date with an immigration judge.

On February 3, six of the prisoners related their harrowing story to the media.

"We came to the United States because the economic situation [in Santo Domingo] is too precarious. It is very difficult," Manuel Mejia told a *New York Times* reporter.

Mejia, twenty-four-year-old university student majoring in history in the Dominican Republic, pointed out, "It is

almost impossible to buy necessities, the minimum wage is 125 pesos a month" [\$100 in American money]. "Unemployment in the country is too great . . . we have one million persons unemployed in a country so small." He added that the government has just announced plans to lay off thirty thousand public employees.

One of the refugees explained that he tried to obtain a visa to come here legally, but visa applicants had to show that they owned property, for example, \$5,000 in a bank account for one year. He decided to take his chances.

In order to pay the "coyotes" [the smugglers]—whose fees run as high as \$500 for the trip from Mexico to New York and, in some cases, another \$500 to \$1,000 when the immigrant gets a job—many of the refugees sold their few possessions.

Once the initial payment was made they were then flown to Mexico where they walked across the border to El Paso. From there, all eighty-five men and women were packed into a truck with no food and no place to dispose of refuse for the 2,000-mile non-stop trip to the South Bronx.

It was "like a hell," recollected Manuel Mejia.

When asked what he would do if they sent him back, Manuel Medina, twenty-eight, with a masters degree in social work, replied, "If they send me back to Santo Domingo, I'll try to come back again, because I'd rather die trying to get here than to die of starvation in my country."

At the writing of this article the fate of the eighty-five refugees is not yet known; however on February 13 *El Diario/La Prensa* reported that another forty-three undocumented workers had been arrested in El Paso, Texas.



Imprisoned undocumented workers describe ordeal.

Private cops kill Colombian

Last March, former U.S. Attorney Benjamin Civiletti placed a moratorium on job-site immigration raids, which the Census Bureau said would disrupt census counts in minority areas.

Now that the counting is over, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is making up for lost time.

During the first week in February, 510 mostly Mexican workers were rounded up in the Dallas-Fort Worth area and deported.

In Houston, the INS got a little help from a private security agency. The case involved twenty-six Colombian refugees who had attempted to reach the United States by hiding in the hold of a cargo vessel.

On February 8, sixteen of the men were turned over to Danner's Incorporated, which provides security guards for the shipping line. According to the ship's agent,

Danner's was holding them under authority of the INS pending their deportation.

After being penned for three days in a twelve-by-sixteen-foot room without adequate food, water, or sanitary facilities, the refugees attempted to break out of their prison.

A security guard shot and killed Ramón García, twenty-four years old, with a shotgun blast to the stomach. A second refugee was wounded. The rest surrendered.

INS District Director Paul O'Neill attempted to wash his hands of the whole affair. He claims the INS never took custody, but acknowledges it gave permission for the shipping company to hold the men on shore.

The fifteen survivors are being held under \$100,000 bond, but no charges have been filed against the guard who fired the fatal shot.

Puerto Rican nationalists sentenced to jail

By Nelson González

On February 18 a federal district judge imposed prison terms of fifty-five to ninety years on ten Puerto Rican independence fighters.

They had been convicted of seditious conspiracy, armed robbery, automobile theft, and illegal use and possession of weapons.

The prosecution had also contended that the accused were members of the FALN, an underground organization advocating Puerto Rican independence.

Bound hand and foot, the prisoners were sentenced by Judge Thomas R.

McMillen. He remarked as he sentenced Ricardo Jiménez, twenty-four years old, "If it could have been the death penalty, I would have imposed it without any hesitation at all."

Characterizing two of the prisoners, Carmen Valentín and Ricardo Jiménez, as "the most disrespectful," he proceeded to give them the longest sentences—ninety years each. Carlos Alberto Torres, twenty-eight years old and believed to be the leader of the group, was sentenced to a total of seventy years.

All of the defendants denied the

authority of the U.S. courts to try their case. They refused to defend themselves, maintaining that they were prisoners of war and demanding that they be brought before an international tribunal to present their case.

The cruel sentences against the ten are intended to prepare the way for further repressive measures against the Puerto Rican independence movement.

During a picket line in support of the prisoners in early February, Chicago police arrested Professor Edward Negron, the companion of Carmen Valen-

tín; Félix Rosa, brother of prisoner Luis Rosa; and Roberto Caldero, a leader of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN).

They were charged with armed robbery.

"This is incredible," commented José López of the MLN, "They were picked up for not paying some parking tickets, and as soon as they reached the precinct they were thrown into a line-up and accused of committing armed robbery in November. This is part of the repression against Puerto Ricans in Chicago," he concluded.

South Africa's secret war against Angola

The South African regime is carrying out a secret war against Angola and its people.

Ever since the end of the Angolan war of 1975-76—during which a South African invasion was beaten back by Angolan and Cuban troops—South African forces have repeatedly struck across the border. They admit doing so, but claim that their only targets are guerrilla camps of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting for Namibia's independence from South African rule. But the Angolan government has frequently charged that they also attack Angolan villages.

Confirmation of this has come from a deserter from the South African armed forces, Trevor Edwards. In an interview published in the February 8 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, Edwards described in graphic detail how South African units regularly terrorize the population of southern Angola.

During one incursion into Angola in October, Edwards said, two children suddenly jumped up from behind some bushes and began to run. "I said: 'Don't shoot them.' There was one of our guys who started shouting to them in the local language. Then these other kids popped up and started to run as well so obviously I said: 'Put them out.' We started shooting.

"More and more of them kept jumping up and running. Some of them were completely naked. They'd taken their clothes off to show they weren't armed. We shot this young girl. She must have been about five. And we shot her father. We shot about nine in all."

It was several weeks after that incident that Edwards deserted, claiming that he no longer liked what he was doing.

Edwards was part of the 32nd Battalion of the South African Defence

Force, based in northern Namibia. Much of the battalion is composed of former troops of the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA), one of the proimperialist groups defeated by the ruling People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) during the 1975-76 war. It is officered, however, by whites, including mercenaries like Edwards himself, a British citizen who had fought for a while with the Rhodesian army before being recruited by the South Africans.

"Our main job," Edwards explained, "is to take an area and clear it. We sweep through it and we kill everything in front of us, cattle, goats, people, everything. We are out to stop SWAPO and so we stop them getting into villages for food and water."

The 32nd Battalion's main purpose, however, is to comb a designated area of southern Angola for four or five weeks at a time.

"Some of it is pretty heavy," Edwards explained. "Sometimes we take locals for questioning. It's rough. We just beat them, cut them, burn them. As soon as we're finished with them, we kill them. We've got Angolan government soldiers and taken them back to base for proper questioning.

"Sometimes you have to do it to the children to make the adults talk. There was a 12-year-old boy. We wanted to know what was going on. We wanted his mother to talk, so we tied him up like a chicken with his wrists up behind his back, strapped to his ankles.

"Then we played water polo with him, put him in this kind of dam and pushed him about, let him sink. Every so often we took him out. He wouldn't cry. He just wet himself. The mother didn't tell us anything. In the end we just left him in the water and he drowned."

From Intercontinental Press

Socialist steelworkers meet

New openings for discussion and action

By Stu Singer

CHICAGO—Socialist steelworkers met here for two days in early February to discuss the state of their union and other political developments.

The workers came from the coke ovens, blast furnaces, and rolling mills of the basic steel plants; the taconite (iron ore) and copper mines; shipyards, oil tool, aluminum plants, and fabricating shops. Most are members of the United Steelworkers of America in the United States and Canada. Some are from unorganized plants targeted by the union.

Reports and discussion revolved around questions about Reagan and the economic plans of the ruling class; the commonly heard theme of whether workers are moving to the right; the effect of international events such as Iran, Poland, and El Salvador; the issues of the upcoming coal miners' contract on March 27; and the anti-nuclear march in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on March 28.

Moving to the left

The upcoming elections in the USWA were discussed from the point of view of what kind of leadership the union needs to protect the membership.

The meeting gave a vivid picture of how capitalist politics and the working class are going in opposite directions. The unions, and certainly the steelworkers, are more and more at the center of debate and action on political issues. Workers, in general, are moving to the left, not the right.

The upcoming trial in the lawsuit by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against the government was discussed in the framework of a stepped-up campaign to get out socialist ideas, to counterpose the socialist program to the capitalist program.

In the suit, two working-class organizations are putting the government of

the boss class on trial. The rights and needs of all workers organizations, especially the unions, are at issue.

Union elections

The most important development noted by the meeting was the increased openings for political discussion and work within the union. The May 28 elections for union international officers offer an important opportunity to debate the direction the union should take.

In the Chicago-Gary area's District 31, the largest in the union, incumbent Jim Balanoff is being challenged by Local 1014 President Jack Parton. Parton is backed by the international union leadership of Lloyd McBride.

"We're 100 percent for Balanoff getting elected," Pat Grogan explained in the main report to the meeting. Grogan is a member of Local 65 at U.S. Steel South Works in Chicago. "Balanoff is better than Parton. His reelection will mean the union will be more open, the ranks more involved. Balanoff is no revolutionary. But the union will be stronger if he wins. We're going to work hard campaigning for him."

"We're for anything that makes the union stronger. It would be a better, more fighting union if Sadlowski had been elected international president in 1977."

For a more fighting union

There was discussion of some other elections in which the same kind of divisions seem to be present.

For example, in District 6 in Canada and District 33, which includes the Minnesota Iron Range, young local union presidents who led long and hard-fought strikes are running for district directorships. Both Dave Patterson from Local 6500 at the large Inco mine in Sudbury, Ontario, and Joe Samargia of Local 1938 on the Mesabi Iron Range face opposition from candidates backed by the international officers.

The discussion indicated that the socialist union members will support candidates who represent an opening for the ranks to become more involved, for a more democratic and fighting union.

The May union elections are also capturing the attention of the class enemy. An article in the January 14 industry publication *Iron Age* said, "... if unions fail to adjust their strategies to changing competitive conditions, unemployment could escalate, severely weakening unions as economic and political forces in the 1980s."

'Labor statesmanship'

The article continued: "It's worth noting that members of the steel union will vote on the performance of their leaders in May. Under Lloyd McBride as president, the steelworkers are in a very stable condition. Nevertheless this probably wouldn't be the smartest time for a display of labor statesmanship."

It does not appear there will be a challenge to McBride for international union president as there was by Ed Sadlowski in 1977. But, to some extent, the district director races will be referendums on the policies of the international leadership.

The socialists explained the need to strengthen the union to respond to the capitalist offensive. Plant shutdowns, high unemployment, speed-up, attacks on job safety, gutting of affirmative-action gains won by women, Blacks, and Latinos—that is the price for "labor statesmanship" by union tops. Letting the bosses get away with these attacks is the "stability" they praise McBride for.

Youngstown and Chrysler

In the discussion, Shirley Pasholk from Local 2265 in Cleveland pointed

Pat Grogan gave main report. She works at U.S. Steel South Works in Chicago and is active in USWA Local 65. Grogan's report said steelworkers and other workers are moving to left, while bosses and government move right. Gathering of socialist steelworkers saw exciting political prospects.



Militant photos by Stu Singer

to the crushing blow dealt steelworkers in Youngstown, Ohio. The industry shut most of the mills, throwing thousands out of work.

Instead of supporting the workers' efforts to fight back, the international dissolved the Youngstown Steelworkers district.

Ruth Robinette, who works at Whitehead and Cales in Detroit, Local 2341, reported on the four-month strike her local just completed, defeating a company push for a Chrysler-type settlement.

As Pat Grogan said in her report, "The ruling class has a clear program and the active collaboration of union bureaucrats in carrying it out. Their program is what they did at Chrysler and in Youngstown: shutdowns, unemployment, wage cuts, speedup. They claim to give us choices, job cuts or wage cuts. But they want us to take both."

Eyeglasses for Nicaragua

While putting up no fight against the capitalist program, the union bureaucracy has been responsive to some concerns of the membership. Union backing of the Equal Rights Amendment, support to the Newport News organizing drive, the Weber affirmative-action fight, and eyeglasses for Nicaragua have all been openings to

bring the concerns of the union membership into action.

The campaign to collect eyeglasses for the Nicaraguan literacy campaign was discussed by a number of people at the meeting. Rich Stuart, an iron ore miner in Local 1938 on the Mesabi Iron Range, said that one miner had noted, "The glasses will help people read. They'll also help them aim rifles to defend their revolution."

Geoff Mirelowitz of Local 2609 at Bethlehem Steel's giant Sparrows Point mill near Baltimore and Rohima Miah from Local 8888 in Newport News discussed Reagan's election, Black rights, the economy, and prospects for war as people at work view them.

Workers want answers

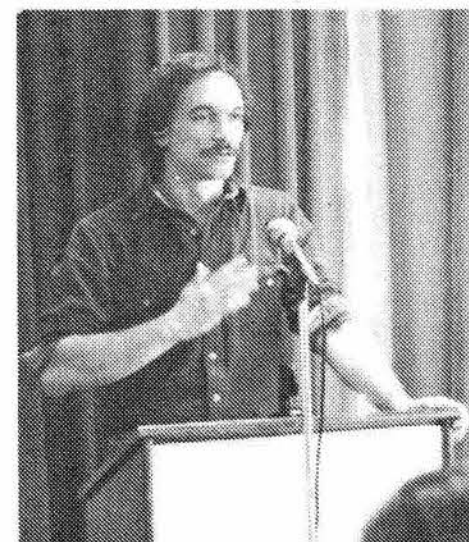
"The discussions are going on all the time," Mirelowitz said, "and these workers are not talking right-wing or conservative. They want answers and they want action."

Workers from a number of areas reported on the big participation in the Martin Luther King birthday demonstrations January 15 and the petition campaign to make King's birthday a legal holiday. In a number of places supporters of the National Black Inde-

Continued on next page



Meisa Patterson gave one of the reports. She works at Newport News shipyard and is member of USWA Local 8888. She is SWP candidate for governor of Virginia.



Rich Stuart, Local 1938, Iron Range, discussed miners' support for eyeglasses for Nicaragua.

'Steelabor' on Central America

The February issue of the official Steelworkers union monthly paper, *Steelabor*, illustrates some of the contradictions affecting the union.

A two-page centerspread deals with Central America. One article on El Salvador backs AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's policy of supporting the junta. It presents the CIA-front American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) and its counterinsurgency operations in a favorable light.

This reflects the fact that USWA President Lloyd McBride, like I.W. Abel who preceded him, supports the reactionary foreign policy positions of the AFL-CIO top officials. During Vietnam, it was only oppositionists like Ed Sadlowski who fought against official USWA backing for the U.S. war effort.

But the piece on El Salvador also presents more facts about that country than Kirkland would want American union members to read. It refers to Archbishop Romero's plea just before he was slain that Carter stop

arming the junta. And it gives an indication of the breadth of opposition to the government in El Salvador and the failure of the "land reform."

On the same page is an article on the Steelworkers' campaign to send eyeglasses to Nicaragua. Even though the El Salvador article mentions the Reagan administration's unproven charges that Salvadoran guerrillas are receiving arms through Nicaragua, there is no suggestion that the eyeglass campaign will be stopped.

The article reports that the USWA has collected 1,500 eyeglasses so far, and is going to get many more. "After being contacted by Elsie Mallory, president of USWA Local 15126 in Petersburg, Va., which represents the more than 700 workers at the plant, the Titmus Optic Co. will be contributing 37,000 pair of lenses, which will need only the trimming of edges to fit frames, and 12,000 sets of plastic frames."

Rally of 400 launches Balanoff campaign

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—United Steelworkers District 31 Director James Balanoff struck a combative note when he announced his reelection bid February 8, at a rally of more than 400 supporters.

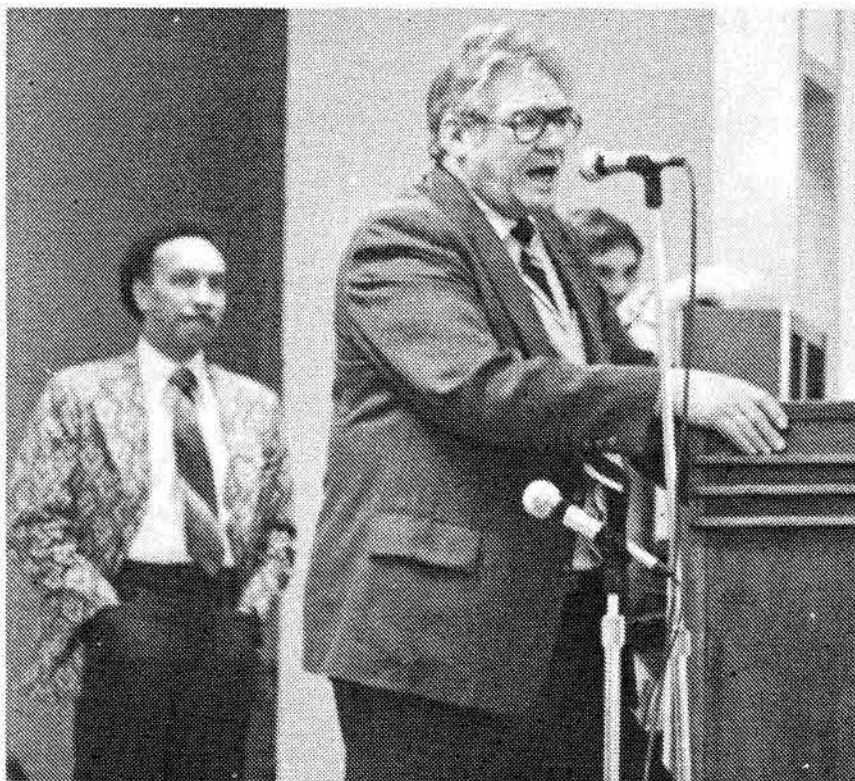
"I've got no ties to the union hierarchy," he told the crowd in Local 65's South Chicago hall. "I'll never say hail to the king as long as I'm district director. My people have always been the rank and file, the people in the mills and shops."

Balanoff's opponent is Jack Parton, president of Local 1014 at U.S. Steel Gary Works. Parton has the backing of USWA International President Lloyd McBride. The conservative-minded, pro-company Parton is being lavished with staff backing, political coaching, and material aid.

"Parton and his people are trying to pull this district into the nineteenth century," Balanoff stated.

He challenged Parton to make good now on some of his election promises.

If Parton is so much for "women's conferences in District 31, let him start a women's committee in his own local," Balanoff said.



Jim Balanoff speaking at February 8 rally in Local 65 union hall, Chicago. Behind him, Bill Andrews, president of Local 1010 at Inland Steel, East Chicago, Indiana, biggest local in union. Andrews is backing Balanoff.

"I'll never say hail to king as long as I'm district director," Balanoff told crowd.

Leaders of thirty-five-week-long NIPSCO strike: 'We couldn't have survived the strike without the help of Jim Balanoff.'

Militant photos by Stu Singer

Parton has refused to charter a women's committee in Local 1014.

Balanoff has blasted the industry for investment policies based on higher profits, not on creating steelworker jobs. Parton supports more tax giveaways for the steel giants.

Balanoff reaffirmed opposition to the USWA's Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) no-strike deal—which Parton backs.

"We'll fight the union busters as hard as we did in the 1930s and as we did these past months at NIPSCO," Balanoff said, referring to the eight-month strike of two USWA locals against Northern Indiana Public Service Company.

Ed Sadowski, who challenged McBride for international president four years ago and is currently Subdistrict 1 director in South Chicago, described Parton as "a bootlicker, a puppet whose strings are controlled by Pittsburgh."

The gathering was a cross section of

union officers, activists, and rank-and-file workers from District 31, about half of whom were Black and Latino. A sizable number of women members were there.

Among those attending from Parton's home local were workers who were uncommitted and wanted to find out more about Balanoff.

The brief rally was highlighted by statements of endorsement by a number of District 31 figures. Balanoff was backed by Joe Romano, president of Local 15271 at Danly Machine Company in Cicero, Illinois; Ola Kennedy, a member of Local 1273 at Hammond Valve and a long-time activist in District 31 women's and Black rights efforts; Ralph Della Rossa, president of Local 1027 at Calumet Steel, who delivered a portion of his remarks in Spanish; George Patterson, a retired local CIO leader from the 1930s who was Local 65's first president at U.S. Steel South

Works; Bill Andrews, president of Local 1010 at Inland Steel; and Harold Washington, a Black Democratic congressman from Chicago.

Messages of support were conveyed by the presidents of Locals 13796 and 12275, Jacque Becich and Fred Hershberger, leaders of the thirty-five-week strike against the Northern Indiana Public Service Company.

"We couldn't have survived the strike without the help of Jim Balanoff," Becich told the crowd.

Hershberger said he would work for Balanoff's reelection to help "the union movement get itself together, not only here, but throughout the world" in the face of a mounting employer offensive against the labor movement.

What kind of campaign will it be?

"Long and tough," Local 1010's Bill Andrews told the crowd. He didn't get an argument on that. But the mood at the first rally of Balanoff supporters was, "we're up for it."



Ed Sadowski spoke at rally: 'I'm going to get out early, stay out late to get Balanoff elected.' He called Parton 'a puppet whose strings are controlled by Pittsburgh.'

...socialists

Continued from preceding page

pendent Political Party are playing a role in this.

There was a report by Mark Zola, a Pittsburgh steelworker, about the March 28 antinuclear demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Steelworkers international officers have not backed it, but leaders of the Auto Workers, Machinists, and Mine Workers have. There is growing support within the Steelworkers union.

The March 28 demonstration is the day after expiration of the coal miners' contract. And one of the themes is support to the miners.

A coal miner from the Pittsburgh area attended the meeting and explained some of the issues in the upcoming coal contract and its importance for the labor movement as a whole.

Another aspect of the socialist suit against the government was discussed in a special report by Tom Fiske, who works at Lockheed in Marietta, Georgia. He reported on the recent firings of fifteen unionists there, most of whom are members of the Socialist Workers Party.

The case is becoming a test of the company claim that they have the right to fire anyone they want. It is a basic challenge to the right of unions to exist. Support for the fired workers from steelworkers and other unionists is a strong show of the solidarity of labor and the failure of red baiting.

Get out socialist ideas

In her report on tasks of socialist steelworkers, Meisa Patterson from Local 8888 in Newport News pointed to

opportunities to get out socialist ideas through the trial of the government and through the distribution of the *Militant*, *Young Socialist*, and Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*—all of which will carry extensive

trial coverage.

She pointed to the Polish workers and to Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua as practical examples of some of the things socialists talk about. She encouraged participation in tours to

Sparrows Point management victimizes King Day marchers

At the meeting of socialist steelworkers Yvonne Hayes, who works at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point Mill near Baltimore, reported on participation in the 100,000-person Martin Luther King Day march in Washington January 15.

"The march was to demand that Martin Luther King's birthday be made a legal holiday. Well, a large number of Black workers at the Point made it a holiday, just did not show up at work and went to the march."

Hayes was one of a group of about fifteen union activists who were authorized by Local 2609 President Dave Wilson to take the day off for the march as union business.

When they returned to the plant, Hayes and four others were slapped with management reprimands.

"The company claimed that they would not recognize time off for union business for people who are not union officers. When my foreman was giving me the written warning, he said there was extraordinary absenteeism that day."

"Dozens, or maybe hundreds of



YVONNE HAYES

workers from the Point went to that demonstration. The company attempt to penalize us involves two things. One is a direct attack on the Black workers and all civil rights supporters who feel they have the right to January 15 as a holiday.

"Second, these penalties challenge the right of the union to authorize whoever it wants to conduct union business. It is no business of the company whether you're a union officer or not."

Hayes reported that Local 2609 is fighting the penalties, with wide support within the mill.

Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua.

The last Steelworkers international election in 1977 marked a new stage for the union. It inspired socialists and many others, mostly youth, to become more active. The Sadowski campaign reflected changing times: the end of the capitalist boom, the influence of the radicalization around opposition to the Vietnam War, the civil rights movement, women's liberation, the Cuban revolution.

The Sadowski campaign helped make it obvious that the unions, and especially the powerful industrial unions, were moving to the center of the political stage.

The forces propelling that change have accelerated.

Now, four years later, there is a much larger core of socialists active in the Steelworkers and other industrial unions.

Discussion at this meeting revealed more receptivity to the labor party idea, the proposal for a shorter workweek with no pay cut to fight unemployment, nationalization to stop shutdowns, and multiple seniority lists to protect affirmative-action gains.

The failure of other ideas, from electing "friends of labor" to trying to buy closed plants, is forcing a search for different answers.

In the past few years there have been other meetings similar to this one. But this meeting was marked by a greater awareness of growing opportunities. Opportunities to spread socialist ideas through the SWP and YSA suit against the government, the circulation of socialist publications, and the building of the March 28 labor demonstration at a time when the political situation in the union is opening up.

The prospects are exciting.

By Betsey Stone

In November, I was one of fifty-three people who went to Cuba on a two-week tour sponsored by the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. We were fortunate to have on our tour Eva Chertov, a member of the Socialist Workers Party who had lived in Cuba from 1962 to 1969. Chertov, who was making her first trip back, shared with us her impressions of the changes that have taken place in Cuba since she left in 1969. When we returned to the U.S., she summed up what she learned in the following interview.

* * *

Stone: First, can you say a few words about what you did in Cuba while you were there in the 1960s?

Chertov: I lived in Havana and was married to a Cuban. I studied at the University of Havana, taught English to adult education classes, helped set up a program for training language teachers, and worked as a translator for the Cuban press agency, Prensa Latina.

Since I was in Cuba for personal reasons, I was not given the special treatment usually given foreign technicians. I lived as the Cubans lived, on a Cuban ration card.

Stone: What was your impression of Cuba today, after being gone so long?

Chertov: Returning after eleven years, I felt the changes were incredible. Today the Cubans refer to the first decade of the revolution, the time I lived there, as "los años duros," the hard years.

U.S. blockade

When I first arrived it was shortly after the United States imposed the blockade stopping trade with Cuba. Up until then Cuba had imported almost all its goods from the U.S., so the blockade brought with it shortages of everything, from toothpaste to replacement parts for machinery. During this time food was strictly rationed and we had just enough food to survive. In fact, if it had not been for the help of the Soviet Union and other workers states, the Cuban people would have literally faced starvation.

After a while things began to pick up, but then hurricane Flora hit, which put a large part of Cuban farm land under water. The food situation after that was very tight and continued to be so for some time.

Since 1969, the economic situation has improved dramatically. Coming back, one of the first things I noticed was the number of goods now off ration. I went to visit an old friend and she went to the store to buy food for our lunch. I didn't want to eat any of it, because I thought I would be taking some of her ration. But then I found out that the things she had bought—butter, cheese, a can of peas—she had gotten on the free market.

I remember in the late 1960s everything was on ration and we couldn't get cheese, except maybe a little at Christmas. Milk was available only for children, old people, and the sick. Now you can get milk easily. The same is true for fish and eggs. This means that every Cuban now is able to get adequate protein in their diet. Fruits and vegetables in season are also freely available—another change. They are also making wonderful ice cream and yogurt. This is a result of the enormous expansion of the dairy industry.

Chicken, beef and pork are still on ration, but exist in greater quantities than before. Once every nine days you get approximately three-quarters of a pound of chicken or meat. Although fish is more available, unfortunately Cubans are not very fond of fish.

Consumer items

Another striking change to me was the number of consumer items available. In 1969 there used to be almost nothing in the store windows. Because people were making more money after the revolution, and the money was more evenly distributed, there were not enough goods to meet the demand. So as soon as a new item would come on the market, it would be snatched up. This

RETURN TO CUBA

How revolution has changed since 1960s



Militant/Osborne Hart

'One of the most inspiring things is new generation of youth who have grown up since I left Cuba.'

was the case with books, clothes, everything.

But now production and trade have increased to the point where you see stores full of goods. And there is a much more even distribution of goods throughout the country. On our tour we drove all the way down the island from Santiago de Cuba to Havana, and we found stores full of goods everywhere.

We also noticed that most people have TVs, even in the rural areas. About one-third have washing machines, which was not the case before.

Stone: I read that up until recently clothes were available only on ration and in very limited quantity. For example, a person could get something like two pairs of socks a year, one pair of pants, two shirts. So I was very surprised when I got to Cuba to see how well people were dressed.

Chertov: Yes, the situation with clothes is much better. People can buy a limited amount of clothing at low prices with their ration cards and they can also get most items of clothing at higher prices on the free market. And the quality is much better than it used to be. I noticed they even have designer jeans. One of the labels says, "Cuba Sí."

They are still working out certain problems that have come with opening up the free market. For instance friends of mine said there was a problem with brassieres. When they put them on the free market people rushed to buy them up because they still had the idea that if you don't buy all you can, they will disappear. This led to a scarcity. We were also told that there was a problem with the quality of shoes.

Stone: No one on our tour saw any lines to buy goods. People said there were lines sometimes when a new shipment of

something came in, but we didn't see any.

Chertov: I spent quite a bit of time in lines in the 1960s, so that's another big change for the better. They also have something now called the shopping bag plan. Working women save time by leaving their shopping list and a bag at the grocery on the way to work, and when they come back in the evening, it will be filled.

Stone: What about housing?

Chertov: Housing has also improved. You see new construction all over the place and many new schools, hospitals, recreation facilities, and housing developments. There is also an arrangement whereby people can swap houses and apartments so they can get housing that better suits their needs. There still is a great deal of inadequate housing and people living in crowded conditions. But compared to other countries in Latin America, Cuba's progress in housing is outstanding.

Rent is also very low, six to ten percent of your pay.

Stone: What about inflation?

Chertov: Because they have abolished capitalism, they don't have as serious a problem with inflation as we have in the U.S. For example, there are many foods in Cuba that cost as little as they did ten years ago.

They do not have a system that leads to price increases so the rich can make bigger profits. But, Cubans are affected by the inflation in the international capitalist market, since they buy goods on that market. They also suffer from the fact that while the prices of manufactured goods are going up on the world market, the price of sugar and other

agricultural exports has generally been going down.

The effect of this is softened by the fact that the bulk of Cuba's trade is with the Soviet Union where the same laws of capitalism do not apply. We were told, for example, that today the same amount of oil from the Soviet Union is traded for the same amount of Cuban sugar as was the case fifteen years ago.

Economic crisis

Stone: The U.S. press claims there is a big economic crisis in Cuba. What would you say to that?

Chertov: I would say first of all that in assessing the Cuban economy you should not compare it to the U.S. economy, but to other countries who have had the same history of imperialist domination as Cuba. When you make this comparison, Cuba has made spectacular progress, not only in making goods available to everyone, but in ending hunger and disease, in developing industry and agriculture, in ending unemployment and poverty in the countryside, and in education, and social services.

There have been economic problems. Diseases ruined large parts of last year's tobacco and sugar crops and swine fever has broken out in the eastern part of Cuba. There is also the continuing impact of the U.S. blockade and the underdevelopment that the revolution inherited in 1959. This means there are not as many consumer goods available as in the U.S. For example, most people in Cuba do not own cars.

But, when the U.S. press says that the Cuban economy is in a big crisis, this is just another one of their lies. In fact, economically the Cuban people are better off than ever before—much better. And if you go to Cuba, the Cuban people themselves will tell you this. It's obvious!

I would say that in general the Cuban revolution is much stronger than when I was there, not weaker.

This strength comes not only from an improvement in the standard of living of the people, but also from broader political changes in Cuba and the world.

Peoples' Power

One of the most important things has been the development of People's Power. Starting in Matanzas province in 1974, assemblies of Peoples' Power have been set up throughout the country in order to give people more direct control over the institutions which affect their lives. Medical care, education, transportation, stores and restaurants, many workplaces, and sports and recreation facilities are all now under the control of the municipal Peoples' Power assemblies.

The delegates to these assemblies are elected directly by the people from election districts ranging in size from 100 people in rural areas to 3,000 in cities. The delegates are not paid. The overwhelming majority of those elected are working people who carry out many of their tasks in their free time after work.

These municipal assemblies have taken over many responsibilities that were previously centralized nationally. Whereas you used to have to go to the national ministry of education to get your school repaired, now the municipal Peoples' Power can do that. And Peoples' Power decides what the priorities for the city are in construction repair of old buildings and so forth.

All this is outlined in a book by Marta Harnecker, *Cuba, Dictatorship or Democracy*. Anyone who wants to understand Peoples' Power should begin by reading that book.

I remember in the late 1960s, there was a great deal of disorganization and soul searching about how to solve problems. You would be in a ration line, waiting to buy onions, and then you would hear someone say that a whole warehouse of onions had rotted due to some slip-up.

When people heard things like that it was terribly frustrating, especially given the shortages, because there were no channels to solve these problems.

People would try to get in touch with a

Continued on next page

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person in a ministry who was responsible or they would bring it to the attention of Fidel. Fidel was always showing up unexpectedly in different places and often when he did people would barrage him with problems.

Now people have an institutionalized way to take action themselves to solve problems. For example, I was sitting in a friend's house and she said to me, "Remember that neighborhood near here where they couldn't get water for a whole number of years? Well, right after Peoples' Power, they got water."

The way my friends described how Peoples' Power functioned was that every three months everyone in the neighborhood district gets together with their delegate in what is called an accountability session. They get a report from the delegate on what went on at the municipal assembly and discuss what should be done by the assembly and how to solve problems in their district. They can also take up questions of concern nationally.

If the person they elected as a delegate is not doing an adequate job, there are procedures for direct recall of that delegate.

Stone: I believe that it was right after you left Cuba that the whole process began which led up to the creation of Peoples' Power. It began with the 1970 campaign to produce ten million tons of sugar in one year. They got about eight million, which was a lot, but the goal was not reached and the economy was disrupted in the process.

Chertov: Yes, Fidel explained afterward that one of the problems was that the people who knew the goal was unrealistic did not have enough input in working out the plan for the campaign. Flowing from this, in the early 1970s steps were taken to involve the masses of working people of Cuba more directly in the decision making.

Union role in decisions

First there was a campaign to strengthen the mass organizations, most importantly the trade unions. The unions were given a much bigger role in economic decisions.

Now the unions discuss the national economic plan. For example, the five-year plan that was just discussed at the second congress of the Communist Party was first discussed by the workers in all the workplaces. Each union also discusses and votes on the production plan and goals for that particular plant and industry.

Stone: On our tour we talked with many working people about the mass organizations such as the Federation of Cuban Women, the peasants' organization, the youth organizations, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, and People's Power.

It was striking to me the way people answered our questions about these organizations, describing them with pride and confidence. They clearly saw them as theirs, as organizations they participated in and were familiar with, as organizations which gave them a say about what goes on in Cuban society.

Chertov: The importance of Peoples' Power was illustrated last year in the events that led to a shake-up in the government and a series of speeches against bureaucracy by Raúl Castro.

Severe problems had developed: a crisis in transportation in Havana, long lines at the health clinics, and other serious problems.

These were discussed in the municipal Peoples' Power but after a while it became clear that they could not be solved at the local level. It became clear that these were problems that stemmed from mismanagement and lack of concern at the highest levels of the national ministries.

Then you also had the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs) doing one of their jobs, which is looking out for anything that is against the laws passed by Peoples' Power.

These committees were reporting that there were officials abusing public prop-

erty. These officials were using construction materials to build homes for themselves; they were letting their kids joyride in cars using state gasoline, things like this.

And people started to say, "Why should I outdo myself for the revolution with things going on like this?" So there was growing resentment against such inequalities and inefficiencies, which was expressed in the local Peoples' Power meetings and in letters to the newspapers and letters to Fidel. It was also discussed in the national assembly of Peoples' Power.

This discussion was no doubt aided by the fact that there is a direct line of communication to the national assembly from the local assemblies, since over half of the national assembly delegates are elected directly from the local assemblies.

In response to the outcry against the abuses taking place, a decision was made to reorganize the government ministries. And Raúl Castro made a series of speeches blasting bureaucrats who misused positions of responsibility. He denounced mismanagement, stealing from the public, bureaucratic attitudes

who went were motivated by the desire for the kind of consumer goods they could get in the U.S.

Others who left were afraid of the growing U.S. threats against Cuba. Revolutionary struggles in Central America are bringing a more serious confrontation between the U.S. and Cuba. Some people—those the Cubans term the fainthearted—want to get out of the line of fire.

A small minority of those who left were people who actually held official positions of some kind, as plant managers or government officials. It was these people, who had been given positions of authority in the revolution, that the Cubans were most angry at for leaving.

When people would learn that such an official was going, demonstrations would begin against them. These demonstrations began in the neighborhoods and were completely spontaneous. People would surround the homes of those leaving, carrying signs and chanting.

Often these officials embodied just the bureaucratic qualities that Raúl Castro had castigated in his speeches—conservative political ideas, 'faintheartedness' in the face of U.S. threats, stealing from

who were given the option to go included people who had stolen public property or cheated on their ration cards—crimes which show a mentality of getting more for yourself at the expense of others.

There was also a charge in the American press that the mentally ill were being sent to the U.S., but Fidel explained that this was a lie. He said Cuba thinks too much of the mentally ill to send them to the U.S.

Stone: When we were visiting Camagüey province, the head of the Cuban Institute of Friendship with the Peoples told us he felt the relatives from the United States who visited Cuba in large numbers over the past several years had an influence on many of those who left. Could you comment on that?

Chertov: Many of these relatives came down laden with presents, with pictures of their cars, describing the U.S. as a land of streets paved with gold. This was part of rationalizing their own decision to leave Cuba and they did have some effect.

Maríel brought into the open a badly needed discussion about the values and priorities of these visiting relatives. It showed the logic of putting as your primary goal in life owning a car or a fancy stereo—not just wanting there to be more consumer goods, which everyone in Cuba does, but putting personal consumption first.

To the Cubans, those who chose Miami have played into the hands of imperialism. When we told people in Cuba about the difficulties those who left were having in the U.S., people made it clear they did not think they deserved a lot of sympathy. They have the same attitude toward them as a unionist in this country would have toward a scab in a strike.

Pride in revolution

This rejection of those who left is tied to the enormous pride Cubans have in the revolution and its accomplishments. It's been a long struggle. Their lives have been defined by building this revolution. And now they've begun to see the fruits of their labor and they feel insulted to the marrow of their bones that people turn their backs on all this.

The whole experience of the 125,000 leaving and the demonstrations that followed was a very deep-going and emotional one.

The massive demonstrations, when millions of people marched, were the greatest proof possible of the strength of the revolution. Through these demonstrations the Cuban people showed their rejection of the motives of those who left, their determination to stand up to the provocations and threats by the U.S. and their support for the revolution.

We saw movies of these demonstrations and people spoke about them. There was no mistaking the enthusiasm and commitment of those who marched. Many people described it as a high point in their lives and in the revolution.

Stone: What about Cuba's international role? What has changed since 1969?

Chertov: Perhaps this is the most important change, because 1969 was soon after the death of Che Guevara and the failure of the guerrilla struggle in Bolivia. The Cubans realized then that there might not be any quick victories for the revolution in other countries. So the attitude tended to be one of bracing for a long haul.

But in the middle and late 1970s, this began to change. The Cubans were inspired by a series of victories—first Vietnam, then the fall of the Portuguese empire in Southern Africa and the victory of the Cuban and Angolan troops in defeating the invasion of Angola by South Africa.

And now, with the victories in Nicaragua and Grenada and the massive struggles in El Salvador and Guatemala, revolutionary morale is very high.

Effect of Nicaragua

After the victory in Nicaragua, a huge rally greeted the Nicaraguan fighters when they visited Cuba, and wherever they went on the island, people rushed out to meet them. Our tour guide said



Above: Rural Bentre. While still inadequate, housing in Cuba is best in Latin America.

Right: Eva Chertov, center, translating for socialists during tour.



Militant photos by Osborne Hart

and "faintheartedness" in the face of threats from the U.S.

The reorganization, in which many such bureaucrats lost their jobs, and the speeches by Raúl were seen as a vindication of the point of view of the masses. And there was great rejoicing in Cuba about this.

Stone: What about the exodus of the 125,000 Cubans who left for Miami? What did the Cubans you spoke with have to say about that?

Chertov: A Cuban friend of mine, Dr. Ivo Horta, lived near the Peruvian Embassy and was a doctor assigned to care for the people who went to the embassy in order to leave the country.

When I first questioned Ivo about this, I didn't refer to the people in the embassy as scum. He corrected me. He said the right word is *escoria*, or in English, scum.

He said all that we had seen in the Cuban films about the type of people in the embassy was correct—the bullies held sway in the embassy. The law of the jungle prevailed, with the stronger snatching food away from the children and old people. He told me that for him, the exodus of the scum and the mass demonstrations that followed strengthened his pride in the revolution.

The Cubans who left had various reasons for doing so, but most Cubans I spoke to said a big percentage of those

the public, and abuse of authority. So feelings ran pretty high at these demonstrations.

At the university a professor who was leaving was confronted by a mass of angry, near-violent students.

One person told me that when she and others were picketing the home of such a traitor, the police came by and said, "Compañeros, don't you think you've made your point?" But the people refused to leave.

And the police had to protect these people when they left their house to go to the grocery.

So, these demonstrations were a continuation of the earlier struggle against bureaucracy that had culminated with the reorganization of the government and Raúl Castro's speeches. It was a way for the Cuban masses to show their complete hatred and opposition for such bureaucrats and all they stand for.

U.S. media charges

Stone: What about the charge that the Cubans sent people to the U.S. who had been in jail in Cuba?

Chertov: Many Cubans mentioned to us that when the 125,000 left for Miami the crime rate in Cuba decreased. They also told us that some people were let out of prison to come to the U.S., but that no one was sent who was presently serving a sentence for a violent crime.

No one was forced to go, but prisoners



May 17, 1980, March of the Fighting People. 'Massive demonstrations when escoria left were greatest proof possible of strength of revolution.'

Militant José Pérez

that for her it was like reliving the euphoric days of the Cuban revolution in the early 1960s, when the guerrillas came out of the mountains with their beards.

Over the past decade tens of thousands of Cubans have gone abroad as teachers, doctors, technicians, and soldiers. Many have seen the revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada firsthand.

Many others have seen the horrible conditions of life brought about by imperialist domination in Angola, Jamaica, and other countries.

They come back with a deeper appreciation of the gains of the Cuban revolution—the free medical care, the high quality of education, the gains made against poverty, racism, and unemployment.

This is all reflected in a growth in revolutionary confidence. And there is no question that at least the people I knew in Cuba are now in a clearer state of mind concerning the revolution and what to do with their lives than before.

Of course, the Cuban revolution has always been internationalist. They have always seen it as their duty to support revolutionary struggles throughout the world. But I think now there is a deeper conviction among the masses in Cuba that their fate and future is linked to the struggle for the liberation of the peoples of the world.

Good time to visit

I think we were very fortunate to be in Cuba at the time we were. Because the events of last spring, Mariel and the mass demonstrations, were the culmination of something that's been building up.

Cubans have gone through a whole series of experiences—the development of People's Power, the strengthening of the trade unions and other mass organizations, the improvement in the economy, the shake-up in the government and Raúl Castro's speeches, and now the change in the situation internationally.

All this has brought about a strengthening of the revolution and a strengthening of the role of the working class in the revolution.

Stone: We had one person on our tour who had just been to Nicaragua. He said that after being in Nicaragua, Cuba seemed like a wealthy country. He described some of the challenges and problems the Nicaraguan revolution is facing due to the poverty and the high rate of illiteracy and said that he could now better appreciate the importance of twenty years of educational progress in Cuba.

Chertov: The higher cultural and educational level makes it possible for the masses to participate more effectively in economic decision-making and in institutions such as People's Power.

When I was in Cuba in the 1960s, the first steps were being taken. People were being won to socialism for the first time, the economy was being totally reorganized, and the mass organizations and the Communist Party were being built. It's often hard to grasp the real immensity of these tasks, especially when at the same time people are learning such basic things as how to read and write.

New generation of youth

One of the most inspiring things about going back was talking with the

new generation of youth who have grown up since I left Cuba. We met and talked to them everywhere—on the beaches, in the discos, in the bookstores. They were very alive. And they had an enormous belief in the future that is completely missing in the U.S.

You talk with them about what they are planning to do with their lives—work in agriculture, be a doctor, or whatever—and this is discussed in the context not only that this is possible, but that by doing this they will be helping the revolution as well.

These youth have shed much of the backwardness and prejudice that still affects the older generations. The women are stronger in standing up for their rights and they get more support in this from the men of their generation.

The youth are also so accustomed to a society that does not discriminate in terms of race that it is hard for them to believe or understand the type of racism that exists in the U.S.

On questions concerning sex, they are also very different from their parents. When I lived in Cuba there was the remains of a very hypocritical attitude toward sex. People went out and had affairs, but you weren't supposed to talk about it. Now, friends my age, who have teenage children, told me there is a sexual revolution among young people.

One friend has a sixteen year-old son who is living with a young woman in her mother's house. They may or may not get married. This would have been unheard of ten years ago. And, of course, birth control is free and available to anyone, including young people, on request.

Status of gays

Stone: What about the attitude toward gays?

Chertov: Of course in Cuba there are no laws against gay sex as there are in the United States. Such laws were wiped out with the passage of the new family code.

The attitude toward gays in Cuba is still backward, however. They do face discrimination.

But here also, especially among the youth, there is some change for the better. For example, we were told by a member of the Communist Youth that an informal discussion is going on among members of that organization about this whole question, which represents progress.

There is also a new sex manual, widely used, which takes the position that gay sex is not a sickness, but should be accepted as part of human sexuality.

A brother of one of my friends told us an interesting story. He is gay and he has always been a revolutionary. When Mariel opened up, some people in his Committee for the Defense of the Revolution filled out an application for him to leave for Miami.

He was outraged.

He went to his job director and asked him to go with him to talk with the people in the CDR. The job director told them, "This man is a revolutionary. We don't care who he sleeps with; you don't do such a thing to a revolutionary."

I asked my friend, "Don't you think that other homosexuals would have left Cuba if this had happened to them?"

He said, "Not if they were revolutionaries." He also said he felt that things were generally getting better on this

question and that he thought it was important for gays like himself to stay and continue to be part of the revolution.

Stone: Are there other changes you noticed in Cuba that you would like to raise?

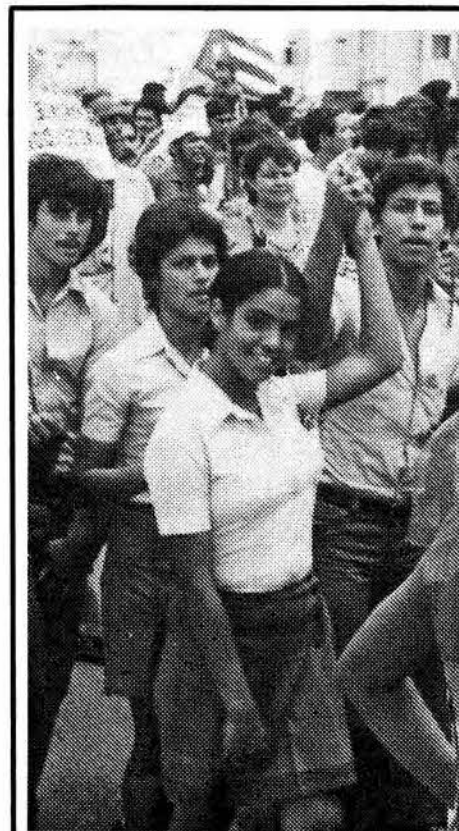
Chertov: The Cuban Communist Party has been expanded to bring in more workers and now a higher percentage of the party is industrial workers than ever before.

Stone: How do you become a member of the Communist Party?

Chertov: You first have to be chosen by other workers in your work place as a vanguard worker, that is, someone who stands out as a good worker and has the qualities valued in a revolutionary. Then you have to be voted in by members of the party in the unit you join.

So it is a highly selective process. The Cubans will tell you that only "the best of the best" are voted in as members.

A number of my friends have been selected to be Communist Party members since I left. This impressed me because I know them to be critical-minded people, people who think for themselves and who had no particular connections. It shows the openness of the party.



It's only ninety miles from Florida, but the U.S. trade blockade against Cuba and the campaign of lies about life there make it unknown territory for most Americans. Why not go see for yourself? Celebrate May Day, the international workers' holiday, in Havana.

These tours are especially designed for American trade unionists. You will meet with Cuban unionists, visit workplaces, and have time to explore Havana on your own.

On May Day you will be part of the huge rally in Havana's Plaza of the Revolution.

The one-week tour, April 26-May 3, costs \$535. It includes an overnight trip to Pinar del Río.

Visit Cuba for May Day

One-week tour:

April 26-May 3

New two-week tour:

April 19-May 3

The two-week tour, tentatively set for April 19-May 3, will cost about \$830. This group will fly to Santiago, returning by bus to Havana in time for May Day.

Prices include round trip air transportation from Miami, hotel accommodations (double occupancy), three meals per day, transportation for group visits, and the services of a bilingual Cuban guide. Full payment and passport information for both tours is due March 20.

To apply for either tour, send \$100 deposit now with your name, address, and phone number to: Perspectiva Mundial Tours, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 929-3486.

Americans learn about education in Cuba

By Ernest Harsch

BOSTON—The National Conference on Education in Cuba, held here January 24-25, was more than just a gathering to discuss Cuba's impressive gains in the field of education. It was an act of political solidarity.

Despite the American government's efforts to limit contacts between the Cuban and American people, educators from both countries shared the same platforms, participated together on panels and in workshops, and exchanged information and experiences.

The conference, which drew nearly 200 participants, was organized by the Center for Cuban Studies, based in New York City, and the U.S./Cuba Educational Exchange, a group of educators from the Boston area.

Featured throughout the conference were two prominent educators from Cuba, Abel Prieto Morales and Lidia Turner Martí, who spoke at many of the panels and workshops, as well as at the main plenary sessions.

Abel Prieto is well-qualified to explain the Cuban educational system. He has been influential in formulating and carrying out virtually all aspects of Cuba's education policy since the beginning of the revolution. In 1961 he headed the massive literacy campaign for Pinar del Río Province. At various times he served as director of primary education, vice-minister of education, and general director of adult education, among other positions.

Prieto is currently a member of the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers, the highest body in Cuba's executive branch of government, serving as the chief adviser to the vice-president in charge of education, science, and sports.

Lidia Turner has also had considera-



Cuban educators Abel Prieto Morales and Lidia Turner Martí



Militant/Ernest Harsch

ble experience. For more than twenty years she has taught at the primary, secondary, and university levels. She holds several important posts.

Following the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution, Turner led the Cuban delegation to that country to promote cooperation in educational research. She spearheaded the recruitment of 2,000 Cuban teachers to work in Nicaragua's literacy campaign.

In addition, conference participants heard from a number of former Cuban teachers who are currently attached to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations or the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C. Several of them told about their participation in the great literacy campaign of 1961, when they were barely into their teens.

Among the Americans who spoke at the conference were Marvin Leiner,

professor of education at Queens College in New York and author of *Children Are the Revolution: Day-Care in Cuba*; Howard Zinn, professor of political science at Boston University; Karen Wald, author of *The Children of Che*; and Jonathan Kozol, author of *Children of the Revolution: A Yankee Teacher in the Cuban Schools*, as well as several books on U.S. schools.

Virtually all facets of Cuba's educational system were discussed: the literacy campaign, teacher training, higher education, the schools in the countryside, adult education, the role of the mass organizations, and much more.

For those who attended, it was a unique opportunity to get a detailed look at one of the most important achievements of the Cuban revolution. There could be no denying that the quality and extent of Cuba's education

is virtually unequalled among countries that have suffered from imperialist oppression.

It was not always so. Abel Prieto told about the first school that he taught in, in 1942. The classroom had a dirt floor. None of the children had shoes. As a result, all of them suffered from parasites that penetrated through the soles of their feet.

Conditions in the rest of Latin America are still pretty much the same. Marvin Leiner, citing a United Nations report, pointed to the wretched conditions that prevail in most schools on the continent. About half of all Latin American children, he noted, are malnourished.

Prieto explained that he was sometimes asked by economists from other poor countries why Cuba spends so much on education. Doesn't that use up scarce resources that could otherwise be employed for economic development?

Education and economic development cannot be counterposed, Prieto replied. "Cuba does not have many natural resources for the development of its economy," he said. "All it has is its people. So to develop our people, to raise their cultural level, is also to develop our economy."

Jonathan Kozol, who is quite familiar with the educational systems in both Cuba and the United States, stressed the poor quality of U.S. schooling. There was much, he said, that Americans could learn from Cuba's example.

The Cuban participants also felt they had gained from the conference.

Speaking at one of the plenary sessions, Prieto declared, "We have learned a lot here. We have learned what solidarity means."

Vito Vigil, longtime socialist fighter, dies

By Samara Jarosh

Vito Vigil, a long-time revolutionary and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, died January 29 in Las Vegas, New Mexico, at the age of forty-seven.

As a youth, Vito left the town of Mosquera, New Mexico, where he had been born of a poor farming family. It was in Denver that he met an old Bolshevik who convinced him of the need for socialism. Vito joined the Socialist Labor Party for some years. As a farmworker in California, he did organizing for the Farmworkers union.

Vito was totally self-educated, reading everything he could. And what he studied, he studied seriously. He loved music and learned the guitar by practicing four hours a day.

But his true love was politics.

He defended the Cuban revolution from the start. During the Bay of Pigs invasion, he wanted to fight for Cuba but only got as far as Mexico.

He was always surrounded by young people—talking politics. He had his eye out to win young people to socialism—and could pick the best.

It was he who spotted Manuel Archuleta, who was later to become the 1980 SWP candidate for Congress from New Mexico's first district, and won him to socialism.

Manuel first met Vito in 1969, when Manuel was a student at Highlands University in Las Vegas. Manuel would see Vito at every Raza Unida Party meeting and other Chicano

movement events, participating in discussions and distributing socialist literature.

Vito was the first Chicano socialist Manuel had met, and he was serious. Vito wanted to help forge an alliance between the Chicano and workers' movements.

It was Manuel who brought Vito around the Socialist Workers Party in 1975. Vito helped organize a meeting for Peter Camejo, then Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, in Las Vegas.

This summer he decided to join the SWP.

Typically, Vito called us in Albuquerque last October to say that he needed a two-day campaign team in

Las Vegas.

He had set up a speaking engagement for Manuel Archuleta in front of his union, the Southwest Council of Industrial Workers. He had bought thirty minutes of time for Manuel on a Spanish-language radio station.

Vito did not move to Albuquerque. A militant Chicano had just become president of Vito's union local, and Vito felt responsible for this worker's decision to run. He felt he could not leave his union in the midst of battles with the employers and the bureaucracy.

Vito was a special person. A lot of people of his generation went through similar experiences, but Vito became a revolutionary, an example to young fighters.

Chicago mayor appoints racists to school board

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—This city's Democratic Mayor Jane Byrne dumped two Black school board members February 11 and named a pair of white foes of school desegregation in their place.

Claiming she was "surprised" by the avalanche of protest which met the maneuver, Byrne insisted the move had nothing to do with the main task facing the board, coming up with a school desegregation plan by March 31.

But Black leaders thought differently.

Operation PUSH termed the segregationist appointments a "further insult to the Black community and every fair thinking person."

The Chicago NAACP stated it was "alarmed to hear this announcement. We are even more alarmed by [Byrne's] replacements, particularly Mrs. [Betty] Bonow."

Bonow, a leader of the segregation-



ists in Chicago's all-white Bogan area, headed a racist outfit that successfully defeated plans for school desegregation in the 1960s.

An outspoken racist, Bonow led segregationists against a voluntary integration plan in the early 1970s, blocking attempts by Black students to attend Bogan schools.

Appointed along with Bonow was Rose Mary Janus, a more soft-spoken foe of Black rights.

Byrne's mock disbelief at Black anger was especially gross. In fact, moments after her announcement, Democratic Alderman William Lipinski, head of the city council's education committee, hailed the appointments as a "great victory for the white, ethnic middle class."

Lipinski's committee is scheduled to hold hearings on the appointments.

The Chicago school system, the nation's most segregated, has withstood desegregation for two decades, first

under the machine of the late Democratic Mayor Richard J. Daley, and now under the active opposition of his successor, Jane Byrne.

Byrne's racist appointments followed on the heels of another indignity heaped upon the Black community.

A year-long effort by scores of community leaders and organizations to secure the appointment of Manfred Byrd, a popular Black school department official, for superintendent of schools, was quashed recently.

Byrne's board still felt pressure to hire a Black for the system's chief administrator. But Ruth Love, who left a similar position in Oakland, doesn't feel very secure about her new job in the wake of the sacking of Black board members and the appointments of Bonow and Janus.

She told reporters she had decided not to sell her Oakland home, but would hold on to it, for "safekeeping."



Must be turning summersaults—Commenting on the spryness of Earle Jorgensen, a steel executive, eighty-two, an associate commented: "Earle... is happiest when things are most challenging, like when the economy is really bad."

Dialectical theology—Local Philippine churches did a brisk business in T-shirts heralding the pope's visit. Responding to charges of commercialism, the archbishop of Manila philosophized: "Money is the excrement of the devil, but it is also good fertilizer."

Sound familiar?—*New York Times* business editors advise that, according to experts, "except in a few isolated areas, there is no physical shortage of water. What is lacking is adequate incentives, like higher prices, to promote more efficient use."

Didn't Dr. Kissinger do the diagnosis?—Benjamin Kean, the MD who treated the ex-shah here, is suing *Science* magazine because it opined that his diagnosis was "superficial" and "flawed."

White House pedagogy—One Carter-era anecdote concerns daughter Amy doing homework and asking her mother about the Industrial Revolution. Mom had an aide phone the Labor Department. Assuming it was a presidential inquiry, the department assigned a team of researchers to the computers for a weekend, at substantial cost. Amy's paper got a "C."

Band-aid?—Inspectors at an underground storage facility in Nevada received a shipment of radioactive waste from the Vermont Yankee nuclear

plant, including a barrel with a taped-over hole in it. Reactor officials said procedures have been tightened to prevent recurrence.

Free-enterprise ideology—Examining the bright side, *Fortune* magazine says "a prolonged recession in this country could have one positive effect. It might suddenly put a premium on corporate loyalty." In confirmation, it quotes one "crusty" executive who says, "When it comes to establishing loyalty, I have yet to find a substitute for fear."

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Puerto Rico libre!

For more than eighty years the Puerto Rican people have fought for independence. "Puerto Rico libre!" has been their battlecry. This cry was heard in the U.S. Congress chambers on March 1, 1954. On that day members of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, led by Lolita Lebrón, fired shots, wounding five congressmen.

Five nationalists were rounded up, tried in a witch-hunt hysteria, and locked away for twenty-five years. In September 1979 Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Oscar Collazo, and Irving Flores were finally released. Andrés Figueroa Cordero had died of cancer earlier that year, shortly after his release. They were the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere.

The March 8, 1954, *Militant* responded to the March 1 event in an editorial. While criticizing the error of substituting "futile personal action for the action of the masses," the editorial praised the "courage and spirit of self-sacrifice" of the nationalists and said that their action "will meet with sympathetic response throughout the colonial world and among politically conscious workers everywhere."

Below are excerpts from the *Militant* editorial.
—Priscilla Schenk

The shots fired by three Puerto Rican nationalists in the House of Representatives March 1 echoed around the world. The immediate reflex of the capitalist press was to picture it as an act of "insanity." As proof, Wall Street's propagandists claim (1) that U.S. domination has been beneficial

to Puerto Rico, (2) that the Puerto Ricans can have "independence" any time they want it, but have overwhelmingly rejected the offer. Therefore to shoot up Congress was "madness."

Now let us turn to the claims of the capitalist propagandists. The March 3 *Wall Street Journal* states them succinctly: "But there is no injustice to be found in our relations with Puerto Rico. Once a dependency and now a commonwealth, Puerto Rico has been promised its independence by two Presidents and by our United Nations delegate. All that they have to do is to ask for it. But they have refused to do this."

What are the facts? For more than a half century, Wall Street has savagely exploited this tiny but fertile island. In the whole Western Hemisphere it would be difficult to find slums more depressing than those in Puerto Rico. The immigration of hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans into the tenement-ridden areas of New York is sufficient evidence that what they were leaving was not exactly a tropical paradise.

After some 50 years of bleeding Puerto Rico white, Wall Street's political representatives finally offered the Puerto Ricans "independence"—if they wanted it. The offer was not entirely disinterested and philanthropic. It coincided with the need of U.S. imperialism to appear before the world as the guardian and banner bearer of democracy. Dove-tailing with the preparations for World War II, it was a diplomatic necessity for American imperialism to clean up a bit, especially before the colonial public. And Puerto Rico had long been held up as

the horrible example of what happens to a land that comes under Wall Street's domination.

At best it was like a slaveholder offering freedom to a famished slave after years of exploitation, but with the proviso that if he takes advantage of the offer he doesn't eat at all. For the offer of freedom to Puerto Rico carried with it the threat of economic and political reprisals that could prove swift death to the island's economy. It was fear of this that caused a good many Puerto Ricans to reject the "generous" offer. Thus there is real political substance behind the Puerto Rican terrorist gun play.

Let's consider finally the use the witch hunters are making of the incident. A typical headline appeared in the March 3 *N.Y. World-Telegram and Sun*: "Link to Red Conspiracy Was Shown." The actual fact is that the only "links" so far shown outside of the nationalist political views of the terrorists are that the leader, Lolita Lebrón, is a Roman Catholic; and one of her landladies reported that she "kept a Bible by her bed." None of the witch hunters, however, have tried to use these "links" to "associate" her with the Roman Catholic Senator McCarthy or the Pope. They want a Moscow address even if they have to manufacture it.

The shots fired by the Puerto Ricans are symptomatic of profound evils in America's relations with the rest of the world. The cause of those evils, like the cause of the witch hunt, is right here at home. Its address is Wall Street. That is where we must direct our attention—not to the diversionary efforts of the McCarthyites.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

JOBS FOR ALL AT UNION WAGES. Hear socialist candidate Jim Little. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Socialist Workers Party Election Campaign, Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 225-2127.

OAKLAND

HOW TO FIGHT RACIST VIOLENCE: IS BANNING THE KLAN THE ANSWER? Speakers: Representative from San Francisco American Civil Liberties Union; Clifton DeBerry, leader of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 6, 7:30 p.m. 2864 Telegraph. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

SAN FRANCISCO

WOMEN WORKING. Speakers: Sue Englander, National Organization for Women; Toni Maher, Women Organized for Employment; Sylvia Weinstein, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 6, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

SAN JOSE

GRAND OPENING OF NEW HEADQUARTERS. 'WOMEN AND THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REVOLUTION.' Speakers: Karen Wald, author, *Children of Che*; representatives, Nicaragua Support Committee, El Salvador Solidarity Committee. Sun., March 8, 7 p.m. reception, 7:30 p.m. forum. 44 Race St. (near the Alameda). Donation: \$3. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

A RALLY IN SUPPORT OF SOCIALIST SUIT. Speakers: Mohammed Oliver, 1980 Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, Alabama; Anne Braden, Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; others. Sun., March 8, 6:30

p.m. reception; 7:30 p.m. rally; 9 p.m. party. 131 W. Main St. (2nd and Main). Donation \$3. Aup: SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

A TRIBUTE TO INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY. Featuring a film, *With the Cuban Women*, in defense of the Cuban revolution. Sun., March 8, 7 p.m. and 9 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2.50 Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

NEW YORK CAPITAL DISTRICT

WORKING WOMEN: A FIGHTING HISTORY. A film and panel on the history of working women and key battles working women face today. Fri., March 6, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St. Schenectady. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

MANHATTAN

CELEBRATE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY! Film: *With Babies and Banners*, a documentary on women's role in the 1937 Flint strike to unionize General Motors. Speakers: Diane Wang, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York City Council. Fri., March 6, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

CELEBRATE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY. Featuring *Women in Arms*, a film by Victoria Schultz about Nicaragua. In color. Thurs.-Sun., March 12-15, 8 p.m. Donation: \$3; \$2.50 members. Aup: The Center for Cuban Studies. For more information call (212) 685-8086.

OHIO CINCINNATI

RALLY FOR FIRST GREAT CIVIL LIBERTIES

BATTLE OF THE '80s. Speakers: Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party; Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, civil rights leader; Dan Buford, Black Christian Ministry; Margaret Kelley, Young Socialist Alliance; Stephanie Lindsey, Central American Task Force; greetings from Margie Robertson, director, ACLU. Sat., March 7, 7 p.m., reception 8 p.m. rally. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation \$2. Aup: SWP, YSA. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

CLEVELAND

ATTACKS ON HEALTH AND SAFETY ON THE JOB. A panel discussion with representatives from Cleveland Committee on Occupational Safety and Health. Sat., March 7, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

ABORTION RIGHTS IN DANGER: HOW TO STOP THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION. Speakers: Wailene Grady, Women for Racial and Economic Equality; Octavia Roberts, secretary of United Steelworkers Local 2610 women's committee and chair, Equal Rights Amendment committee, Metropolitan Baltimore council, AFL-CIO; Connie McKenna, Catholics for Free Choice; Elizabeth Lariscy, Socialist Workers Party; representative from D.C. National Organization for Women; representative from Reproductive National Network. Fri., March 6, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant N.W. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

REPORT BACK FROM FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN SOLIDARITY WITH NICARAGUA: SALVADOR VENCERÁ! Report on conference in Managua, Nicaragua, by Agnes Chapa, official representative to conference from Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., March 6, 7:30 p.m. 957

University Ave. Donation \$1.50. Aup: YSA and Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 296-9955.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

DEFEND YOUR POLITICAL RIGHTS! A rally in support of Socialist Workers Party lawsuit. Speakers: Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party; George Daitsman, educational director, Allied Industrial Workers and member, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Eunice Edgar, director, Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union; others. Sat., March 14, 6:30 p.m. refreshments, 7:30 p.m. rally. Century Hall, 2340 N. Farwell. Donation: \$3. Aup: SWP. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

MARX AND ENGELS ON SLAVERY AND THE CIVIL WAR. Two classes by Pat Wright, graduate of Socialist Workers Party Leadership School. Sun., March 15, 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 4707 W. Lisbon. Aup: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

LOS ANGELES SOCIALISTS PUT SECRET POLICE ON TRIAL

Speakers: John T. Williams, retired Teamster official, co-chair, U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society; Jim Little, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; Thomas Collins, president, United Steelworkers Local 6700; Carol Sobel, vice-president, Southern California Coalition of Labor Union Women. Saturday, March 14 7 p.m. reception; 7:30 p.m. rally Olympic Motor Hotel 1903 W. Olympic Blvd. Donation: \$5. Aup: SWP. For more information call (213) 225-3127.

The American Way of Life

They didn't wear yellow ribbons

GARY, INDIANA—For many steelworkers, the world did not stand still when the ex-hostages came home.

The government-media propaganda barrage about "torture in Tehran" failed to convince workers here that the Iranians were insane "barbarians" or that the hostages were white knights in a noble cause.

Adrienne Kaplan, a member of United Steelworkers Local 1010 at the huge Inland Steel plant, noted that the ex-hostage return had sparked more discussion than usual among her coworkers.

"Even the most conservative-minded of them got sick and tired of the media coverage very fast," she told me.

"A lot of guys complained about the constant interruptions of their television programs," Kaplan said.

It was the Black workers who most clearly sensed the purpose of the public relations campaign around the ex-hostages staged by Washington and the media. "The guys I talked with got the message—'Reagan wants a war,'" Kaplan said.

Lee Artz, who works at Danly Machine in Cicero, said one coworker summed up everybody's reaction. "He said, 'Every time I see a story about the hostages, I turn the page.'"

Artz went on, "One older guy, a maintenance mechanic, was saying, 'If those hostages are in such bad shape, how can they jog ten miles? I work

every day and I can't jog a block.' That made sense to a lot of people."

In the coke plant at U.S. Steel's Gary Works, the sentiment about the ex-hostage production was one of active disinterest. "I made a point of talking to lots of people, and listening to what they had to say," Mitch Rosenberg, a member of USWA Local 1014, told me.

"People thought it was good the hostages were back, like I did," Rosenberg said, "but they thought everything else was just a lot of crap. A Super Bowl with hostage interruptions was a real irritation. We were more concerned about the game than the soap opera the government was running."

Gallows humor was common. "One guy was horsing around about the TV shows getting changed around. 'Well, why don't they just send them [the hostages] back,' he said, and his buddies laughed. Nothing was exactly sacred," Rosenberg said.

At Inland, Adrienne Kaplan explained, the discussion touched on the contrast between the treatment accorded Vietnam veteran Gary Cooper and the hoopla around the hostages. Cooper was laid off by Pullman, unable to find a job, and treated like something less than human when he and 7,000 others applied for a job at Inland.

He became bitter over the grand treatment given the hostages. And he snapped, grabbing a gun and firing a couple of shots out of a window without

harming anyone. He was brutally gunned down by Hammond, Indiana, cops while his wife pleaded for them to spare him.

What happened to him had a big impact on workers. So did the pieces on the hostage fanfare by Chicago *Sun-Times* columnist Mike Royko. Royko's columns were a center of conversation in Adrienne Kaplan's shanty.

During the last week of January, one of Royko's widely read columns sharply criticized the inflated homecoming staged for the ex-hostages. He nailed the U.S. government for harboring the shah last year. And he stated that people in the United States had problems that were more serious than those the hostages had suffered in Iran.

Royko got a few nasty letters for raining on the parades. Then, in an unusual front-page column in the February 1 *Sun-Times*, the Royko headline read "Readers react—Untie the ribbons."

"I received the heaviest response I've had to any column in my 18 years on this job. And more than 99 percent of the letters and phone calls agreed with me," he wrote. He devoted an entire column to a sampling of those letters.

Maybe a million people read those bitter yellow-balloon-popping letters. These responses confirmed the mood socialist steelworkers found on the job—a mood decidedly different from the one Reagan, and the media, and the State Department hoped to whip up with their super-patriotic sideshow.

—Jon Hillson

Learning About Socialism

Why are women oppressed?

By Suzanne Haig

Why do women hold an inferior position in society? Does brain chemistry explain why so few women are mathematicians, mechanics, or political leaders? Does having a child make women incapable of equality with men? Are men inherently exploitative, domineering, and violent toward women?

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, rejected these pessimistic "biology equals destiny" explanations of the oppression of women as a sex.

They said that women's position was tied to the organization of society into two opposing classes: a small minority of property-owning families that lives by expropriating the wealth created by the working majority.

In *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, Engels writes about the mighty transformation at the dawn of civilization that led to the formation of class society and the oppression of women.

Pre-class society was based not on individual families, but on what Engels calls primitive communist households. Production was organized collectively and the necessities of life were shared equally. Land and tools belonged to all members of the group. Decisions affecting the group were made by all. No divisions based on wealth existed, nor did anyone make their living from the work of anyone else.

Women, like men, had an independent role in production. While divisions of labor existed between the sexes (necessitated then—but not now—by the primitive methods of production and child rearing), women were the social equals of men.

Primitive society, however, was no utopia and certainly no model for a future society. The population lived at the mercy of its environment and on the brink of starvation. Productivity was low, ignorance and isolation nearly total, and the life span short.

Over thousands of years, the productivity of human labor increased to such an extent that humanity was able to step out of the primitive community and move toward more productive, culturally developed societies.

The role of labor as the motor force in this process, and in the entire course of human history, is spelled out in Engels' essay, "The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man."

"Labor is the source of all wealth," he writes. Humans, by adding their labor to nature's raw material, create wealth.

This ability differentiates humans from animals. "The animal," Engels writes, "merely uses external

nature, and brings about changes in it simply by its presence; man by his changes makes nature serve his ends, masters it. It is labor that brings about this distinction," Engels states.

The development of irrigation and the cultivation of large tracts of land, the domestication of animals and breeding of cattle, and the development of craft skills increased labor productivity. A surplus of food and other goods accumulated above what was needed for bare survival.

The growth of this surplus led to the division of society into economic classes. It became possible for a small group to concentrate more of this wealth in their own hands, increasing it through the exploitation of labor. Since a greater number of laborers could now produce far more than was needed to maintain them, it became advantageous to engage in war for slaves and plunder. Ultimately slaves came to make up a majority in societies like some of the Greek city-states and Rome.

Although the exact details of this long and complex epoch of history are still unknown, the subjugation of women paralleled the division of society into classes.

The possibility of amassing great wealth through the ownership of cattle (used as a medium for trade) and slaves caused a shift in the relative importance of the labor traditionally done by each of the sexes.

Men's traditional tasks of hunting, tending herd, and fighting were now capable of producing riches.

Women's ability to bear children made them valuable properties in a society based on the exploitation of labor.

In order for the emerging minority of wealthy males to maintain their riches, they had to prevent their property from reverting to the commune. This led to the establishment of the nuclear family, with the inheritance of wealth through the father's line of descent.

"The overthrow of the mother-right," Engels writes, "was the world historical defeat of the female sex. The man took command in the home also; the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude, she became the slave of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of children." She was little more than head servant in the household, excluded from all participation in social production.

The emancipation of women will only be possible, Engels states, when women can again take part in large-scale, social production and domestic work becomes a public industry.

Despite the exploitation, greed, and mass murder on which class society was and still is based, Engels saw it as representing progress. It resulted in a tremendous growth of the productive forces,



fostered scientific discoveries and the development of new technology. Humanity's control over nature grew and abundance became possible—until today it is possible to completely eliminate the material conditions on which class society was founded.

Yet the majority of the world's people are still denied the fruits of the vast wealth that they produce.

With the rise of capitalism and the rule of the capitalist class, a working class has come into existence which is driven by its conditions of life and struggle toward wresting control of the means of production away from the exploiting minority, and using it to benefit all humanity.

It is in the course of this next great transformation of society that the goals of the women's movement—the full liberation of women—will be completely accomplished.

Please send questions you would like to see answered in this column to: Stu Singer, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Letters

'Kwangju butcher'

About fifty Koreans and Americans picketed the South Korean consulate here in February to protest President Reagan's reception of South Korean dictator Chun Doo Hwan.

The picket line was sponsored by the Church Committee for Human Rights in Asia, an ecumenical group. Like similar demonstrations in Boston and Washington, D.C., it was timed to coincide with the Reagan-Chun meeting, which U.S. officials admitted, according to the February 2 *New York Times*, "would bolster [Chun's] prestige internationally and would also solidify his position in South Korea."

Braving a 17-degree temperature and biting winds, the demonstrators chanted slogans in Korean and English demanding an end to the U.S.-supported dictatorship and freedom for jailed dissident Kim Dae Jung.

Picket signs denounced Chun as a "terrorist against his own people" and "the butcher of Kwangju" (Chun's troops brutally suppressed demonstrations against martial law in that city last year).

Several slogans and picket signs compared U.S. support to Chun with Washington's policy of support for the shah of Iran.

One speaker pointed out that more Koreans would have attended the rally, except for intimidation by the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), which operates in Chicago.

She predicted that KCIA intimidation would also serve to keep news of this week's protests out of Chicago's Korean-language press.

Tom O'Brien
Chicago, Illinois

My Shot at It

Well, here we are already starting 1981 and it certainly looks as if this is going to be the worst year yet. I have to ask myself again: how much more are the people going to take? In politics, at least in decades past, we have had the lesser of two evils to choose from. But already this decade

they only gave us two evils to choose from.

Of course we had Andrew Pulley, who I personally believe is the only answer to the problems of our country, but the present so-called democratic system does not give the needed exposure to him.

Consider this factor for a minute. We had some American citizens taken hostage by Iran, and I would be willing to bet that they had good reasons to take them too. After all, didn't Carter hide all of the money that the ex-shah of Iran stole? Then Carter tried to hide the Shah too. But America is known for letting the rich criminals get away.

Then we look up and who is back? It's none other than Alexander Haig. He should not be called a general. He should be called a master. Master manipulator. Nixon's good old boy. I guess that Reagan knows he is going to break every law that there is to break, so he will need someone to run interference for him while he gets away.

Then we come to American justice. Is it also being held hostage? What is really more important? A poor woman's innocent son who is shot down in the street because the police "thought" he looked like the suspect, or the hostages landing at the airport in Algiers and using the restroom? The media seem to think the bathroom in Algiers is more important.

What I am calling for is all socialists to get themselves together. I want to claim the '80s as a time of socialist awareness here at home. We may not have made a dent in this last election, but I say let's start now in making people aware of the only course that will benefit our country. Let's end this idle talk and take action. Let's set some goals and surpass them!

A prisoner
Indiana

Cutback Drive

The capitalists' cutbacks in social spending affect not only the pathetic health care, education and transportation available in the U.S., but the



basic physical structures of our cities as well. Buildings are decrepit; roads have pot-holes. Sections of cities have virtually been closed down, boarded up, reduced to wretched hulks and rubble piles.

In Kansas City, Missouri, local officials estimate that of 310 bridges, only 58 need no repairs. Eighteen, including the heavily traveled ASB Bridge across the Missouri River, need to be replaced. Bridges on the Kansas side are in no better shape.

Recently, this situation has become a crisis. Three major routes downtown are impassable. Last November, city engineers closed the 70-year-old Broadway viaduct across the K.C. Terminal Company railroad tracks. A 1978 study, ignored at the time, found the adjacent Pennway viaduct to have the same structural defects as Broadway; its closure was hastened by a train wreck Jan. 18 that burned part of it up. Main Street viaduct is now being replaced, and another, repaired in 1974, will have to be closed soon due to the increased traffic it has to carry.

There are 26 such viaducts across the K.C. Terminal tracks. Voters in 1909 and 1911 required the company to build and maintain these bridges for the next 200 years. In recent years, however, the company

has tried to escape this obligation through a lawsuit. The city and company have split the costs of shoddy "emergency" repairs.

While lawyers fight for the company's money and the city claims it has none to spend, the bridges deteriorate. If we wait for the capitalists to fix the bridges, we might have to wait until they lose one of their MX missiles in the Missouri River.

J.A.
Kansas City, Missouri

Vanishing Act

Remember the Humphrey-Hawkins bill? It was supposed to be the key to fight against unemployment.

The bill passed in 1978 included no provisions for public works jobs.

It did not establish a shorter work week.

In fact, it included no concrete measures whatsoever. Simply promises by the president to do all that can be done to achieve the goal of lower unemployment and inflation.

Yet the AFL-CIO officialdom exerted vast efforts and resources to elect Carter and other Democrats, whose endorsement of Humphrey-Hawkins was portrayed as

proof of their pro-labor credentials.

Well, what happened? According to Carter's final economic report: "It will not be simultaneously possible to achieve 4 percent unemployment and 3 percent inflation in the time envisioned in the Humphrey-Hawkins Act or in last year's report."

In other words that's it. So much for full employment.

In Democratic and Republican Party politics, promises, after all, are made to be broken.

William Gottlieb
New York, New York

Staying abreast

Needless to say, the people's movement has gone through many phases of development. The only real way to stay abreast is through reading journals such as the *Militant*.

I'm really looking forward to receiving your latest edition.

A prisoner

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.

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Miners threaten strike to save black lung benefits

The United Mine Workers of America has threatened to strike if Reagan goes ahead with plans to cut black lung benefits. The day after Reagan's February 18 speech, UMWA President Sam Church, along with officers and staff from the miners' Washington headquarters, picketed the White House. Following are excerpts from a statement by Church that was distributed there:

If there is any attempt to gut the essential and hard-won black lung program by Mr. Reagan and his administration, I will ask every coal miner in this country, union and non-union alike, to lay down their tools and leave the mines.

Although the black lung banner was carried by the UMWA, its benefits have accrued to every black lung victim—union and non-union, labor and management—who work in our nation's coal mines.

The black lung program was built upon the bodies of the coal miners in this nation who died so young from the ravages of this deadly disease that is caused solely by daily exposure to coal dust.

We fought in 1969 to get the black lung program off the ground. We fought in 1977 to improve the program so that miners have at least a chance to live out their shortened life-spans in a little more comfort and financial security.

Make operators pay

It is a fact that even today a coal miner's life span is two to three years shorter than the average worker. It is a fact that coal companies use every opportunity to circumvent their responsibility to their employees.

Anyone who actually believes that the black lung program is an "automatic pension for coal miners" is absolutely wrong. And anyone who thinks he can slash and gut a program that ensures a small measure of self-respect to suffering disabled coal miners is even more wrong. Mr. Reagan has promised again and again that his economic program would not be balanced on the backs of the nation's poor and needy, but that is exactly what



UMWA President Sam Church and others picket White House February 19.

this proposal would do.

Coal companies for years have been challenging nearly 100 percent of all black lung claims that have been medically determined to be valid and for which the companies are supposedly liable.

The insensitivity of the government and the operators in this regard has been shameless. The operators should be made to pay for the lives they have ended and the lungs that they have damaged.

Throughout our union's history the single goal of the coal operators has been to achieve ever-greater profits, no matter what the cost.

4,000 deaths a year

The coal operators have continually tried to mask their true intent behind a

facade of rhetoric decrying a mythical lack of productivity.

Now more than 4,000 coal miners a year die from the deadly ravages of black lung. That is 11 people, all formerly healthy and full of life, reduced to wheezing and disabled cripples each day.

The average black lung payment is a little more than \$300 a month. Every day coal companies can sell the daily output of one coal miner for \$300. Yet they claim black lung is an unfair burden on their company coffers.

Some studies have shown that a coal miner with as little as 10 years in the coal mines shows signs of black lung. Today more than 70 percent of the coal miners who finally put down their tools and retire are denied a decent

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Demand shorter workweek at contract talks

By Melissa Merchant

Negotiations opened between the United Mine Workers of America and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) on January 22. The current contract, which covers 160,000 working miners and 83,000 retired miners, expires at midnight, March 27.

The operators opened negotiations with a demand for seven-days-a-week production schedules. The UMWA countered by proposing a six-hour day for all miners.

The current contract prohibits mining coal on Sunday. Saturday work can be scheduled only under certain conditions, on an overtime basis. The operators want the "right" to mine coal seven days a week, with miners working staggered shifts.

This scheme, according to the employer *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*, "... could result in the recall of many, maybe all of the 23,000 UMW members currently laid off."

This is a lie. The companies laid off the miners in the first place. The companies mine the amount of coal they can sell profitably—with no regard for miners' jobs or safety. The program they're proposing is a speed-up; to get more out of the existing work force. The companies blame the union for layoffs the companies themselves carried out.

Shorter workweek

It's the Mine Workers union that has put forward the only *real* solution to the layoffs—the shorter workweek. Since 1972, the UMWA has proposed adding an additional shift, making four six-hour shifts per day. This would increase mine jobs by up to 25 percent at one stroke.

The fourth shift would be used for what miners call "dead work"—putting up additional roof support, rock dusting, cleaning up spillage, repairing mine equipment, and other jobs that are needed to keep the mines running. This extra shift would allow explosive coal dust levels in the mine to settle. It would allow machinery to be repaired properly instead of in the hurried, "don't interfere with production" manner in which it's now done.

The union's proposal would make the mines safer—and they'd run better too.

Productivity

As expected, the mine operators are taking a hard line. B.R. Brown, president of Consolidated Coal Company and head negotiator for the BCOA, said, "Our number one priority is increased productivity... how can we obtain top efficiency while mines and equipment costing millions of dollars

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British coal miners score big victory

By David Frankel

British coal miners have handed Tory Prime Minister Thatcher a stunning defeat. By forcing Thatcher to back off from plans for massive pit-closings and layoffs, the miners dealt a powerful blow to the anti-working-class offensive of the British rulers and set an inspiring example for workers throughout the world.

As part of its cutbacks in public spending, the Thatcher government planned to close twenty-three coal mines by April 1982, and to eventually close as many as fifty of the 219 mines in the country's nationalized coal industry. At stake were some 30,000 jobs.

On February 17, about 26,000 miners in South Wales went on strike to protest the planned closings. They were joined that same day by 3,000 miners in Kent.

Although the National Union of Miners executive had not yet voted

to authorize a strike, by February 18 miners throughout Scotland had joined the walkout and railway workers were refusing to move coal to power stations.

With the memory of the 1974 miners' strike that brought down the Tory government of Edward Heath still vivid, Thatcher beat a hasty retreat and canceled the shut-downs.

Commenting on Thatcher's decision in the February 19 *New York Times*, Youssef M. Ibrahim noted that she "feared a prolonged miners' strike now because of the devastating effect it would have on the already depressed British economy."

Ibrahim also pointed to the support for the miners in the rest of the British labor movement.

But there is another factor that should be noted. That is the recent shift to the left by the British Labor Party.

The intensification of the class struggle that would have resulted

from a confrontation between the government and the miners would have helped push the Labour Party further to the left. At the same time, the hand of the miners would have been strengthened by the stance of the Labour Party.

Thatcher is now on the defensive, and other layers of the working class have been inspired by the victory of the miners. Thatcher's defeat is particularly important since she has personified the capitalist drive to further militarize British society while forcing down the standard of living of the working class.

As David K. Willis put it in the February 20 *Christian Science Monitor*, "By suddenly backing down in a dispute with militant coal miners, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has encouraged more than 2 million other government-paid workers to call even more vociferously for pay raises this spring."

From Intercontinental Press

Melissa Merchant is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance in Morgantown, West Virginia. A coal miner, she belongs to United Mine Workers Local 2095.