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Gov't raises threat to deport socialists

Can the U.S. government—in 1981—deport or exclude people solely on the basis of their political beliefs? The Reagan administration says yes.

On April 24 the Immigration and Naturalization Service announced that it "has begun a review of the nature of the Socialist Workers Party to determine whether its members or affiliates are excludable or deportable."

An editorial

The move came in the midst of the trial in New York City of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against the INS, FBI, and other secret police agencies.

The INS move shows the seriousness of the battle now going on in that trial. This

new threat is aimed at intimidating the socialists, at forcing them to back off from their exposure of antidemocratic government practices.

The trial is spotlighting outright crimes, challenging thought-control legislation, and exposing the claim that the president can order the investigation of anyone he deems a "subversive," even if they have done nothing illegal.

The U.S. government's countermove—through the INS—makes use of laws that have been employed in the past to deport members of the U.S. Communist Party, as well as to exclude from the United States prominent labor and socialist figures.

According to the INS, the SWP advocates "doctrines of world communism." These are defined as "totalitarian dictatorship."

Continued on page 2

NAACP backs SWP lawsuit

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Why rulers fear socialists' trial of secret police

The following article is an analysis of the trial of the U.S. government for its spying and harassment of the Socialist Workers Party. The trial opened in New York on April 2.

By Nelson Blackstock

NEW YORK—As each day passes, the significance of this trial comes into sharper focus.

Nobody could have predicted it would turn out this way back in the summer of 1973. That's when lawyers for the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance walked into federal court here to file suit against government spying and harassment.

Even last fall—when the socialists refused an out-of-court settlement on government-dictated terms, even though it included hefty damage claims—nobody could have foreseen what this trial would look like.

Since that time, things have shifted

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Over 20,000 rail workers march in DC

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Some 20-25,000 rail workers demonstrated here April 29. The massive protest united all American railway unions in opposition to Reagan's budget cuts against Conrail, Amtrak, and railroad retirement funds.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, United Transportation Union President Fred Hardin, and Railway Labor Executives Association and Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks head Fred Kroll spoke to the rally in front of the capitol building.

Kroll said: "We will win this battle through legislation or on the picket line, like our brave brothers and sisters the coal miners." Cheers and chants of "Strike! Strike! Strike!" greeted his speech.

After the Washington rally, many rail workers tried to lobby their senators and members of Congress.

One hundred fifty went to a reception sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party in a nearby hotel.

At an open microphone, rail workers from as far away as Nebraska, coal miners, and New York transit workers discussed some of the issues in their fight.

Steve Wattenmaker, a pipefitter in a Conrail shop, spoke about the SWP lawsuit against government crimes. "The government claims they have the right to spy on us socialists because they don't like our ideas," he said. "That would justify government disruption of the rail unions, since our unions don't agree with the government, as was shown today."



Militant/Salm Kolis

Join May 3 protest

On April 27, the U.S. Embassy in El Salvador reported that Rev. Roy Bourgeois, a member of the Maryknoll Order, was missing. Bourgeois arrived in El Salvador April 23 as part of a CBS film crew doing a program on the role of the church there.

Bourgeois has been a leader of the Chicago-based Religious Task Force on El Salvador.

While serving in Vietnam he was awarded the Purple Heart. He returned the medal last year during a protest at the Pentagon against the arms race.

El Salvador's President José Napoleón Duarte, without offering any proof, claimed Bourgeois disappeared of his own accord, to join the guerrillas.

On May 3 in Washington, thousands will turn out to demand an end to U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The action will be an important answer to the reign of disappearances, torture, and murder that the U.S.-backed junta is imposing on that country.

Vietnam's victory—six years later

Six years ago, on April 30, Vietnamese liberation forces marched into Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City). Hours earlier, the last remnants of a U.S. occupation force, which had once numbered over 550,000, were evacuated by helicopter from the roof of the U.S. embassy.

The repercussions of this victory of the Vietnamese people, after more than three decades of struggle against imperialism's most fiendish weapons, continue to shake the world. It inspired oppressed peoples throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

In the United States, the Vietnamese struggle helped inspire a massive antiwar movement. It instilled a strong conviction in American working people that Washington must not be allowed to drag us into another Vietnam.

Since 1975, Vietnam has scored further gains. North and South Vietnam were unified in 1976 to form the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The power of the rich Saigon merchants, who had blocked reorganization of the economy in the south, was broken in 1978.

These developments made Vietnam, with its 50 million people, the third most populous workers state.

But these advances have been scored in the face of devastating military and economic pressure orchestrated by Washington.

Following the Vietnamese victory, Washing-

ton imposed a tight economic blockade on Vietnam. Washington has gotten most other capitalist powers to go along with efforts to starve Vietnam into submission.

The economic blockade has undermined efforts to overcome the massive destruction wrought by U.S. bombs, herbicides, and search-and-destroy operations, as well as the social dislocation caused by decades of foreign occupation.

And Washington has sought to keep up the military pressure on Vietnam, as well. It encouraged Peking to break with Vietnam, and encouraged the murderous Pol Pot forces in Kampuchea to launch attacks across the border.

After Vietnam struck back by helping the Kampuchean people get rid of Pol Pot in January 1979, the White House indicated approval of Peking's highly destructive invasion of Vietnam. Since then, Washington has funneled arms to Pol Pot through the military dictatorship in Thailand.

The pressure on Vietnam keeps living standards desperately low and requires constant military mobilization. This is the main cause of the flow of "boat people" from that country.

As during the thirty-year war of independence, Washington and its allies have been unable to break the revolutionary spirit of the Vietnamese people.

Despite food shortages and other grave economic difficulties, Vietnam devoted great resources to help the Kampuchean people overcome famine and rebuild their shattered economy.

And Vietnam is responding to imperialist threats in other parts of the world, as well. It has stood with Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada against Washington's military threats and economic reprisals.

Shortly after the Somoza regime was toppled, the Vietnamese government sent a high-level delegation to Nicaragua to express solidarity with the revolution there.

Vietnam is giving political support to the struggle against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

A member of Vietnam's United Nations Mission will be among the speakers at a Vietnam/El Salvador solidarity rally in New York City May 9. Other speakers will include representatives of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, and other organizations. The rally will be held at the Washington Square Methodist Church, 135 W. 4th Street, from 3 to 6 p.m.

Those who oppose the government's moves toward reinstituting the draft and stepping up its military commitment to the Salvadoran

junta need to raise their voices to oppose Washington's criminal use of the food weapon against Vietnam.

Far from boycotting Vietnam, Washington should recognize the Hanoi government and provide massive aid to help rebuild the country it has tried so savagely to beat into submission.

...INS threat

Continued from front page

This is a frame-up.

Socialists are the firmest opponents of totalitarian dictatorship. It is the government's practices—exposed in the current trial—that bear the unmistakable stamp of totalitarianism.

The INS threat is part of a broader government attack on civil liberties. Stepped-up pressure on Haitian, Salvadoran, and Mexican immigrants is one aspect.

The new Senate subcommittee hearings on "terrorism" are another.

Reagan's recent pardon of two convicted FBI burglars is also part of this general offensive.

These moves are aimed at intimidating opponents of government policy. The capitalist rulers need further restrictions on democratic rights in order to impose unpopular policies—from slashing social services to intervention in El Salvador.

The demonstration of over 20,000 railroad workers April 29, the miners' strike, and the continued protests against the Atlanta murders are indications of what the government is worried about.

They are also indications that an attempt to deport socialists for their ideas will meet strong resistance in this country.

Already, the confrontation in the trial of the socialist suit has forced the government to admit and try to defend policies normally hidden from the American people. Unable to provide a shred of proof of any crimes by SWP members—citizens or noncitizens—the government has begun to admit what the plaintiffs have charged all along: the socialists are being persecuted for their ideas alone.

The socialists intend to continue their fight in court—against INS harassment and any other government countermeasures in defiance of the Bill of Rights.

Hundreds of organizations, including the unions, have a stake in supporting this fight and protesting the latest move by the INS.

The Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing fundraising and support efforts for the suit, has initiated news conferences, picket lines, and other immediate protests against the INS move. (See page 10.) To send a message of protest, write or telegram Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner, Washington, D.C. 20536.

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The Polish revolution

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party explains why it supports the Polish workers. **Page 17.** The causes of the workers' struggle against bureaucracy are discussed by David Frankel. **Pages 13-16.**

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Socialists challenge INS deportation threat

By Michael Baumann

On April 28 Judge Thomas P. Griesa ruled that the Immigration and Naturalization Service would have to testify in court about threats to initiate deportation proceedings against members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The issues raised by the INS move are "of interest" to the current trial, Judge Griesa ruled, and the socialists are "entitled to explore" them. He also questioned government attorneys' explanation for the timing of the move.

Attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are looking forward to questioning INS official Glenn A. Bertness. They will be going after confirmation of what they have contended all along—that the INS illegally singles them out for special harassment because of their political views.

Lost document turns up

At issue is a step taken by the INS April 24, the fourteenth day of the trial against government spying.

At the close of the day the INS served notice that it was reviewing whether witch-hunt immigration laws could be used to deport members and supporters of the SWP and YSA.

The timing of the move left no doubt that it was part of the Reagan administration's counterattack on the socialists' legal offensive.

Although the INS document was dated April 1, it was kept secret for nearly three weeks—until the SWP put on the stand its first witness who is not a native-born citizen.



INS roundup near Mexican border. Immigration agency's brutal disregard of democratic rights has made it hated by millions.

Attorneys for the government disputed the judge's suggestion that this had anything to do with their courtroom strategy. They claimed that the document had simply gotten "lost for some days," that they "did not see any particular urgency" in introducing it, and that the day in question just

seemed the "appropriate time to file" it.

The fact is that the INS document was introduced on the heels of testimony in which Gaudencio Thiago de Mello—the noted Brazilian jazz musician and a longtime supporter of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA)—

publicly stated his membership in the SWP (see story, page 4).

The document, signed by INS Acting Associate Commissioner for Enforcement Glenn A. Bertness, said that the INS wanted to change its original response to the socialists' charges.

When they added the INS to their

Continued on next page

What this case is about

Reagan's immigration police now openly admit they are trying to deport socialists because they don't like their views.

Immigration cops have been trying to get rid of foreign-born members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance for a long time. But usually they try to claim it's because the socialists have violated some technicality or other.

Now they've come right out in the open.

If you're a socialist we don't want you here. Get out. Go back where you came from. Stay there. Don't try to come back.

The labor movement has a proud tradition of fighting these things. We've been doing it ever since the employers began to patrol borders the same way they fence in their factories. Now there's this new challenge.

It came in court last week,

during one of the most important but still little-known trials in the country.

Although the press has virtually blacked it out, for three weeks in Federal District Court in New York a trial has been going on in which the usual roles are reversed. The accusers are socialists. The defendants are the government.

The socialists say:

- That the American people have never given federal police agencies the right to burglarize, spy on, harass, and deport people who have committed no crime.

- That the government itself admits after forty years of spying it hasn't a shred of proof of any crime by the socialists.

- Therefore it should be ordered to leave the socialists alone in the future and pay them \$40 million for the trouble they've been caused in the past.

—M.B.

NAACP backs lawsuit



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
SEVENTEEN NINETY BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

April 23, 1981

Ms. Marcia Gallo
Political Rights Defense Fund
Box 549, Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

Dear Ms. Gallo:

In responding to your request for support in your upcoming lawsuit, I would like to take this opportunity to express the NAACP's empathy for your aggressive protection of your political rights. The NAACP holds a profound respect for the democratic process and feels that any illegal actions by a governmental agency or by the police, through illegal wire tapping, the use of provocateurs and other harassment tactics, have no place in this society.

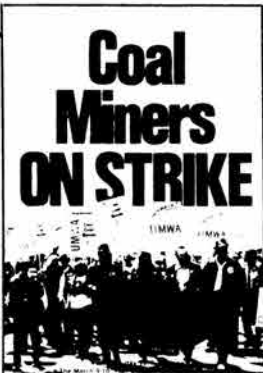
We, therefore, join you and all other right-thinking Americans in your efforts to protect those basic rights.

Respectfully,

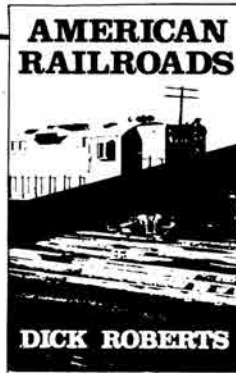
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Brazilian jazz musician testifies at trial

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—Gaudencio Thiago de Mello testified April 24 on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party in its damage suit against the federal government.

Under examination by attorney Randall Walster, de Mello testified he was a member of the Socialist Workers Party. He said it was the first time he had publicly stated that fact. He considers the government's campaign against the SWP responsible for his reluctance up to that point to publicly assert his membership. He regards this as an infringement on his political rights.

De Mello is an accomplished jazz musician. A guitarist, band leader, composer and arranger, he brings much of his native Brazil to his music. His work has been lauded by the *New York Times* and other publications.

De Mello was born in an impoverished Amazon village. He came here in 1966 and became a citizen in 1975.

He became involved in political activity after the 1973 military coup in Chile. In 1974, he began doing benefits for Chilean refugees, including several for the U.S. Committee for Justice for Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

In USLA, he got to know a number of SWP members who were active in the committee's work.

He initially became interested in the SWP, he explained, when he realized that the party defended all victims of repression, without regard to their political beliefs.

"To me," he said, "that was a very strong point."

Had he been a socialist previously, Walster asked.

"In the broader sense," he replied.

In his Brazilian village, he explained, "there are two sides."

On the one side, he continued, there are "those who own the land where you live, control your life. . . ."

"You see your brothers and sisters

dying. You take a canoe, go twenty, thirty miles on the Amazon to another town. And you find that the doctor is not in that town. He's in another town visiting another sick person. By the time you come back home, the person is already dead. I know this is true because it happened to my grandfather."

Judge Thomas Griesa asked, "What do you mean by two sides? Do you mean the landowners and the socialists?"

Opposed to the landlords, de Mello explained, are the poor, "who fight against those who oppress them."

Explaining his own evolution, de Mello added, "Later, I became a little more sophisticated about what socialism is." But, he added, his initial, basic conviction came from "living through the day-to-day pain of not having enough to eat."

De Mello went on to testify that he had become interested in joining the SWP in 1974, but didn't. "I was afraid," he said. "I didn't want to get in trouble."

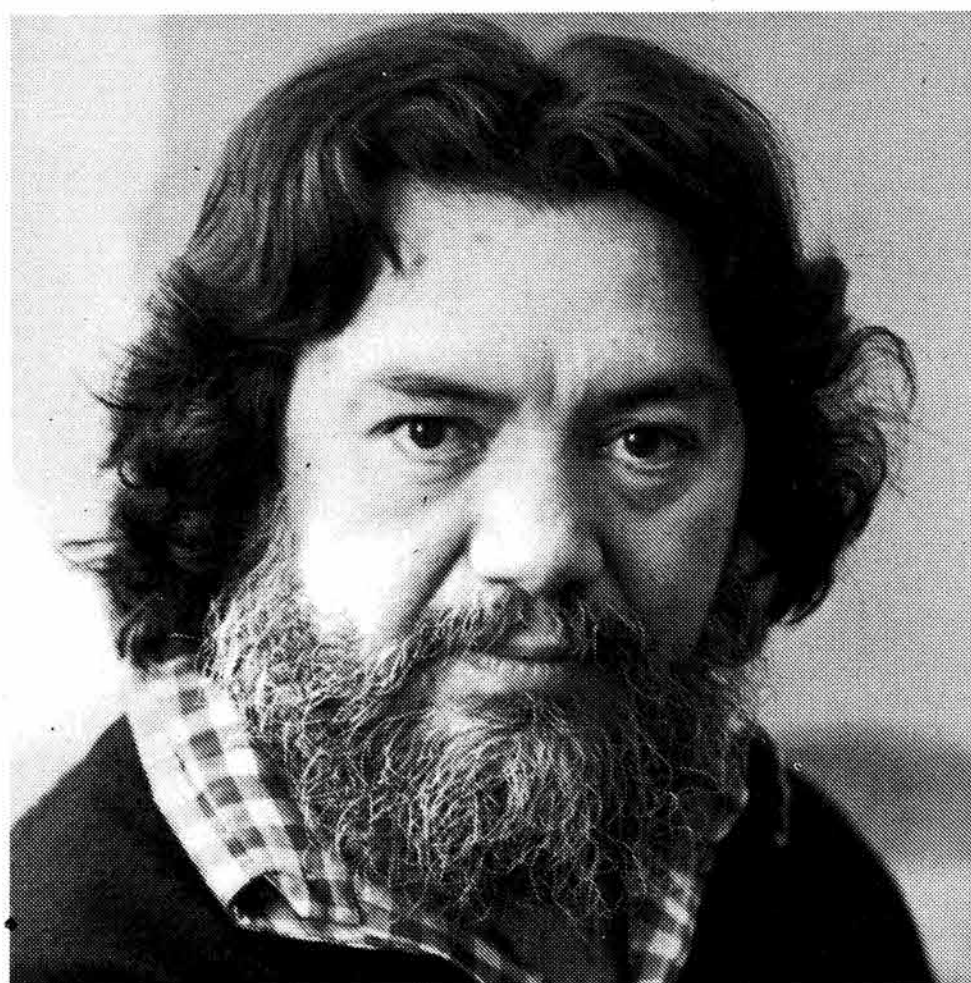
He told of reading a report in the *Congressional Record* by Rep. Larry McDonald (D-Ga.), a John Birch Society member who regularly enters into the *Record* slanderous "exposés" of radical groups that could only be obtained from the FBI.

In this particular report McDonald noted that de Mello had performed at a benefit for USLA. McDonald falsely asserted that USLA was a front for the SWP and that the SWP was a "terrorist" organization.

This had an impact on de Mello. "I was afraid of what it could do to my career," he said. And, he added, he was afraid he might be deported.

By 1975 de Mello had decided that despite his personal concerns, the SWP was an organization to which he should belong.

He was cross-examined by U.S. Attorney Peter Salerno.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

GAUDENCIO THIAGO DE MELLO

Salerno did not ask de Mello any questions aimed at shaking his testimony that the government creates a chilling atmosphere for those who are considering joining the SWP. Instead, by quoting SWP statements in support of USLA's activities, he tried to convey the impression that USLA was an SWP front.

Responding to this, de Mello said the USLA executive board makes its own decisions. It includes figures such as Dr. Benjamin Spock and writer Dore Ashton.

Such people, de Mello said, would not take kindly to the baseless assertion that they were being told what to do by the SWP.

A few hours after de Mello left the stand, court adjourned for the day. As the session was concluding, government attorney Salerno handed a document to one of the SWP lawyers.

It was the notice that the Immigration Service intends to go after members and "affiliates" of the SWP who were not born in this country.

...INS

Continued from page 3

lawsuit late last fall, the SWP charged that its noncitizen members had for decades been singled out for special treatment.

They got two different answers. First, a foot-high stack of secret INS memos documenting a "Subversive Deportation Program" officially initiated against the SWP in the 1950s and continuing in one form or another today. Second, a flat denial that the SWP was classified as a "proscribed" organization under the Immigration and Naturalization Act.

The two obviously didn't match up, and since the documents are being introduced as evidence in court the INS is simply taking back the denial. Here's what they changed their testimony to, in a sworn statement by Bertness:

"In light of the materials reviewed in response to the litigation currently pending [that is, the current trial], the INS concluded that there is good reason to believe that the Socialist Workers Party of the United States is an organization that advocates the economic, international and governmental doctrines of world communism. As a result of this determination, the Investigations Division of the INS has begun a review of the nature of the Socialist Workers Party to determine whether its members or affiliates are excludable or deportable."

This sounds undemocratic enough. But it's even more outrageous when you take a closer look at what is being said.

In plain English

Some kind of "review" has been held

(without notifying the socialists, of course).

The INS has already reached a "conclusion" on the basis of this review.

The conclusion is that there "is good reason to believe" that the socialists advocate some ideas.

These ideas are claimed to be the "doctrines of world communism."

To top it off, the law under which all this is being done has its own special definition of "world communism." It explains that the term means "totalitarian dictatorship."

So after forty years of trying to turn up crimes the socialists never committed, the government is now basing its harassment of them on ideas they have never held.

In a statement released to the press April 28, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes pointed out that this move tells you more about the INS than it does the SWP.

"The SWP does not advocate totalitarian dictatorship, as charged by the INS," Barnes said.

"Rather we have always stated, and the record of the trial proceedings has already confirmed this, that we advocate the replacement of the present government with a workers government, run in the interests of working people, the vast majority, and not in the interests of big business, as it is now."

"Any ruling by the INS along the lines proposed by the commissioner is purely administrative and arbitrary. There are no channels within the INS to challenge such a ruling."

"This is totalitarianism—when people can be tried and convicted of thought-crimes and even without due process. This fact makes our challenge to this and other police-state methods in our suit even more important."

Another chilling aspect of the INS declaration is the way it avoids specifying in any way what is meant by "affiliates" of the SWP.

Does this include anyone who comes to an SWP meeting, contributes money to the party, subscribes to the newspaper in which its views are expressed, or votes for it in an election?

Does it include supporters of protest movements and organizations the SWP participates in, such as the movement against U.S. military intervention in El Salvador, USLA, the National Black Independent Political Party, or the National Organization for Women?

Does it include the members of hundreds of union locals across the country SWP members belong to and actively build?

You can only conclude that the term is left vague deliberately—to suggest that it might include almost anyone fighting for the same things as the socialists.

The crudeness of the INS attack is an indication of the weakened position they and the other federal police agencies are in today. But it is no reason not to take the threat of deportations seriously.

There are already in this country millions of people who have suffered at the hands of the INS.

People who have had a family member, friend, or co-worker deported for having no documents.

People who live every day in fear of a knock at the door that will result in their being shipped thousands of miles away.

People who are forced to accept substandard wages, working conditions, and housing because they are afraid of employer retaliation.

One of the aims of the socialists in carrying out this trial is precisely to put a stop to these government crimes. That is why they deserve all the help they can get.

González Moscoso arrested in Bolivia

An international campaign is urgently needed to save the lives of three Bolivian workers leaders. They were detained by Bolivian security forces on April 14 in Cochabamba, Bolivia. It is feared they are being tortured.

Arrested were: Hugo González Moscoso, a long-time leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Combate)); Alberto Chávez, member of the Flour Workers Union and dele-

gate to the Departmental Workers Federation of Santa Cruz; and León Kolle Cueto, first secretary of the Bolivian Communist Party.

Telegrams and messages should be sent to the Bolivian Embassy, 3014 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. Send copies to the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, 200 Park Avenue South, Suite 812, New York, New York 10003.

Reagan weighs major attack on Haitian refugees

By Harry Ring

The escalated Immigration Service attack on the Socialist Workers Party is part of a broader government offensive against immigrants.

This is confirmed by sweeping legislative proposals now being weighed by the Reagan administration, according to the April 28 *New York Times*.

The immediate target is Haitians fleeing the Duvalier dictatorship. Cubans, who are now arriving here only in small numbers, are also included.

The plan is intended to further expedite the exclusion and deportation of immigrants.

It would permit the Coast Guard to intercept boats in international waters.

It would establish new concentration camps for undocumented immigrants.

It would cut back the right of appeal for those denied political refugee status.

Drawn up by a cabinet-level task force, the measure would authorize the Coast Guard to stop and search boats for evidence that they intend to violate U.S. immigration laws. Refugee claims would be "adjudicated" aboard a Coast Guard vessel. Those deemed unjusti-

fied in their claim would simply be hauled back.

The boat procedure is intended mainly, the government said, to stop Haitians from coming here. The Coast Guard would patrol the strait between Haiti and the Bahamas.

There is, admittedly, no legal precedent for such an operation. Stopping ships on the high seas is an act of piracy committed by bandits, or by governments at war. However, the Justice Department asserts that the president has the legal power to do it.

They added that his case might be strengthened if he had the backing of Congress. So the Justice Department has drafted a proposed law that would extend the Immigration Service's jurisdiction beyond U.S. borders.

The proposal for detention centers would revive a practice the government was forced to discontinue four years ago. Until then, Haitians caught here without entry papers were jailed. This provoked such an outcry that the government stopped holding those claiming asylum. Later, pressure from the Haitian community and its supporters even compelled the government

to issue temporary work permits.

If the pending idea is put into practice, refugees would have the choice of returning to "Baby Doc" Duvalier's horror chamber or sitting behind U.S. barbed wire until the courts got around to them.

Since January 1980, an estimated 1,000 a month have fled here from Haiti.

The government's new plan goes against an opinion issued by a federal judge in Miami last July. Ruling in a class-action suit, he found that thousands of Haitians had been denied due process of law, and ordered the U.S. government to reconsider their claims for political asylum.

Rejecting the government's argument that they were simply economic refugees, he accepted the testimony of Haitians who detailed the brutal punishment suffered by those who the U.S. government callously returned.

The panel which is readying the present report for Reagan represents a continuation of the anti-immigrant drive conducted by the Carter administration.

The "Carter plan" for stepped-up war on undocumented workers included beefing up the Border Patrol and issuing "counterfeit-proof" ID cards—a form of internal passports—for all U.S. workers. Opposition to the Carter plan was so strong that he relegated it to a commission. Reagan's task force is now studying the proposals of that commission, and apparently, making them even stiffer.

This reactionary new proposal is aimed immediately at Haitians. But clearly, it would be a further step toward victimizing all immigrants. And that, in turn, means the rights of all working people would be impaired.

The proposal to the Reagan administration was assailed by Rev. Gerard Jean-Juste, leader of the Haitian Refugee Center, Inc., in Miami. In a telephone interview, Jean-Juste said, "We denounce this. What is at stake is the lives of many innocent human beings."

"These people," Jean-Juste said, "must gather themselves together and fight back."

West Virginia coal miner already INS target

By Vivian Sahner

The government has never deported a single member of the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance. But it's not because they haven't tried.

In 1942, the Immigration and Naturalization Service began an eighteen-year effort to deport Carl Skoglund, then a Teamsters leader and leader of the SWP. The socialists launched a broad defense campaign which stayed the government's hand.

Another attempt was defeated in 1962 when a U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that membership in the SWP was not grounds for deportation.

This did not stop the government, however. It started looking for technical pretexts for deporting socialists.

For example, consider the ongoing cases of Marian Bustin and Héctor Marroquín, both members of the YSA and SWP.

Bustin is a young coal miner in Morgantown, West Virginia, and a member of United Mine Workers Local 2095. She moved to the United States from Scotland in 1977.

In March 1979, the INS ordered Bustin to report to its New York City office. INS investigator Godfrey England told Bustin that her permanent resident status in the United States was in jeopardy. They say she



MARIAN BUSTIN

improperly answered a question about political affiliations on her visa application.

Attorneys for the SWP and YSA lawsuit later questioned England and obtained a copy of Bustin's INS file.

They uncovered a coordinated campaign by the INS, the FBI, and the State Department to deport her.

When news of this victimization attempt became public, union figures including David Lee Smith, a former safety director for the UMWA Inter-



HECTOR MARROQUIN

national; and Bill Worthington, president of the Black Lung Association, sent messages of solidarity to Bustin.

Héctor Marroquín is fighting an immigration court ruling to deny him political asylum.

Marroquín fled to the United States in 1974 after the Mexican government framed him on false charges of subversion and terrorism.

Two schoolmates charged along with Marroquín have been murdered in Mexico, while a third has "disappeared."

In 1979 the INS hauled Marroquín into a deportation hearing in Houston, Texas. The government argued that Marroquín didn't qualify for the political asylum he was asking for because he would be safe in Mexico. But it was clear at the hearing that Marroquín's socialist views were at the heart of the deportation attempt.

"The U.S. doesn't grant asylum to those kinds of people," INS prosecutor Daniel Kahn told the court.

Immigration judge James Smith ordered him deported. In his ruling, the judge criticized Marroquín's socialist affiliation and implied that he should seek asylum in "Castro's Cuba."

When Marroquín appealed the decision the INS told the appeals court that the immigration service has the duty to "exclude an avowed Marxist like Marroquín."

The government later backed down on that claim. "The government concedes that its trial attorney was incorrect when he stated that Marxists can't get political asylum," government lawyers told the board.

But that's what the government now wants the right to do. And they want to be able to deport a member of the SWP without having to rely on technicalities. That's the meaning of the INS declaration in the socialists' lawsuit.

Facts you should know about immigration police

"INS: weapon against working class," by Nelson Blackstock, appeared in the March 6 *Militant*. It reviews the activities of the Immigration and Naturalization Service against the labor movement in general and socialists in particular.

It is based on previously secret documents turned over to the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in the weeks preceding the opening of the trial in their suit against government harassment.

The data documents the following:

- An INS "Subversive Deportation Program," beginning in the 1950s and continuing to the present.
- A network of INS informers parallel to the spy networks main-

tained by the FBI and other police units;

- INS collusion with the secret police of foreign governments, including South Africa, against dissenters;

- A special 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 to frame up the SWP as advocating "the violent overthrow of the U.S. government."

- An INS "subversive index," listing names of native-born Americans as well as non-citizens.

- A secret campaign to deport SWP members.

Probing the background of this campaign, Blackstock points to the INS use of deportation in the union-busting drive after World War I, at a time when a high percentage of industrial workers were European immigrants.

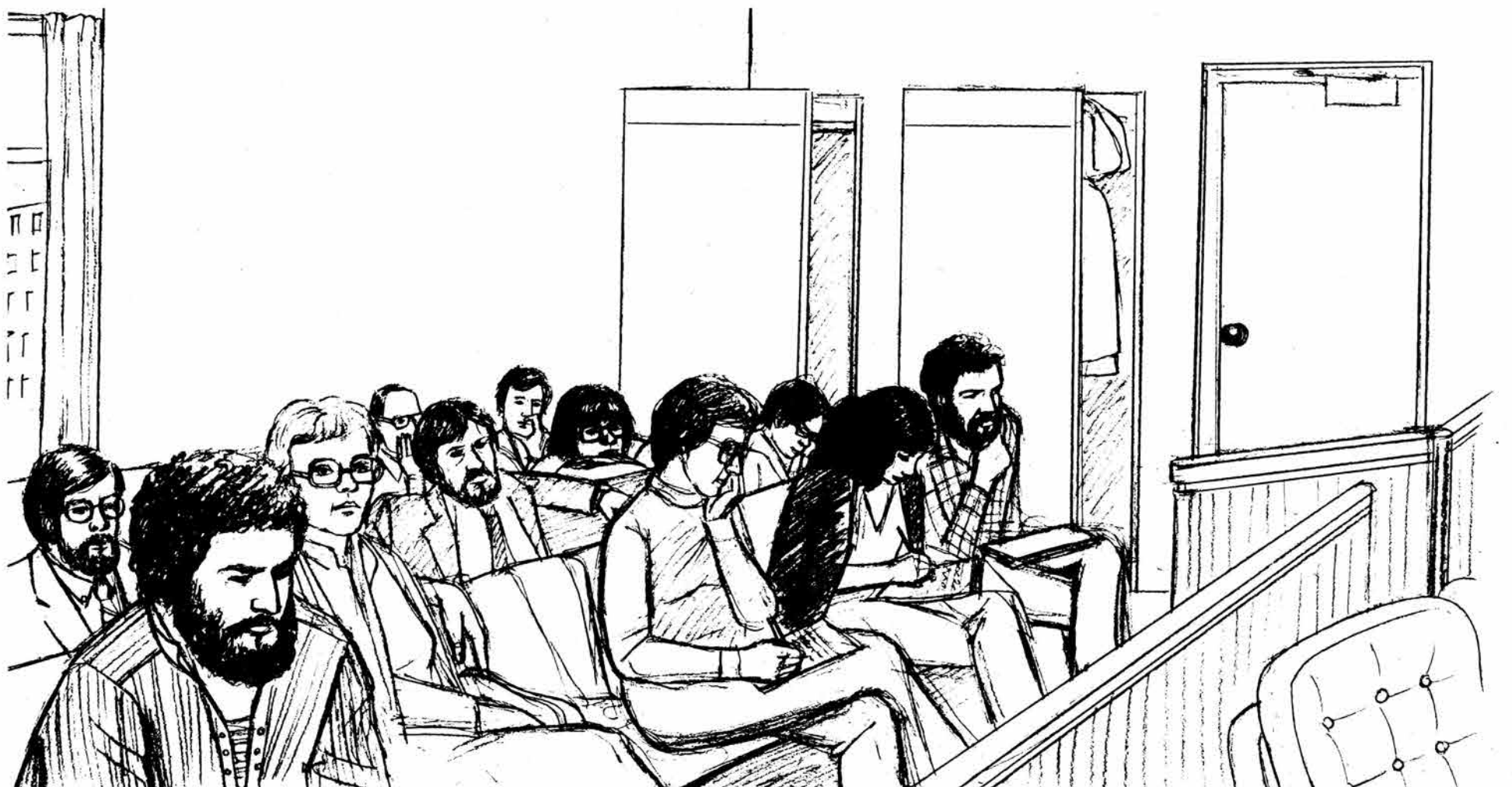
After the Second World War, the threat of deportation played a part in the government drive to crush opposition in the unions to big business policies.

A brief history of the sixteen-year campaign to deport Harry Bridges, then head of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, accompanies Blackstock's article.

Currently, the INS uses the threat of deportation to intimidate Mexican-born workers who refuse to accept dirt-poor wages and rotten working conditions. Supporters of the United Farm Workers Union have been frequent targets.

The stepped-up threats against members of the Socialist Workers Party is just one of many indications that the INS is being prepared for a more active antilabor role in the months and years ahead. That is one reason why workers need the information in "INS: weapon against working class."

Copies of the March 6 *Militant* can be obtained for 75 cents each from the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Spectators, reporters in courtroom

Militant/Diane Jacobs

...meaning of this trial

Continued from front page
continually. Once the trial opened, the tempo quickened.

This week, we report government threats to initiate deportation proceedings against SWP members and "affiliates." This may be only the first of similar government probes, depending in part on the response to this one.

With the trial about to enter its fourth week, it's possible to step back somewhat for an overview of how the key developments fit together, and their meaning for the working class.

The stakes are big, and both sides know it.

Today, the socialists and the government are driving in diametrically opposite directions. If there was any doubt about this before, it was cleared up April 15.

On that day, President Reagan pardoned top FBI officials Mark Felt and Edward Miller. A jury had convicted them of responsibility for a series of illegal break-ins. Reagan not only pardoned the two, he showered them with praise.

Interestingly, news reports indicate that Reagan had signed the pardon on March 26, days before the socialists' trial opened. (More on the pardon later.)

Three trials in one

To understand what's been unfolding at this trial, it helps to think of it as actually three trials in one.

On the first level is the trial a lot of people had been expecting for a long time.

During the long pretrial "discovery" process, the FBI was forced to turn over files documenting a far-reaching illegal campaign against the socialists. It included: Wire-tapping, bugging, forgery, and burglaries. Plots to disrupt antiwar demonstrations and civil rights actions. Behind-the-scenes moves to get people fired from their jobs.

As the evidence came out, the news sometimes hit the front pages.

The FBI is on trial for these crimes right now. And the case against them is devastating. Fred Halstead took the stand on April 22. He told how the FBI had tried to disrupt the antiwar movement, and FBI files were introduced to prove it.

The next day Michael Schlosser, a veteran who had donated ten dollars to

an election campaign in 1972, testified about an hour-and-a-half visit from the FBI. They warned him the SWP was violence prone. They let it be known he'd better keep away if he valued his job. Consequently, he did stay away for several years.

If this trial ends in damages being awarded to the socialists for these crimes—along with an injunction barring future actions of this sort—that will be a great victory for every Black person and worker in the country.

In light of the Felt-Miller pardon, such a verdict would mark a major setback for the Reagan administration.

That's the first trial. The government doesn't like it, but they can't deny much

[FBI agent] Mandigo claimed virtually unlimited power for the president—over and above any laws, courts, or Congress—to go after "subversives." Here we get into the most fundamental questions raised by this case in eight years.

of what the FBI did. They quibble over details. They say J. Edgar Hoover was responsible for some of it, but he's gone now. They say the statute of limitations bars damages.

This first trial deals with illegal acts, "excesses," by the FBI.

The other two trials—built around the facts of this forty-year "investigation"—go beyond the crimes themselves to confront the legal and extra-legal framework on which they were based.

The government wanted very much to avoid this confrontation. That's why they pressed for an out-of-court settlement—and were willing to concede big damage claims to get it.

Now that the trial is under way, the government is still trying to avoid a showdown on these issues. (More on that later.)

Second trial

The second trial challenges the arsenal of thought-control legislation assembled over the years.

Included are the Smith Act (designed to make it illegal to be a socialist), the Voorhis Act (restricting association

with socialists in other countries), and the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952 (which threatens to deport you if you agree with socialists). All penalize people solely on the basis of what they think and say.

The battle began to be joined on these issues last December, when the government submitted to the court a response to an outline of the socialist case. The government stated:

"Without explicitly saying so, plaintiffs are in fact attempting to challenge the constitutionality of portions of the Immigration and Nationality Act which make advocacy of views such as those held by the SWP grounds for exclusion, deportation, and denial of naturalization."

It is true that by challenging the applicability of any of this legislation to themselves, openly proclaimed Marxists, the socialists are questioning the government's right to use it against anybody.

Here we get into the most fundamental questions raised by this case in eight years.

This will be the first in-depth look at this new side of the case in the pages of the *Militant*.

Mandigo to stand

Mandigo had been called by the socialists to explain the public affidavit he had signed in February.

During Mandigo's stay on the stand, Judge Griesa took over the questioning for a time.

What was it that the FBI was looking for in its investigation of the SWP? the judge asked.

"Would you be just looking for, among other things, any specific acts as distinct from just ideas?"

Mandigo said the FBI was investigating "subversive activities."

"Subversive activities being defined as what?" the judge asked.

Mandigo said it had something to do with subverting "the government's constitutional form of government."

"Was [there] an attempt to uncover specific types of activities?" the judge asked. What about sabotage, he suggested as an example.

That, Mandigo answered, would be "a criminal investigation."

"I don't know what you are trying to get at," Griesa responded. "Are you trying to convey to me that the FBI investigation wasn't related to activity?"

"What were those subversive activities that they were interested in trying to ferret out?" the judge asked again.

"They were interested in activity which would tend to subvert our constitutional form of government," Mandigo answered.

"Specifically what? Give me some 'for instances,'" Griesa insisted.

He still did not get an answer.

This exchange started to get at the heart of the case. The FBI's so-called investigation of the socialists is not based on anything they do—but on who they are.

What is it that the socialists do that is illegal? Do they throw bombs? the judge asked at one point. There are laws against throwing bombs. Espionage? The same.

But "subversive activities?" What are those? Apart from acts that are illegal?

Looking at it another way, are there "subversive" acts that are not illegal? If so, what are these?

But deep down, everyone knows what the government is getting at.

Subversives are people they don't like. A lot of people fit the bill. Social-

ists, of course. But also militant workers and Blacks. And race-mixers, trouble-makers, peaceniks, and uppity women.

The fact that such people are living and breathing is a "subversive" activity, as far as the government is concerned.

Workers are familiar with this attitude. When a cop slaps you across the head, there doesn't have to be any law involved. He's not likely to cite one, and you had just as well not ask.

That is the capitalist state at work. At the trial we're seeing the same thing on a different level.

From the mouths of FBI lawyers in pin-striped suits comes the verbal equivalent of a blackjack across the base of the skull.

We're the government. We do what we want. There doesn't have to be a law. We know who subversives are. Don't ask.

Terrorists

They don't use the term subversive exclusively anymore. Today they have an additional word. Terrorist.

On April 24, Senate hearings on terrorism opened in Washington (see story, page 11).

Appended to the public Mandigo affidavit is a copy of "The Trotskyite Terrorist International." Compiled by professional red-baiter Herbert Romerstein, the thick, paperbound volume was issued by a U.S. Senate committee chaired by Senator James Eastland. The cover states it resulted from a hearing, but only two people in addition to staff were present at the closed-door session—Eastland and Romerstein. (Romerstein was secretary of something called "Friends of the FBI.") It is a concoction of lies designed to show the socialists are terrorists.

One way it's done is by showing socialists supporting the antiwar movement, which helped end the war, thus aiding Vietnamese "terrorists." Thus, people who throw out the U.S. and take over their own country are terrorists. And anyone who opposed the U.S. war is one, too.

Terrorism, like subversion, is a word that they can't seem to define. Certain deeds are against the law—such as kidnapping, bombing, assassination. For those you can be arrested and sent to jail. But what is a terrorist? Is there some terrorist act that is not already illegal?

If the word does have any meaning, it's the FBI men who are the terrorists. They force people to live in fear, get them fired from jobs, sponsor and bank-

roll Ku Klux Klan assassins, such as FBI informer Gary Thomas Rowe, who was charged with the murder of Viola Liuzzo.

Mandigo spent much time citing the authority the FBI uses to justify its investigation.

In referring to the court's request for a list of illegal acts by the socialists, he said:

"There was an assumption that the investigations of the plaintiffs can be justified on strictly a list of possible criminal violations. It is not the case. There is independent authority underneath the President of the United States to conduct national security investigations."

That is, the president has the power to "investigate" you whether you broke the law or not.

The judge earlier asked Mandigo: "Did [the investigation] not have to do with violations of American law?"

"No, it did not," Mandigo replied. "It dealt with the Presidential Article 2, Section 1 powers [of the president in the Constitution]. . . ."

This is the presidential oath of office. An incoming president must swear "that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Griesa also asked Mandigo, "Are you trying to convey to me that the FBI investigation wasn't related to any activity?"

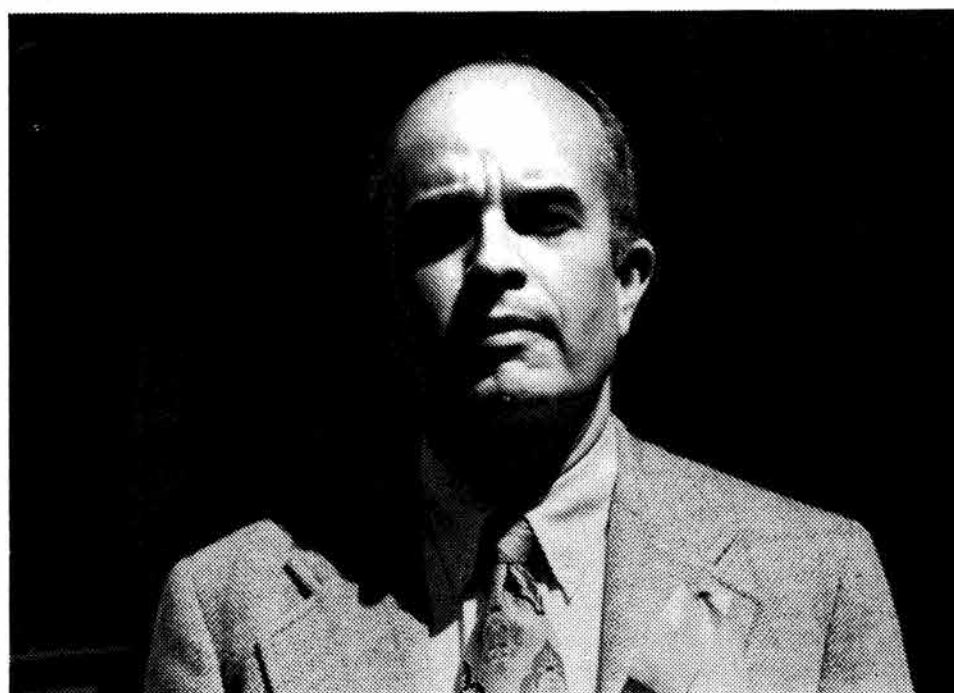
"We are dealing with a very complex problem here," Mandigo answered. "We are dealing with two coequal branches of the government—the Congress, which passes laws to protect the government, the people, criminal statutes; and we are also dealing with the President's duty, his authority to defend the Constitution. They are coequal branches. They both have an interest."

The constitution lays the basis for a republican form of government. A republic is a representative government based on law. The opposite is a monarchy or totalitarian dictatorship—where arbitrary, autocratic powers are invested in an individual.

Mandigo is saying that the president has powers *outside of any law* to "investigate" people he decides are subversive. This power is not restricted by any laws, nor by the Bill of Rights.

In other words, in order to protect the republican form of government, the president has the powers of a king or dictator.

Along these same lines, in his opening



Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, outside court building.

Militant/Harry Ring

The 'secret affidavit,' which accuses Jack Barnes and possibly other SWP leaders of 'illegal acts,' is a final gamble by the government to avoid the real issues. And to prevent the court from ruling on these issues.

statement, government lawyer Peter Salerno had said this case involves "matters that are committed to the discretion of the executive branch in determining how many to investigate and how to investigate."

In these proclamations the government is coming out with things they would rather not talk about.

But, forced to defend themselves, they are starting to reveal the naked face of class rule—with no pretext of abiding by laws or the common will.

This also brings to the fore an ugly fact about the evolution of modern capitalism.

There has been a growing tendency to concentrate arbitrary powers in the presidency.

During the Vietnam War and Watergate, there was talk of the "imperial presidency." Nixon had started to include members and representatives of the capitalist class in the category "subversive"—hence, the "enemies list." He turned some of the techniques perfected for use on "subversives" against members of his own class.

Buffeted by continuing crises, the ruling class is faced with the need to circle the wagons—to act more and more arbitrarily, violating democratic forms.

This tendency has become pronounced since the years leading up to the Second World War. On April 21, the socialists introduced into evidence the Church Committee report. It was issued in 1976 by a Senate committee on "Intelligence Activities." It documents the fact that President Roosevelt issued a secret executive order in 1936 that laid the basis for the FBI operation against "subversives."

The report quotes J. Edgar Hoover on his discussions with Roosevelt in preparing the order. The focus was on their fears of the big, rapidly growing unions. In particular, the coal miners were singled out.

Mandigo cited a related 1939 public order by Roosevelt as laying the groundwork for all subsequent actions against the SWP.

At no time did the American people—not even members of Congress—get to

Continued on next page

Guardian says: 'stakes high in SWP trial'

The following editorial appeared under the headline 'SWP trial: The stakes are high' in the April 22 'Guardian,' a radical newsweekly published in New York.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) case against the government now being tried in New York City could well lead to a landmark decision. At issue is the right to free speech in general, and specifically the right of socialists to hold and promote their ideas.

The case is the result of a lawsuit brought by the SWP in 1973 against the FBI, CIA and other government investigative agencies for burglary of SWP offices, wire-tapping, mail tampering and other harassment. Even bourgeois newspapers have argued that in its surveillance "the FBI was tinkering with the process of democracy itself" (The Philadelphia Inquirer) and "stooped to police state methods" (St. Louis Post-Dispatch).

The trial, which began on April 2 before Judge Thomas P. Griesa, is one of the first important civil

liberties battles of the Reagan era. An SWP victory would be a blow against the government's repression of political expression. A government win could open the door to a new McCarthyism, particularly given the Reagan administration's plans to lift the "curbs" on intelligence activity.

MARXISM ON TRIAL

The government contends that it "may legally investigate individuals or organizations regardless of what their nature is." In over 40 years of investigation, the FBI has been unable to discover any illegal activities committed by the SWP. Therefore, the government has been concentrating on the SWP's political views.

Part of the government's defense has been to equate socialist views with "terrorism" and "violence." On a more basic level, the government has challenged the right of socialists to organize and express their views. The nature of a Leninist party, advocacy of revolution, the role of mass struggles, the functioning of democratic central-

ism and the right to have relations with socialists in other countries have all been raised by the government in their accusations against the SWP.

For its part, the SWP is challenging not only the illegal acts against it, but also the government's entire repressive apparatus. It is challenging the constitutionality of a number of repressive laws and executive orders which have been used to disrupt the left for 40 years. Among these are:

- The Smith Act, passed in 1940, which makes it illegal to advocate the revolutionary overthrow of the government.
- The "Loyalty program," first set up by President Harry Truman, which seeks to bar "subversives" from employment in "sensitive industries."
- The Voorhis and the Registration of Foreign Agents Acts which infringe on the rights of leftists and anti-imperialists in this country to maintain contacts or provide material solidarity to left and liberation forces in other countries.
- The Immigration and Natural-

ization Act which allows the government to deny entry to, or to deport, noncitizens on the basis of their political opinions.

These laws, most of them dating from the McCarthy era, are still on the books and are a dangerous threat to political expression.

The FBI and CIA's 40-year campaign of illegal, unconstitutional acts demonstrates the frailty of bourgeois democracy when the state's rule is even slightly contested. The government has stressed quite candidly that, where the rights of socialists are concerned, it is above the law.

While the Guardian differs politically with the SWP, the largest Trotskyist formation in the U.S., we believe it is incumbent upon left and progressive people to understand the far-reaching implications of the current trial. It is not just the SWP that must face the government's accusations. In a fundamental sense, it is Marxism itself that is on trial. All progressive people would bear the brunt of an adverse decision.

DAY BY DAY

WHAT HAPPENED IN COURT

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

DAY 13: THURSDAY, APRIL 23

Fred Halstead returns to stand, recounts extensive travel in Europe and Latin America, including meeting with representative of Vietnamese NLF at Versailles Peace Conference in 1972.

Michael Schlosser, veteran from Allentown, Pennsylvania, describes hour-and-a-half FBI visit to his home in 1973, following \$10 contribution to SWP presidential campaign.

Maude Wilkinson, former member of YSA from Alexandria, Virginia, tells of anonymous FBI-penned letter to head of D.C. School Board, seeking to get her fired from job teaching kindergarten.

DAY 14: FRIDAY, APRIL 24

Well-known jazz musician Guadencio Thiago de Mello testifies on behalf of party. States that as a foreign-born citizen, he has never before today publicly declared his membership in SWP because of government campaign against party and fear of consequences to his career.

After Thiago de Mello leaves the stand, government turns over to SWP lawyers a declaration from Immigration Service threatening to deport SWP members who are not native-born.

Sharon Grant describes her 1980 campaign for Congress in Newport News, Virginia, area. Explains how government smears of SWP make some people fearful of signing nominating petitions or coming to campaign headquarters.

Andrew Pulley, party's 1980 presidential candidate, begins testimony. Describes his activity as antiwar GI during Vietnam period and how army acted to victimize him.

DAY 15: TUESDAY, APRIL 28

SWP chief counsel Margaret Winter tells Judge Griesa that immediate clarification on INS declaration is crucial to party and lawsuit. Griesa agrees to hear INS witnesses as soon as they can be scheduled.

Pulley returns to stand and testifies about 1980 trip to Grenada as SWP presidential candidate, describes meeting with Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

Under cross examination, Pulley tells of his international tours as a candidate and discussions with revolutionary socialists from other countries.

The government asks Pulley to explain the term 'dictatorship of the proletariat.' The judge follows with several questions.

DAY 16: WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29

Pulley completes testimony. Dr. Morris Starsky describes how FBI sent anonymous poison pen letters as part of successful campaign to get him fired from teaching post at Arizona State University and finally closed off his teaching career.

Kenneth Evenhuis, a Los Angeles postal worker, describes how he obtained various licenses qualifying him as commercial pilot and air traffic controller but was denied employment by Federal Aviation Administration on basis of membership in SWP. Later was fired from post office on same grounds but won reinstatement in court action.

Last week's numbering of the days in court was in error. April 21 was actually Day 11; April 22, Day 12.

POLITICAL POLICE ON TRIAL

Continued from preceding page

discuss or vote on these far-reaching actions. They never even knew about them!

These directives came down as the ruling class was preparing for war.

Ordinarily, in time of war, the executive branch restricts democratic rights in order to overcome opposition.

What is now different is that arbitrary powers are being claimed in peacetime. In fact, the very power to declare war had been assumed by the president—in defiance of the Constitution, which reserves that power for Congress. The last two wars—Korea and Vietnam—have been waged without an act of Congress. Nobody voted on them.

Apart from executive orders (even the term reminds you of "royal decrees"), Congress has passed legislation giving the president sweeping powers never envisioned by the founders of the country.

The Taft-Hartley Act, for example, gives the president authority to order strikers back to work under threat of stiff penalties. Passed in the late forties, the labor movement branded it the slave labor law.

Why is this happening? As modern monopoly capitalism develops, the contradiction between the needs of the wealthy few and the vast majority of working people becomes more and more apparent. The democratic facade starts to wear thin. It becomes more and more necessary to rule through force and arbitrary commands.

But, given the unpopularity of such actions, they try to hide what they're doing as much as possible.

When the ruling class is following the kind of policies they are today—right now they have forced 60,000 coal miners out on strike and are threatening the jobs and livelihood of 70,000 or more railroad workers—they will have to resort to undemocratic, arbitrary measures to carry them through.

You can't very well have a democratic vote over whether people will throw themselves out of a job and starve to death.

The final logic of this trend ends in military dictatorship or fascism—where even the pretext of democracy is wiped out, and there is open dictatorship of the very rich capitalists.

In its later stages, capitalism more than ever tends to reproduce in society the human relations we see in the factory, where you are supposed to do what you're told and shut up. Every worker is by definition a subversive—subject to the ever-present surveillance of foremen and snitches.

Into the Black community the government sends armed police with a licence to kill. As tension deepens, it gives a green light to extra-legal racist gangs to wage a campaign of terror.

The capitalist ruling class is forced to betray the democratic promises of the American Revolution.

These contradictions are even built right into the Constitution. There is a conflict between the Bill of Rights—which guarantees freedom of press, of speech, of assembly and so on—and those sections of the Constitution that enshrine the rights of private property above the common good.

The government defends its violations of the rights of socialists by claiming the powers of a dictator for the president. These powers are necessary, they say, in order to protect the republican form of government (a government without a dictator).

This contradictory claim seems to make no sense. But it demonstrates the dead-end logic of a class that has to betray what are supposedly its own values in order to safeguard its economic dictatorship over the rest of us.

The socialists call for a republican form of government—but a new type of republic.

In history we have seen republics based on slavery—in which the slaves were excluded from decision making, as in ancient Greece and in this country before the Civil War.

The socialists want to see a workers

A media blackout?

By Michael Baumann

Remember the "Scarsdale Diet Doctor" murder case?

Remember how it was covered day after day, down to the smallest detail, in the national news media?

Remember the Socialist Workers Party's \$40 million lawsuit against FBI spying, which went to trial April 2 after eight years of government dodging?

Unless you're a regular reader of the *Militant*, the *Guardian*, or one of a handful of small dailies scattered across the country, you probably haven't heard anything about the socialists' suit in years.

Just one article, on the opening of the trial, appeared in the *New York Times*, followed by another, shorter, piece three weeks later focusing largely on government complaints about the socialists' bookkeeping practices.

Nothing in the *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, or on the national TV networks.

Why?

Nothing of any news value in the trial?

Consider the government's defense of its forty years of trying to destroy the socialists as a political organization:

"The issue in the case is not whether the SWP, the YSA, or any of their members can be proved guilty of a crime beyond a reasonable doubt," says a recent Justice Department document in the case.

"The issue is whether the Government has a right to keep itself informed of the activities of groups that

openly advocate revolutionary change in the structure and leadership of the Government of the United States, even is such advocacy might be within the letter of the law" (emphasis added).

In other words, the government is flat out declaring that with socialists, or anyone else it doesn't like, it is free to act as though the Bill of Rights had been repealed.

Big news. So why no headlines?

"There seems to be a national blackout on news coverage on the case," says Roger Rudenstein, a longtime SWP member who is assisting the socialists' legal team.

"They're trying to make people believe that victims of the FBI all believe that the FBI no longer does the things it's famous for—the burglaries, the wiretaps, all the attacks on people's democratic rights.

"The proposed settlements in other, similar cases—like the one in Chicago or the one that's being proposed in a local case in New York right now—settlements in which people have just given up, thrown in the towel, that's what the media likes to report.

"As I see it," Rudenstein says, "what's happening is that the press is blacking out anything that runs counter to Reagan's drive to strengthen the spy agencies.

"Our trial," he concluded, "shows that the government is still committing crimes, still trampling on the Bill of Rights, and the FBI has no intention of stopping them.

"That's why we aren't getting coverage in the big, national media."

republic—in which there is the broadest kind of representative democracy. As the socialists have always stated, it's fair to assume that after a revolution the workers will keep the Bill of Rights and scrap those outmoded sections of the Constitution that stand in the way of human progress.

Secret affidavit

While the government is already being forced to openly confront these fundamental issues at the trial, they are making a last-ditch bid to block the trial

avoid exposing government "sources."

Hints of what may be in it came out during Assistant U.S. Attorney Edward G. Williams's cross-examination of Jack Barnes. Williams accused Barnes of heading something called the "Secret Operational Center of the Fourth International" in Paris in 1972. He also tried to link Barnes indirectly with the kidnapping of Fiat executive Oberdán Salustro in Argentina in 1973. All this is a fabrication, as Barnes made clear on the stand.

The secret affidavit is a final gamble

Subversives are people they don't like. A lot of people fit the bill. Socialists, of course. But also militant workers and Blacks. And race-mixers, trouble-makers, peaceniks, and uppity women. The fact that such people are living and breathing is a 'subversive' activity, as far as the government is concerned.

from actually confronting all these issues. That's the role of the secret affidavit.

The document is now in the hands of Judge Griesa. He has said he is aware of the problems the socialists face in being unable to see and answer the charges in the affidavit. But so far he has not forced the government to turn it over to the plaintiffs or their lawyers.

During Mandigo's testimony it was established that he compiled the secret affidavit as well as the public one mentioned earlier—and with the same "thorough and careful" methods. Since the public one is packed with lies and mistakes, you can imagine what the secret one looks like.

What's in the affidavit? The government claims it contains evidence of "illegal acts" committed by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, and possibly other SWP leaders, including James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, and Joseph Hansen.

The details of the affidavit must be kept secret, the government claims, to

to avoid the real issues. And to prevent a court ruling on these issues.

As many observers have noted, one of the most striking things to come out of this case is this: after more than forty years of intensive spying—and eight years of open challenge in this suit—the government has not been able to produce evidence of a single crime, or even a "conspiracy" to plan one in the future.

The reaction of most people has been, why don't they get off the socialists' backs?

This sentiment became so strong, in fact, that the attorney general was forced to publicly announce in 1976 that he was calling off the FBI "Domestic Security" investigation of the SWP and YSA. (Although it continued under a different name, as the socialists later proved.)

The secret affidavit is a scheme to get around the fact that the FBI has nothing on the socialists.

The government hopes in this way to isolate the socialists from the millions who now sympathize with their fight for civil liberties.

If it can be established that the socialists are indeed law-breakers, many will conclude that it probably is a good idea to keep an eye on them.

At the same time, the government hopes to avoid a legal decision on the government's right to pursue an "investigation" that never turns up evidence of crimes.

The government says it just wants to "investigate" the socialists. But there is no such thing as a neutral, passive investigation. By its very nature it involves disruption of legitimate political activity. This the socialists want stopped once and for all.

Settlement offensive

The suit was filed during the depths of Watergate, when Nixon was still president.

Watergate bared a side of capitalist rule that is ordinarily hidden. The ruling class decided they had to make it appear that a genuine house cleaning was going on.

They let a lot of stuff come out. There were spectacular Senate hearings.

The exposures got big play in the news media. The revelations in the socialist suit became part of this process.

By the late 1970s, the rulers decided to call a halt. It was "time to put Watergate behind us," as their slogan went.

As part of this, the government opened what can be called a "settlement offensive."

The socialist suit was among the first against government spying, but many others had followed.

The government began offering settlements designed to create the illusion that the wrongs were being remedied—that the two sides, the government and the aggrieved parties, were shaking hands and putting the past behind them.

But if you look closely at what the government—including federal, state, and local in some cases—was offering, the illusion fades. As with the highly touted new FBI guidelines (also part of this process), the settlements gave the government new legal cover for what they had been doing all along. They were a dangerous setback.

Many who had previously taken a firm stand were swept up in the settlement offensive.

The socialists refused to be part of this. It wasn't that they opposed out-of-court settlements in principle. Such an agreement can be just as good as or better than the outcome of a trial. But the socialists would not put their name on an agreement that sanctioned in any way a continued "investigation" of the socialists. That was out.

The government became aware that the socialists would not be compromised on this last fall.

In a head-on courtroom confrontation, the illusions of the out-of-court settlements could not be maintained. The government would have to show its hand.

At this time, there was a shift in what the government was saying. The outlines of the government strategy we're now seeing at the trial began to become visible.

Lately the settlement offensive has come in for some rough sledding.

Dick Gregory recognized the socialists' role in spurring the resistance in his statement on the day the trial opened. He said:

"I'm glad the Socialist Workers Party has carried the fight through to the end and not faltered, but has gotten stronger and stronger. There are a lot of people that the government can appeal to with money but I thank God the Socialist Workers Party is not one of them."

Blacks have been especially quick to recognize the danger in agreeing to the government's terms. They were among the first and strongest opponents of the proposal settlements in both Chicago and New York.

Watching the momentous developments in the courtroom, sometimes it's hard to believe that you won't be reading about what you're seeing in the next morning's paper.



Coal miners struck in defiance of government during World War II.

In discussing the secret order that unleashed the FBI on the working class in 1936, J. Edgar Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt discussed their fear of the organized unions—especially the coal miners.

The problem is the fight the socialists are waging runs squarely at odds with the ruling class agenda. That's why their media is turning a blind eye to the events at Foley Square.

Today, they're out to beef up the intelligence agencies, not "expose abuses."

Today on the front page you're more likely to see a headline like this one on the April 16 *New York Times*: "President pardons two ex-FBI officials in 1970's break-ins."

And the liberal *New York Times* editorially endorsed Reagan's action, while suggesting his wording could have been better.

After Reagan pardoned Felt and Miller, Miller said it would erase any reluctance that agents may have to "do their job 100 percent."

Reagan's statement pardoning the two touches on the very matters being fought out in court here. He said, in part:

"Their convictions . . . grew out of their good faith belief that their actions were necessary to preserve the security interests of our country. The record demonstrates that they acted not with criminal intent, but in the belief that they had grants of authority reaching to the highest levels of government."

"America was at war in 1972," Reagan went on, ". . . and [the two] followed procedures they believed essential to keep the Director of the F.B.I., the Attorney General, and the President of the United States advised of the activities of hostile foreign powers and their collaborators in this country."

To begin with, the country was not at war in 1972. No such bill had ever passed Congress, nor had the American people voted to go to war.

And, as was shown in their trial, they found no illegal links at all with "hostile foreign powers."

More important, however, is the endorsement of law-breaking. FBI agents can get away with anything, Reagan now says, as long as they think what they are doing is okay ("good faith"), do it without "criminal intent," and believe they have the president behind them.

Reagan is saying, quite simply, that the president is above the law—as are those accountable to him.

He is endorsing the same kind of "executive branch discretion" upon which the government is basing its case in the trial.

A victory for the socialists in this trial would be a blow to Reagan's plans.

More people are beginning to see what's going on. The *Guardian* editorial reprinted in this issue is one good sign.

The statement by screenwriter Ring Lardner, Jr. at the news conference on the day the trial opened was to the point. One of the Hollywood Ten victims in the late 1940s, Lardner put his finger on the central issue:

"We were persecuted in what could roughly be called a legal way; that is, we were accused of specific crimes, such as contempt of Congress. . . . [But the government switched from the] so-called open, semi-legal front to completely illegal activities against progressive organizations. This is probably an even greater menace to freedom of speech than what we were fighting thirty years ago."

A battle is under way. Both sides are marshalling the forces at their disposal. But they are not evenly matched in terms of resources.

The government has all the resources of the state to call upon.

The socialists have two small organizations and their attorneys.

The government has an army of FBI agents at its disposal. While the socialists cannot even afford the \$300 needed to buy the daily court transcripts, the government gets them at taxpayers' expense.

But the socialists also have powerful allies they can call upon—the millions of working people and others who have a vital stake in the outcome. The Political Rights Defense Fund is planning a round of national rallies to publicize the issues in the suit, gather support, and raise much-needed funds.

One way to break the news blackout is through distribution of the *Militant*. The SWP and YSA are stepping up their drive to get out the paper.

As the plaintiffs, the socialists are putting on their case first.

When it comes the government's turn, there could be more counter-moves along the lines of the "secret affidavit" and the threats to deport socialists.

The government has produced a list of fifty-two witnesses they say they plan to call.

On the current list are some academic "experts" on communism, as well as some former FBI informers inside the SWP and YSA.

The government does not want to lose this case. They want to continue to use their war on subversives to go after anybody they dislike.

They hounded Martin Luther King, Jr. for years on the pretext that he associated with subversives. The FBI has admitted they even schemed to drive him to commit suicide.

A victory in this case would be a slap at the whole informer system. Under the new guidelines, FBI director Webster says an FBI informer can murder you and get away with it if the FBI decides the protection of the informer is more important than your life.

An FBI agent recently said that some of the mothers in Atlanta were themselves responsible for several of the child murders. The mothers' response was simple: if you've got anything on us, then come forward and press charges. If not, drop the charges and apologize.

That's the same thing the socialists are now saying. Book us or let us go.

If the government thinks it has anything on us, then press charges, and we'll have it out on that level. But don't keep up this unending "investigation" as an excuse to harass and disrupt our activity.

A good ruling in this case will benefit every working person in the country.

Lessons from Teamster history



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Farrell Dobbs

By Farrell Dobbs

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Major fundraising & support effort needed

By Nelson González

The Political Rights Defense Fund is seeking to raise \$125,000 to meet the escalating costs of the suit against government spying and harassment brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Established over eight years ago when the suit was filed, the PRDF has worked since then to publicize the issues in this case and raise the funds necessary to meet legal and other expenses.

Since the PRDF fund drive for \$125,000 began last month, a new development has brought home the importance of this effort for millions of working people.

On April 24—in the midst of the trial of the suit—the Immigration and Naturalization Service served notice that it had begun a review of the Socialist Workers Party to determine if members and “affiliates” are “deportable.”

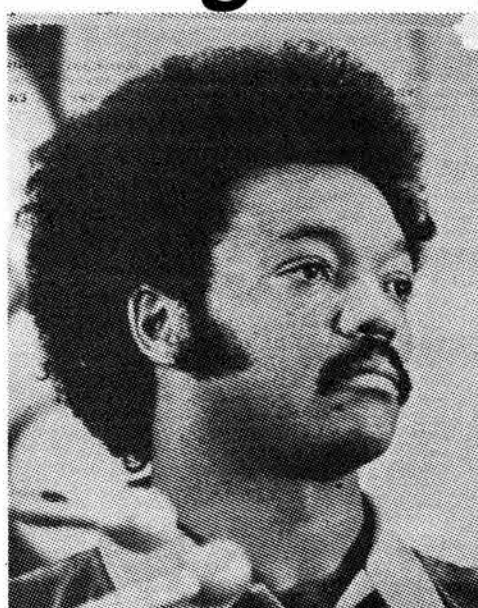
Holbrook Mahn, director of fund raising for the PRDF, said, “The INS action will be seen as a serious challenge by all supporters of this suit.”

“We will be redoubling our efforts to get out the word about what the government is trying to do and to raise the funds necessary to win this case.”

The INS threat underscores that every worker, every supporter of democratic rights in this country, has a stake in the outcome of this trial. Many will not like it when they hear how far the government is prepared to go in order to assert its right to control the very thoughts of the American people.

The government is essentially saying, not only do we have the right to control your thoughts, but those of you who are foreign born can be kicked out of the country if you disagree with the government.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and other unions have already taken a stand against the



Left, Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH. Right, Jerry Wurf, president of American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. Both organizations support the socialists' suit against the government.



racist, antilabor policies of the immigration police.

This creates an important opening for supporters of the suit to spread the word on the job and in the labor movement as a whole about the INS threats.

The INS is hated by millions of Latinos and others who live under the threat of immigration roundups, whether they are citizens or not. They will understand the question at stake here and lend a hand.

The PRDF is organizing an emergency campaign to make the latest developments in the trial known to labor and civil rights figures, prominent civil libertarians, and many others.

In cities across the country, the PRDF is urging supporters to organize immediate news conferences and picket lines, uniting the many people who will be outraged at this attempt of

the government to intimidate the socialists in the midst of the trial.

Nationwide PRDF rallies to support the suit, scheduled in coming weeks, will be a high point of the response to the government. These rallies will feature a broad array of prominent supporters. They will lay the basis for further fund-raising and endorsement efforts.

The defendants in this trial—the FBI, CIA, INS, and the other secret police agencies—dispose of almost unlimited resources, provided by taxpayers whose rights they trample on.

But the supporters of the socialists' suit, which is upholding the Bill of Rights, have resources that have not yet been tapped. These supporters are the millions who share the anger at the

HOW YOU CAN HELP

____ Add my name to the list of sponsors of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government harassment.

____ Enclosed is \$_____ to help defray legal and publicity costs of the suit.

____ Send me _____ copies of this brochure to help publicize the case.

____ Please send me more information.

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Signature _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Organization _____

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

government's arrogant violations of law and its totalitarian stance—which the current trial is exposing.

With their help, the \$125,000 goal can and will be met.

LOS ANGELES

First Great Civil Liberties Battle of the 1980s

Rally sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund in support of the socialist lawsuit against government harassment.

Featured speakers: **Larry Siegle**, Socialist Workers Party political committee; **Mel Mason**, city councilman, Seaside, California; **Raoul Teitel**, president, California Federation of Teachers; **Ramón Díaz**, Casa Nicaragua; and others.

Saturday, May 16, 7:30 p.m. Channing Hall, 2936 W. 8th Street. Donation \$3. For more information call: (213) 225-3127.

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El Salvador refugees find out truth about INS

By Nelson González

The Immigration and Naturalization Service is considering whether to deport socialists, it says, because they advocate a totalitarian form of government.

Salvadoran refugees in this country—like many others—have found from bitter experience that this pretense of devotion to democracy and opposition to totalitarianism is a lie. Many refugees are now fighting for political asylum here in order not to be returned to the murderous U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador.

Some 18,000 people have been killed in El Salvador since the military coup of October 1979, the overwhelming majority of them by government and right-wing paramilitary forces.

Thousands of refugees have fled El Salvador to escape a blood-thirsty junta that has suppressed all democratic rights.

The March 2 *New York Times* estimated that between 25,000 and 60,000 Salvadoran refugees are entering the United States every year to escape the repression. Last year, nearly 12,000

were apprehended by the INS.

According to U.S. immigration officials, most of those apprehended do not belong to any political faction, but “they’ve seen the fighting. . . . They’re just frightened.”

Nevertheless, the INS immediately turns over the names of its prisoners to the Salvadoran government. Some have been sent back, and immigration officials would like to deport thousands more. Prof. Blase Bonpane, a specialist in Latin American affairs who teaches at California State University, states that before being sent back, returnees are interrogated by the Salvadoran consul-general in Los Angeles. At home, they are interrogated once again.

“There is no doubt in my mind that somewhere between 5 and 10 percent of those who returned are executed, because the government had something on them, a member of a union or something,” said Bonpane.

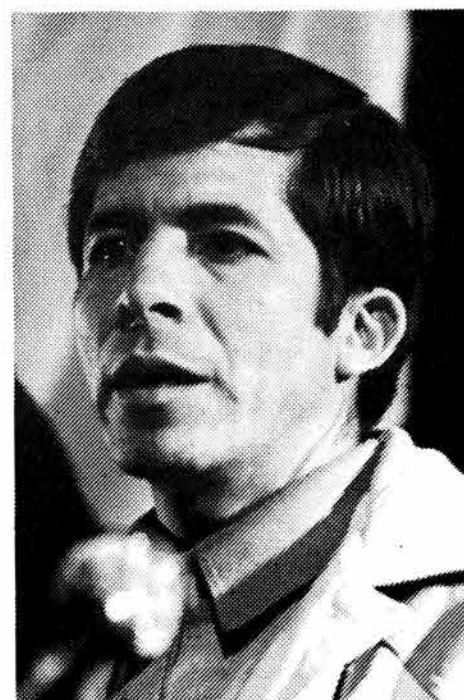
“It just stands to reason,” said Milard Arnold, former deputy assistant secretary of state for human rights, “some of them are going to get killed.” The INS rejected a request from the

New York Times for the addresses of twenty-five Salvadoran refugees. The *Times* was trying to verify a report that many of them had been murdered by government forces.

Despite the prospect of torture or execution for many, lawyers for refugees who are fighting deportation orders are convinced that the INS does not inform them of their legal rights. Instead it seeks to intimidate the prisoners into accepting “voluntary departures,” which require no hearings.

Tulio Mendoza Figueroa is a member of the Salvadoran teachers union who was marked for death by one of the rightist military outfits. He escaped from El Salvador and now is touring this country to mobilize public support for political asylum for all Salvadoran refugees. He himself faces a deportation hearing May 7.

The warm reception Mendoza has received from labor, religious, and solidarity groups is evidence of the deep concern over INS activities in this country. Organizing meetings for him is another important way we can get out the truth about both the U.S.



Militant/Lou Howort

TULIO MENDOZA

government's criminal policy in El Salvador and its reactionary immigration police here.

N.Y. settlement would legalize victimization

By Vivian Sahner and Michael Smith

NEW YORK—Down the hall from where the trial of the Socialist Workers Party suit against government spying is being conducted, a ten-year-old lawsuit against this city's Red Squad is being pushed toward a settlement. If the settlement goes through, it will be a heavy setback for civil liberties.

The suit was brought on behalf of all victims of city police spying, harassment, and disruptive activities. Because it is a class-action suit, the rights of millions of people are at stake.

It was launched in 1971, shortly after a frame-up of twenty-one members of the New York City Black Panther Party fell apart in court.

Red Squad exposed

That exposure spotlighted the Red Squad's vast spy network. Its racist and anti-working-class nature was exposed.

The New York Red Squad has been around since 1904, when it was called the Anarchist Bureau. It then became the Italian Squad, the Public Relations Squad, and the Bureau of Special Services (BOSS); it is now known as the Public Security Section of the Intelligence Division.

It maintained files on more than 1,000,000 individuals and organizations that have been subject to police investigation.

When the scandal broke in the early 1970s, the police promised to reform. Hundreds of thousands of files were burned—and little else changed.

On April 16, with almost no notice to the public, hearings on the out-of-court settlement were begun before Federal Judge Charles Haight.

New York Civil Liberties Union Executive Director Dorothy Samuels has hailed the proposal as "a major step toward eliminating police surveillance." It does nothing of the kind.

The basic premise of the settlement is that constitutional rights are not guaranteed to everyone, but must be trimmed to meet the requirements of the police. It proposes a "balance be-



1970 demonstration protesting New York trial of Black Panthers. Exposure in court of police frame-up was basis for class action suit that cops are now trying to settle to their advantage.

tween political expression and police responsibility for investigation of criminal conduct."

Although it's been established that the cops committed many crimes against groups and individuals, the settlement contains no admission of wrongdoing by the police. The settlement pretends to represent the final wishes of all New Yorkers on these matters. Under its terms no further claims against police "collection and or retention of information" would be allowed now or in the future.

The result of the settlement would be to legitimize previously illegal police activity.

Under its guidelines, police can investigate any political group it thinks is "engaged in, about to engage in or has threatened to engage in conduct which constitutes a crime."

The settlement would establish a three-person board. Lawyers in favor of the settlement argue that the board will monitor the cops and curb abuses.

Who would be on it? "The First Deputy Commissioner of the Police Department, the Deputy Commissioner for Legal Matters of the Police Department, and a civilian member appointed by the Mayor upon consultation with the Police Commissioner. . . ."

Some protection.

Proponents of the settlement argue that it contains a major advance, in that cops could not infiltrate an organization without authorization.

Where would they get such authorization? From this police board.

The settlement also permits continued use of wiretaps, electronic surveillance, and bugging—all within "guidelines," of course.

The settlement provides a schedule for the disposal of all Red Squad files to a government archivist. In similar cases, the archivist destroyed whatever the government asked.

The longest section in the settlement spells out restrictions on viewing the files.

This "settlement" is being pushed by the Police Department and, unfortunately, leaders of the New York Civil Liberties Union.

But other organizations that have learned about it showed up at the April 16 hearing to voice opposition.

Among those that have filed objections are the National Lawyers Guild, Communist Party, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, attorneys for framed former Black Panther leader Richard Dhoruba Moore, U.S. Peace Council, National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Center for Constitutional Rights, and others.

The hearing started with statements by lawyers favoring settlement. Two of them, Martin Stolar and Jethro Eisenstein, were former co-presidents of the National Lawyers Guild who helped launch the suit.

Another, Paul Chevigny, is a professor at New York University and a prominent member of the ACLU. Ironically, he is the author of *Cops and Rebels*, an exposé of the New York Red Squad.

Each one has a reputation for being a liberal, progressive lawyer.

Police powers upheld

To begin with, they told the court, they wanted to make it clear that they were not going to challenge any court rulings.

The federal courts have granted police the broadest sort of discretion to conduct investigations, they said, and we just have to live with that.

They asserted even if they were personally offended by rulings that let police informers spy on public meetings, there was nothing they could do about it.

They said they were mailing a letter outlining the legal rights of the police to everyone objecting to the settlement.

Chevigny told the court that two expert witnesses would be called to explain the settlement, Kathlyn Imholtz, an author of the proposed FBI

Continued on next page

Jailed Black Panther opposes Red Squad deal

The "good faith" of the New York City Police Department in which the proposed settlement proclaims its confidence is a grim joke.

No one knows this better than Richard Dhoruba Moore.

Moore was a leader of the New York City Black Panther Party. The target of several frame-up attempts, he was convicted of shooting two New York City policemen in 1973.

Moore's attorneys have filed objections to the proposed settlement of the class-action suit against the New York City Red Squad.

In an interview at the Federal House of Detention in Manhattan on April 13, Moore told a representative of the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit about his lawsuit against the FBI, the New York Police Department, and the State of New York.

He was one of the Panther Twenty-one, whose trial laid bare the operations of the New York Red Squad.

The twenty-one were jailed in 1969 for conspiring to blow up several department stores, the Brooklyn Botanical Gardens, and other places. Bail for them amounted to more than \$2 million.

Moore was chosen by the Panthers to organize a defense campaign and money was raised to bail him out.

'Agitator Index'

Documents uncovered in Moore's lawsuit show that the FBI placed



RICHARD DHORUBA MOORE

him on its "Agitator Index" on June 1, 1970, "due to his extensive public appearances on behalf of the BPP." Day to day reports of his activities and whereabouts were being forwarded to FBI Director Hoover.

When the Panther Twenty-one case reached trial on May 13, 1971, documents were introduced that proved police infiltrators were among those who founded the New York City chapter of the Panthers. Another document revealed that police agent Eugene Roberts served as a bodyguard for Malcolm X.

The jury threw out the charges against the Panthers in less than one hour.

Stung by the acquittal, New York District Attorney Hogan told the

Daily News that future prosecutions by his office may take "a different form" because "where conspiracy is charged it is difficult to prove."

Two weeks later the FBI launched operation "Newkill." The FBI stepped up its attacks against the Panthers under the guise of "criminal" investigations.

"Black Panther Party members recently released from prison," the "Newkill" proposal states, "should be considered suspects and their whereabouts accounted for."

One week later Moore was arrested and charged with shooting two policemen. Police couldn't link Moore with the shootout scene but claimed his fingerprint was on a note that said the Panthers were responsible, which was sent to radio station WLIB.

This is exactly the type of "criminal" investigation that the proposed Red Squad settlement gives its blessings to.

Flimsy 'evidence'

Because the evidence against Moore was so flimsy, his first trial ended in a hung jury. The majority of the jury voted for his acquittal.

But a 1973 trial resulted in a conviction. He was sentenced to twenty-five years in jail.

Documents uncovered through Moore's suit reveal the illegal efforts of the police to assure a conviction.

Witnesses' initial testimony radically changed after being grilled and bribed by the police.

One of the cops, who told the press he would "never forget" the face of his assailants, failed to identify Moore in a lineup. The jury was never told.

Moore's conviction was broadcast over every city police car radio, and cops jammed the courtroom for his sentencing.

"My case is over six years old now," Moore said in the interview. "And the New York City police lied for the first five years that they didn't have documents."

"With federal documents," he said, "we were able to show in open court that the New York police were lying."

Moore said that more than 70,000 documents have been turned over in his lawsuit.

"The frame-up against me was part of the Cointelpro program," Moore said. "The organization was infiltrated by Black police agents who then played the role of provocateurs to bust the leadership of the New York Panther Party. And they did it."

For more information on Moore's case, or to send a contribution, write to the International Committee to Free Dhoruba Moore, P.O. Box 480, Brooklyn, New York 11202.

Get out word on trial by selling the 'Militant'

By Nancy Rosenstock

The socialists' trial of the U.S. government is important news for working people in this country. The capitalist media boycott of the trial means that the main place to read about this case is in the pages of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Talking to prospective readers about the trial is central to our current drive to sell single copies of both publications. Socialists have found it useful, for example, to introduce friends on the

job to our ideas by urging them to read the testimony of Socialist Workers Party leader Farrell Dobbs, serialized in the *Militant*.

During the last seven weeks, SWP branches and Young Socialist Alliance chapters have also sold 983 subscriptions—a major accomplishment.

This figure doesn't include subscriptions sold by the eight sales teams traveling in the coal fields. Between the teams, branches, and chapters, some 500 subscriptions have been sold to miners.

We have been behind in weekly single copy sales, but some recent experiences point in the right direction.

Using a full-page article on the District 33 United Steelworkers elections, socialists on the Mesabi Iron Range in northern Minnesota sold twenty-six copies to steelworkers.

In Louisville, socialists have been selling regularly at the Anaconda Aluminum plant. They've sold thirteen papers each time during the last two weeks.

Thirty-seven rail workers bought *Militants* last week in Washington, D.C. At a sale at Potomac Yard, workers bought ten *Militants* and two copies of *American Railroads: The Case for Nationalization*, by Dick Roberts. More were sold at the Amtrak headquarters and at Washington Terminal.

When the next issue of the *Militant*, headlined "Behind Reagan's rail swindle," came out, another twenty-five were sold at Potomac Yard.

Volunteers needed May 3

Supporters of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist* are encouraged to help distribute the revolutionary socialist press at the May 3 demonstration in Washington, D.C., against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

At the assembly site, supporters can pick up papers at a table set up in Constitution Gardens, near the corner of Constitution Ave. and 23rd St.

At the rally, the table will be in the North Mall of the Pentagon, near the back (opposite the stage).

...red squad

Continued from preceding page

Charter; and Morton Halperin, director of the Center for National Security Studies. Halperin is a former aide to Henry Kissinger.

The settlement was strongly assailed by attorney Marshall Perlin, one of the lawyers for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. He branded it as doing more harm than good.

Attorney Martin Popper, speaking for the National Lawyers Guild, also

blasted the proposal.

When Stolar and Eisenstein filed the lawsuit in 1971, it was with the full support of the National Lawyers Guild. But the organization has gone on record in opposition to the proposed settlement.

Violates constitution

"This settlement condones activity by police that is in violation of the Constitution," Popper told the court. "To suggest that police can find a way to get around or abridge First Amendment rights is against the law."

Elizabeth Fink, an attorney for

Sales scoreboard

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	MILITANT SOLD	PM GOAL	PM SOLD	TOTAL GOAL	TOTAL SOLD	%
Salt Lake City	100	135	8	6	108	141	130.5
Atlanta	100	130	0	0	100	130	130.0
Charleston	30	38	0	0	30	38	126.6
Louisville	80	97	0	0	80	97	121.2
Kansas City	65	89	10	1	75	90	120.0
Birmingham	125	145	0	0	125	145	116.0
Los Angeles	215	243	60	75	275	318	115.6
Portland	70	76	0	1	70	77	110.0
Iron Range	45	45	0	0	45	45	100.0
Dallas	55	55	35	33	90	88	97.7
Twin Cities	162	148	3	11	165	159	96.3
Pittsburgh	245	234	5	0	250	234	93.6
Washington, D.C.	120	128	30	5	150	133	88.6
Seattle	125	110	0	0	125	110	88.0
Baltimore	90	77	0	0	90	77	85.5
San Antonio	70	55	20	20	90	75	83.3
Morgantown	110	88	0	0	110	88	80.0
Miami	60	47	10	6	70	53	75.7
Tidewater	80	60	0	0	80	60	75.0
Phoenix	110	64	25	37	135	101	74.8
Gary	70	46	5	5	75	51	68.0
Brooklyn	220	145	30	17	250	162	64.8
Toledo	45	28	0	1	45	29	64.4
Manhattan	175	113	50	30	225	143	63.5
New Orleans	85	52	0	0	85	52	61.1
Philadelphia	120	75	15	2	135	77	57.0
Indianapolis	125	70	0	1	125	71	56.8
Chicago	175	101	25	11	200	112	56.0
San Francisco	120	81	30	3	150	84	56.0
Capital District	105	56	5	4	110	60	54.5
San Jose	90	65	35	2	125	67	53.6
Detroit	140	77	10	0	150	77	51.3
Boston	150	81	20	5	170	86	50.5
San Diego	75	35	7	0	82	35	42.6
Houston	100	49	50	14	150	63	42.0
Cleveland	100	39	7	0	107	39	36.4
Piedmont	100	36	0	0	100	36	36.0
Denver	70	25	10	2	80	27	33.7
Cincinnati	60	20	0	0	60	20	33.3
Oakland	95	29	5	0	100	29	29.0
Newark	125	41	25	1	150	42	28.0
Albuquerque	105	30	15	0	120	30	25.0
TOTALS	4,622	3,358	560	293	5,182	3,651	70.4

Not reporting: Milwaukee, St. Louis

Covers issue #15 of the *Militant* and the second week of issue #7 of *PM*.

Black Panther Party member Richard Dhoruba Moore, also objected.

"Nothing done to the Panther Twenty-One would be disclosed," she said. "In regard to the Black liberation movement—Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, the Panthers—this settlement doesn't cover any of these people."

Afeni Shakur, one of the Panther Twenty-One who was acquitted in 1973 after serving two years in jail, spoke out against the deal. "I oppose it on behalf of all Black people," she said.

Michael Ratkin, an attorney for the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and Victor Rabinowitz, representing the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, also spoke.

At the end of the hearing Judge Haight announced that he would set a future court date to continue the testimony.

Why does the ACLU want to settle for such a rotten deal?

Their position is part of a larger shift. They are adapting to the pressure of the government-big-business offensive against working people.

The rulers of this country want to sharply narrow democratic rights because their moves to reduce living standards, slash social services, build up the military, and prepare for war require such restrictions.

Giving up rights

In the face of this shift to the right, ACLU leaders claim that such settlements are the best that can be obtained.

What's more, they agree with the cops that "legitimate", "criminal" investigations must be carried out—including against presumed "potential" criminals like political radicals. They hope that review boards and guidelines will curb "excesses."

The reputation of the ACLU as defenders of the Bill of Rights only makes matters worse.

If the police alone tried to pass off two cops and a civilian approved by

the cops as a body capable of defending civil rights from police attack, it would immediately be seen as a fraud. The ACLU's influence is being used in an attempt to give the idea credibility.

Fighting back

The SWP's approach is the exact opposite of that taken by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in their lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, and other political police. The socialists are demanding that the government stop its illegal acts—the wiretaps, the burglaries, the poison-pen letters, the informers. They are demanding that witch-hunt laws like the Smith Act not be used against them or anyone else. They are demanding that the government uphold the Bill of Rights and end its spying on so-called "subversives."

The SWP and YSA believe that government attacks on civil liberties can and must be fought. In putting the secret cops in the dock, they and the many supporters of the suit are fighting back—in the same spirit as the miners and railworkers who say no to government cutbacks and the Atlanta mothers who defy FBI threats.

Wells Todd, the SWP candidate for mayor of New York, on April 16 called attention to the danger posed by the proposed settlement in the suit against the New York Red Squad. He told the *Militant* that most people in New York have no idea that a settlement is underway.

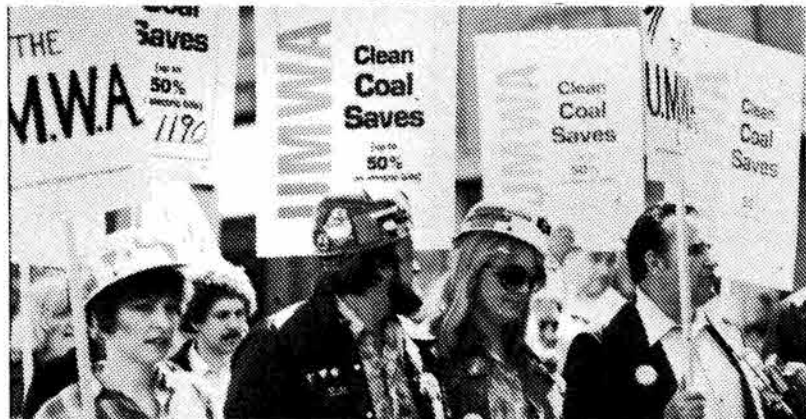
"A small legal notice—in fine print—was buried in the back pages of the *New York Times*," he said. "Nobody reads these notices. They are trying to sneak this settlement through the courts."

He urged all defenders of civil liberties to launch a big campaign to get out the truth about the proposal—to the labor movement, the Black movement, and everyone else who has a stake in the fight against the secret police.

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

Building a Party of Socialist Workers

Reports and resolutions of the Socialist Workers Party. Edited by Jack Barnes and Steve Clark.



How is the U.S. labor movement changing today? How can working people organize to defend their living standards and democratic rights? How can the Black and women's movements defend past gains and advance their fight for full equality? What kind of government does the working class need to promote its interests? What kind of party is needed to fight for such a government?

These are among the important questions examined in this selection of major reports and resolutions of the Socialist Workers Party from 1978 to 1980. Special offer for April only \$5.00 (reg. \$7.95).

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By David Frankel

A political and social revolution has been unfolding in Poland for the past eight months.

This revolution, led by the industrial working class, began with the massive strike wave of August 1980. Since then the Polish workers and their allies—farmers, students, intellectuals, and others—have carried out the biggest and most successful struggle for workers' democracy to take place in any bureaucratized workers state since the rise of Stalinism.

Already the struggle in Poland has gone far deeper and won far more than the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and the struggle in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Poland, of course, is not a capitalist country in which the factories, mines,

throughout the semicolonial world, and is radicalizing the labor movements in Western Europe and the United States.

Development of revolution

Immediately after the increase of meat prices on July 1 there were strikes in a number of industrial strongholds, particularly in the Gdansk shipyards and in the Warsaw area. These actions forced the bureaucracy to make some concessions, but seemed to blow over quickly.

However, new strikes kept on breaking out. No sooner did the regime grant wage increases or promise additional meat supplies in one area, than the workers in another area walked off the job.

As the working class gained experience and confidence through these

political as well as economic demands. These demands continue to be at the center of the struggle.

Among the demands raised by the strikers were freedom of expression and the abolition of censorship; release of all political prisoners; recognition of the right to strike and to form independent trade unions; abolition of privileges for police and party officials; and that the regime take steps to inform "the public fully about the socio-economic situation in the country. . . ."

The rapidity with which the workers' struggle went from economic to political demands is a general feature of upsurges in the bureaucratized workers states. Joseph Hansen, who was a longtime leader of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and of the Fourth International, pointed out in an article in

without winning political democracy—and this means deposing bureaucracy, stripping it of all its arbitrary powers and privileges."

Industrial workers take lead

From the beginning of the Polish revolution it has been evident that the industrial working class is the force that is driving the process forward. Bastions of the industrial workers, such as the Lenin Shipyard, the Nowa Huta steelworks, and the Ursus tractor plant were the center of the movement from the first days.

As the strikes spread, rail workers, auto workers, rubber workers, machinists, and coal miners from workplaces throughout the country joined in.

The independent workers organizations that rose out of these strikes provided an example of democratic

Revolution in Poland

and shipyards are privately owned. The tasks of the Polish revolution are not to overturn the economic foundations of society and establish new relations of production.

But neither are the Polish workers and their allies merely fighting for a change in government. The real thrust of their demands is for a change in the way the entire country is run, from top to bottom.

This is not only a question of democratic rights and the composition of government ministries and local authorities. It includes the educational system, the administration of health care, the character of the newspapers and electronic media, the administration of the economy—both at the national level and at each factory and farm—and the elimination of the pervasive privilege and inequality that eats away at the foundations of the Polish workers state.

Although the antibureaucratic revolution in Poland will not usher in new property relations, as will the socialist revolution in France or the United States, it is a social revolution in virtually every other respect.

As the workers win their demands, they are changing the face of Polish society. And they are showing in action that the scope of the changes they are fighting for require the same proletarian methods of struggle and the same massive class mobilizations as the socialist revolution in the capitalist countries.

Capitalist crisis corners gov't

When the Polish government moved to sharply increase meat prices on July 1, 1980, it knew that it was playing with fire. It was precisely this issue of food prices that touched off the workers' revolt in the Baltic seacoast cities of Gdansk and Szczecin in December 1970. That revolt led to the downfall of Wladyslaw Gomulka as head of the Communist Party (officially known as the Polish United Workers Party) and his replacement by Edward Gierk after tanks opened fire on the workers, killing dozens.

Massive strikes broke out again in June 1976, when Gierk tried to raise meat prices. The regime beat a hasty retreat.

But Gierk's hand was being forced by the same international capitalist crisis that has led to increased attacks on the working class in every part of the world. Poland's massive debt to the imperialist banks, coupled with declining export markets due to the economic crisis in the capitalist countries, squeezed the regime into a corner.

Looked at from this angle, the struggle of the Polish workers against austerity measures and the political repression needed to enforce them is part of the same process that has resulted in the Iranian revolution, increased mass pressure on capitalist regimes

actions, the strike movement spread. It reached a new level with the general strike of the Gdansk workers, led by the vanguard of industrial workers at the Lenin Shipyard. Their walkout on August 14 was sparked by the dismissal of Anna Walentynowicz, a crane operator who had participated in the 1970 and 1976 upsurges.

By August 18, about 100,000 workers in the Baltic cities of Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot were on strike, and the strikes had also spread to the Baltic ports of Elblag and Szczecin.

Along with the extension of the working class mobilization came the organization of strike committees linking the workers in various enterprises, and then in various cities.

At the same time, the struggle was broadened to include a program of

the Spring 1958 issue of the *International Socialist Review*:

"Because of the peculiar role of the state in Soviet life, the economic struggle against material inequalities tends to merge with the political struggle for democracy. The government is not only the upholder of the totalitarian political structure but also the direct employer, the regulator of planning, production and distribution. This imparts extraordinary explosive force to large-scale economic struggles, since a fight over distribution of the national income can quickly become transformed into a political fight over who shall wield state power, the bureaucrats or the workers.

"The revolutionary challenge emerges so sharply because the workers cannot achieve economic equality

organization. Elected delegates reported back regularly to their factories, and their actions were subject to the approval of the workers assemblies in each workplace. The meetings of the strike committee at the Lenin Shipyard were piped outside so the entire workforce could follow the discussions.

Although Gierk charged that "anarchist and anti-socialist groups" were behind the strikes and warned that their actions "will not be tolerated," the power of the industrial workers quickly brought him to the negotiating table. On August 31, the signing of an agreement was broadcast on national television.

For the first time in the history of any of the Stalinized workers states, the workers had established a national organization free from the control of the bureaucratic caste governing the country, and had forced the regime to grant legal recognition to their independent organization.

Reform and revolution

In winning the right to form independent trade unions, the Polish workers immensely strengthened their position in relationship to the regime. The establishment of independent unions laid the basis for further steps toward overturning the entire system of bureaucratic rule.

Joseph Hansen offered a general explanation of this process in the article quoted above. "To stand by a program of political revolution," he explained, "does not exclude either fighting for reforms or winning reforms. In fact, it presupposes such a struggle. . . ."

"Reforms are partial successes on the road to more definitive solutions of pressing problems: they can stimulate the working class and help prepare the stage for bigger struggles for more decisive goals. . . ."

"It is much closer to reality to view the program of political revolution as the total series of reforms, gained through militant struggle, culminating in the transfer of power to the workers.

"No revolution comes in a single oversize dose like a horse pill. It develops in interlinked stages affecting interlinked fields. If any of the demands of any of the stages be viewed in isolation, or fixed as an end in itself rather than a means to a higher goal, it appears as a reform. If its connection to the demands of other stages be kept in mind, it appears as a transitional step. It is only when the process is viewed as a whole—in its origin, its fundamental aims and final results—that it appears for what it really is, a revolution: an organic qualitative change in whatever structure is involved."

In the case of Poland, the victory of the August general strike did indeed "stimulate the working class and help

Continued on next page



Continued from preceding page

prepare the stage for bigger struggles."

One Silesian coal miner remarked: "As the strikes continued, we got time to think about these free trade unions and freedom of expression, and to come to understand what we really thought about this deep down in ourselves."

Just one day after the signing of the Gdansk agreement, eight coal miners were killed and eighteen injured in an accident at the Halemba mine. The result was a walkout by 300,000 Silesian miners. They demanded abolition of the government-controlled unions in the upper Silesian area, shorter workdays and other safety improvements, and expressed their solidarity with the demands of the Baltic strikers.

Coal is Poland's most important natural resource and export product, and the miners have the greatest weight of any section of the Polish working class. Their action drove the final nail into Gierek's coffin. He was replaced as party head by Stanislaw Kania on September 6.

Others follow example

Solidarity, the independent trade union federation, swept across Poland in the weeks following the August 31 agreement. At their first national conference on September 17, the independent unions already claimed a membership of 3 million. It was not long before the membership swelled to 10 million—almost the entire Polish working class.

All of Polish society was galvanized by the example of the workers. Painters and sculptors began meeting to demand an end to censorship of their works. Scientists in Warsaw held meetings to set up their own independent organization. They demanded the right to travel freely and guarantees that there would be no more firings for political reasons.

Students initiated struggles against the bureaucracy's heavy-handed control of education, and professors demanded that university administrators no longer be named by the regime.

Farmers organize

Most important of all, the farmers were inspired to organize themselves and raise their own demands. Central to the upsurge of the farmers is their demand that the regime make it possible for them to maintain their land and stop treating them as second-class citizens.

Because of their crucial role in food production and in production for export, their numerical strength, and their particular history and consciousness as a distinct social class, the farmers are the most powerful and important ally of the Polish workers.

At each step in the development and consolidation of Solidarity, the bureaucracy resisted the advance of the workers and farmers. Even after the August strikes, the workers were forced to resort to strikes in hundreds of individual factories in order to gain recognition for local branches of Solidarity.

Confrontations with regime

In November 1980, the government provoked a sharp confrontation over the statutes of the new union. Jozef Klasa, a member of the ruling party's Central Committee, declared November 7:

"The party has decided for the first time since August to exploit all possibilities . . . to prevent a strike. This includes resorting to administrative measures such as declaring strikes illegal in certain enterprises."

But the regime was forced to back down by the unity of the workers and the solidity of their organization. On November 10 the Polish Supreme Court ruled in favor of the union.

In some cases the workers were able to turn back the attacks by the bureaucracy and go over to the offensive. In the Czesochowa district in southern Poland, for example, the governor informed local factory managers November 10 that a state of emergency was going to be declared. He told them to confiscate all typewriters and dupli-

cating machines in the hands of the independent trade unions and to require the workers to sign statements of loyalty to the government and the party.

When managers attempted to carry out these measures, strike alerts were issued in some 200 factories. The workers forced the resignation of the heads of the provincial and municipal councils.

Local struggles against victimization of Solidarity activists, for union recognition, to enforce agreements that had already been reached, and against the bureaucracy's heavy-handed censorship continued throughout Poland. Through such struggles the workers have been able to take big steps toward establishing in practice democratic rights such as free speech and association, and the right to demonstrate.

One of the most vivid indications of the shift in the relationship of forces between the workers and the bureaucracy was the rally of 500,000 people in Gdansk December 16. Top government officials attended and participated with Solidarity leaders in unveiling a huge monument to the workers gunned down during the 1970 upsurge.

Forty-hour workweek

Two struggles in particular contributed to the extension of the rights of the toiling masses, and showed how the workers and farmers are using the rights they have wrested from the bureaucracy to make further gains. These were the struggle over legalization of the farmers organization, Rural Solidarity, and the fight for a five-day, forty-hour workweek.

On April 17 the regime agreed to legalize Rural Solidarity, and pledged to stop obstructing the activities of the 1.3-million-member organization. It took a campaign of rallies, sit-ins, and finally, after a police attack that hospitalized three union leaders, the threat of an open-ended general strike by Solidarity to win this agreement.

In its struggle for a five-day workweek, Solidarity pulled millions of workers off their jobs on January 10 and again on January 24. On January 31, the regime bowed to the demands of the workers.

Accompanying these struggles for the right to organize and the right to a better life, the workers and farmers have raised demands for the dismissal of especially hated officials and for the curbing of bureaucratic abuses, arbitrary measures by the police, and privilege.

An eleven-day general strike in Bielsko-Biala, a textile manufacturing center in southern Poland, came to an end February 6 after the 200,000 strikers won their demand for the ouster of the local governor and several of his aides.

Just three days later, on February 9, some 300,000 workers walked off their jobs in the Jelenia Gora area to push for the dismissal of the local trade union minister, who was also the head of the Communist Party in the region. They also called for the conversion of facilities used only by officials and party members into public centers.

Also on February 9, Prime Minister Jozef Pinkowski was replaced by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski—the fourth change of prime ministers in less than a year.

Can regime be reformed?

The success that the workers have had in pushing back the bureaucracy, in securing specific gains, in forcing the removal of some of the worst officials, raises the question of whether the workers can achieve their aims through a process of reform.

This question is posed all the more sharply by the divisions that have appeared within the Communist Party. There has been a massive influx of party members into Solidarity, demands from the party ranks for the removal of corrupt officials, for the thorough democratization of party life, and for the renewal of political life in Poland.

All these demands deserve support. However, the fact remains that the

same apparatus that administered the system of bureaucratic rule for so many years still remains in place.

Past experience shows that failure to dismantle this apparatus will result in the erosion and eventual nullification of most of the gains made by the workers. That was the case following the 1956 upsurge and again after 1970.

Nor should this come as any surprise. Substantial material interests are involved in the system of bureaucratic rule, not merely mistaken ideas on the part of the bureaucracy. The privileged, petty-bourgeois bureaucratic caste makes concessions to the workers during periods of mass upsurge, and moves to take back whatever they can when the struggle recedes.

To break out of this, the workers have to do with the government what they have done with the trade unions—replace the bureaucratized structure with one that will enable them to exert direct control.

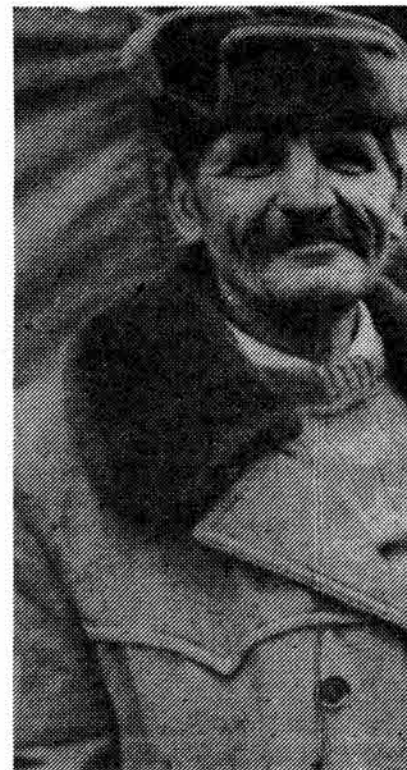
The program of political revolution, while taking the fight for reforms as a point of departure, represents a strategic approach that rejects the slightest confidence in the bureaucrats, however conciliatory they may be at any instant. It relies completely on the independent organization and mobilization of the workers, peasants, and intellectuals themselves.

As in any struggle, this is the most effective way to win immediate reforms as well as to advance the long-term interests of the masses.

The revolutionary process

A revolution is not just the final, decisive confrontation that marks the shift in power from one class or one ruling group to another. It is the whole process by which the masses enter into

'It is much closer to reality to view the program of political revolution as the total series of reforms, gained through militant struggle, culminating in the transfer of power to the workers.'



From top: 500,000 gathered for December 16 opening in Gdansk of memorial to workers during four-hour general strike in support of farmers' and other demands.



battle, test their strength, organize themselves, gain confidence, sift out their leadership, and gain an understanding of the tasks before them.

In the case of the Iranian revolution, for example, the massive insurrection that overthrew the monarchy in February 1979 was preceded by a whole year of increasingly powerful mass mobilizations. It was clear that a revolution was underway by October 1978. Nor is that revolution over yet.

Similarly, the Nicaraguan revolution developed over a period of a year and a half before Somoza was finally overthrown. Mass protests and a general strike followed the murder of opposition leader Pedro Joaquín Chamorro in January 1978. This prepared the ground for the Sandinista National Liberation Front's August-September 1978 offensive.

But it was not until July 1979 that the Somoza dictatorship was finally destroyed and a workers and farmers government established. Today, the workers are driving forward the class struggle on the road toward consolidating a workers state.

Among the factors that indicate a revolution is taking place in Poland are:

- The sustained character of the upsurge. Since August hardly a week has passed without its share of strikes, demonstrations, and the expansion of political discussion and debate.

- The depth and extent of the mass movement. Every part of Poland, from Warsaw and the port cities on the Baltic to the smallest farming villages has been drawn into the ferment. In sheer numbers, the size of the mass actions, in particular the strikes coordinated by Solidarity, have been comparable to the mobilizations during the Iranian revolution.

- The clear class character of the struggle. Although substantial layers from every social sector have participated in actions against the regime, the movement has been led by the industrial workers, organized in their own unions. Every factory in Poland has become a center of political discussion and debate, and the workers are increasingly asserting their right to control conditions on the job.

- The sweeping demands being raised by the workers and their allies. As both Soviet and Polish leaders have repeatedly pointed out in their attacks on the workers, this is a political movement that is challenging the Communist Party's monopoly on political power.

International context

Like any revolution, the working class upheaval in Poland must be seen in a broader international context. On the most fundamental level, the Polish revolution is part of the struggle of the world working class for the establishment of socialism.

Although capitalism has been abolished in Poland, the working class has been barred from exercising political power by a parasitic bureaucracy. This bureaucracy stands as an obstacle to the continued development of the Polish economy and to improving the conditions of the working class.

Just as the bureaucracy puts its own narrow interests first inside of Poland, doing everything in its power to preserve its privileged status, it follows a narrowly nationalist policy in world affairs.

This approach is in polar contrast to the proletarian internationalist policies of the Cuban leadership. Cuba has far fewer resources than Poland and is in a far more vulnerable position in regard to imperialism, but it plays a far bigger role internationally in aiding revolutionary struggles. And in Cuba, the government takes the initiative in mobilizing the masses against bureaucratic abuses and privilege-seeking social layers.

International example

Not surprisingly, the world working class has identified with the mobilizations of our sisters and brothers in Poland, and has been inspired by their courage and power. In the United States it has become common for workers fighting back against attacks by the bosses to cite the example of the Polish workers. In Western Europe, the impact has been even greater, including among workers in the mass Communist parties in Italy, France, and other countries.

From the other side of the class line, the imperialists hate the militant example of independent organization and self-reliance provided by the Polish workers. They support the Polish regime's attempts to impose austerity on the working class. The international bankers depend on the success of this policy for the prompt repayment of their massive loans to the Warsaw government.

At the same time, Washington and its allies have repeatedly warned against any Soviet military moves into Poland. There are two elements to this stance. In the first place, while opposing a workers revolution, the imperialists really are in favor of the Polish government establishing maximum political independence from Moscow. A Yugoslav-type regime in Warsaw would open up new opportunities for Washington in the diplomatic arena.

But an even bigger consideration for the imperialists is the use of this issue as part of their ideological offensive within their own countries. By playing up the threat of Soviet invasion, the imperialist rulers seek to portray the Soviet Union as an aggressive power that must be countered by a bigger military buildup.

While the U.S. ruling class and its allies have no sympathy whatsoever for the goals of the Polish workers, they are perfectly willing to give lip service to their cause in order to advance imperialist interests.

Any Soviet invasion of Poland would

be a windfall for Washington's militarization drive. And it would be used by the U.S. rulers to try to justify their own intervention against the workers and peasants of Central America and the Caribbean.

East Europe regimes

Another factor in the international context of the Polish revolution is the Stalinist bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and the East European workers states. These petty-bourgeois castes are caught between the pressures of the world working class and world imperialism.

Internationally, the bureaucratic regimes are being pressed for support and solidarity by the rebellious workers and peasants in Central America, Indochina, and elsewhere. The imperialists, meanwhile, are pressing Moscow and its allies to take the opposite tack and withhold aid to revolutionary struggles around the world.

At home, the bureaucratic castes face the demands of the workers and farmers for better living standards, for an end to inequality and corruption, and for democratic rights. On the other side, however, are the pressures of the international capitalist economy. It was these pressures that touched off the crisis in Poland last August.

It should come as no surprise that the bureaucratic rulers are terrified at the prospect of the ferment in Poland spreading to the workers and peasants in their own countries.

The East German, Hungarian, and Czechoslovak bureaucracies have all faced similar rebellions in the past, and they know that their future is far from secure. Hoping to quarantine the revolutionary infection, the East German regime imposed restrictions on travel to and from Poland in October 1980, and the Czechoslovak regime followed suit in November.

For the Romanian regime, the strike by the Silesian coal miners must have raised particularly unpleasant memories. About 35,000 miners in the Jiu Valley, the largest mining area in Romania, went out on strike in August 1977. President Nicolae Ceausescu was forced to meet with the miners, who greeted him with shouts of "Down with the proletarian bourgeoisie." Although the struggle was later repressed, it is indicative of the pressures building up in Eastern Europe—and in the Soviet Union as well.

Threats from Moscow

Ultimately, all of the East European regimes depend on the threat of Soviet military intervention for their continued existence. During the 1940s and 1950s, Stalin would order heads of government appointed or deposed at will. Today Soviet methods of domination are normally not quite as heavy-handed, but when bureaucratic interests are threatened as they were in Czechoslovakia in 1968, Moscow is capable of taking the most brutal measures.

This domination is especially resented in Poland, which was divided up between Russia, Prussia, and Austria in the eighteenth century, and only regained its national independence after World War I.

Among the considerations that have so far held Moscow back from going to war against the Polish working class are the prospect of massive military resistance, the political price the Soviet regime would pay in the world working-class movement, and the effect such a war would have on the consciousness of the workers and peasants in the rest of Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union itself.

Time, moreover, is not on the side of the bureaucrats. With each passing week the Polish workers are gaining in confidence and their independent organizations are growing in strength and experience.

The longer the struggle goes on, the more the workers of the world see, the higher the price Moscow will pay for any attempt to crush the Polish workers by military force.

Up to now, the threat of Soviet

Continued on next page



illed in 1970 strikes; members of Rural Solidarity; Lech Wałęsa and steelworkers

Continued from preceding page

military intervention has been used by the bureaucracy to try to intimidate the workers and to force them to make concessions. At the same time, the bureaucracy has sought to divide the workers movement, trying to isolate the most militant and conscious elements and play upon backward prejudices.

Appeal to anti-Semitism

Certainly the most convincing example of the reactionary social character of the bureaucratic caste ruling Poland was its attempt early in March to stir up anti-Semitic sentiment as a means of dividing the workers movement. But Warsaw Solidarity issued a general appeal for people "to stand against this attempt at anti-Semitic action," and after one halfhearted rally the scum of Polish society slunk back to their holes.

A more sustained attack has been carried out against the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), and in particular against Jacek Kuron, its chief leader. Kuron has been repeatedly attacked in statements issued by both Soviet and Polish officials, and he has been repeatedly arrested by Polish authorities.

Kuron, the most prominent opposition figure in Poland for many years, is also a central figure in Solidarity. The Polish rulers insist that while it is legitimate for workers to organize around bread-and-butter economic issues, it is not acceptable for Solidarity to take an interest in the broad political issues facing Polish society. Kuron symbolizes this kind of political involvement, and the attack on him is aimed at dividing the ranks of Solidarity on this issue.

The regime has had an important ally in its attempts to retard and divide the workers movement in the Polish Catholic Church hierarchy. In the middle of the August strike wave, the head of the Polish church appealed to the strikers to return to work. Similar appeals have been issued several times since then in an attempt to undermine the unity of the movement.

Despite such pressures, the leadership of Solidarity has refused to abandon any sector of the movement to repression by the regime, and it has resisted attempts by the church hierarchy to dictate the course of the struggle.

Class-struggle leadership

Every revolution raises the question of leadership. The Polish workers have

been particularly fortunate in this regard.

The leadership of Solidarity is a working-class leadership that has arisen in the factories, mines, and shipyards. It has been tempered by the struggles of 1970 and 1976, and it has proven itself to be extremely capable in the face of the most difficult circumstances.

The first and most basic test of any class-struggle leadership is that it rely on and advance the independent organization and mobilization of the

democratic functioning enables the power of the ranks to be most effectively mobilized.

An important step forward for carrying out discussion in the workers movement and for extending its ability to organize the masses on the national level was the appearance of the first issue of *Tygodnik Solidarnosc* (Solidarity Weekly)—the union's own newspaper—on April 4.

Tactical differences

As is to be expected in any struggle

Cuba has far fewer resources than Poland, but it plays a far bigger role internationally in aiding revolutionary struggles. And in Cuba, the government mobilizes the masses against bureaucratic abuses.

working class and its allies. The leadership of Solidarity has certainly met this test.

Not only has it led in the formation of an independent workers organization of 10 million members, it has also helped in the organization of Rural Solidarity, the mass farmers organization, and in the struggles of students and other social layers.

Decisions of the movement have been determined by gatherings of elected representatives from workplaces all over the country. Different views are stated and discussed, votes are taken, and the decisions of the majority are implemented. This kind of

of this scope, tactical differences within the leadership have arisen at various times. The capitalist media has generally tended to counterpose the "moderate" Lech Walesa to elements in the leadership that it describes as more "militant." For example, tactical differences arose in Solidarity around whether or not to call off the threatened general strike on March 31 and accept an agreement on disputed issues. After democratic discussion the majority of Solidarity delegates voted to accept the accord.

The attempt by the capitalist press to portray this as a triumph of the "moderates" over the "militants" tells

nothing about which view best advanced the class struggle.

Such questions can only be decided by the workers themselves. They are in the best position to judge the situation accurately, and they are the ones who must bear the consequences.

New force in class struggle

It is no accident that the industrial workers in Poland have moved into the center of politics and are fighting for their class interests. The same process is taking place throughout the world, from Iran to the United States.

The Polish workers are already having a big impact on working-class fighters around the world. And they in turn will be affected by the class struggle in other countries.

As the struggle of the Polish workers and peasants continues, and as Solidarity tries to find allies on a world scale, it will look more and more to the battles of workers and peasants in other countries. Its own class base and the content of its demands drive it in that direction—in the direction of Marxism.

Meanwhile, the Polish workers and their class-struggle leadership deserve the fullest solidarity from the international workers movement. A powerful new contingent of the world working class has entered into struggle. This represents one more confirmation of the revolutionary Marxist program, and of the revolutionary character of our epoch.

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Women protest at Senate anti-abortion hearing

By Margaret Jayko

WASHINGTON, D.C.—More than 200 people crammed into the Senate hearings on the anti-abortion Human Life Bill (HLB), which took place here on April 23 and 24.

This mostly young and female crowd was overwhelmingly in support of a woman's right to abortion.

The witness list for the hearings certainly didn't reflect the support in this country for legalized abortion. Seven of the eight doctors slated to testify were right-wing opponents of abortion.

The hearings were chaired by Sen. John East (R-N.C.), an up-and-coming conservative. "These hearings will be fair, extensive, and exhaustive," he said. His promise rang false to groups like the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), whose requests to testify had been rejected.

This hearing was supposedly limited, "to scientific testimony on the issue of when human life begins."

This testimony boiled down to repeated assertions, in deliberately obscure scientific language, that, as the bill states, "... actual human life exists from conception." Several of

these "objective experts" stated their opposition to abortion.

Dr. McCarthy DeMere explained that he had been told not to use the word abortion in his testimony. But, he said, this is the real issue. He questioned the constitutionality of the bill, a point raised by other right-wing opponents of abortion. He favored going back to the good old days of 1970, when abortion was illegal in every state.

The good old days?

Maybe he should try reminiscing with the families of the thousands of women who died every year from botched illegal abortions, making it the leading cause of maternal deaths in the United States. About 80 percent of the women who died from illegal abortions in New York City were Blacks and Hispanics.

The HLB declares fetuses to be legal "persons." If passed, it would overturn the 1973 Supreme Court decision which originally legalized abortion. It would give states the go-ahead to criminalize abortion, certain types of birth control pills, and the intra-uterine device (IUD).

The only witness allowed to testify who pointed to the effects of the bill on women was Dr. Leon Rosenberg, who was added to the witness list at the

last minute. He attacked the bill, saying it would be "fundamentally counter to the best interests of the people."

As a press release issued by New York State NARAL explained, these hearings were, "just another step in the escalated attack on abortion rights."

The offensive of the Reagan administration on abortion is designed to wear down the majority support among working people for the rights of women.

They use hearings to propagandize anti-woman views and to create a false impression of overwhelming opposition to legalized abortion.

Meanwhile, state and local governments press forward with restrictions on Medicaid funding, which hit Black, Latina and other poor women the hardest. And they pass parental consent bills and rulings as they did recently in Utah and Massachusetts, which dramatically curtail teenage access to abortion.

The *Militant* interviewed a high school teacher in from Boston. She recounted several stories of pregnant students who were faced with the choice of an abortion, or dropping out of school and going on welfare.

It was chilling facts like these, ignored by the doctors, that made the

audience enthusiastically applaud the women who jumped up during the hearing and said: "A woman's life is a human life." They were thrown out by the cops, and booked for disruption of a Senate hearing.

After the first morning of hearings, hundreds strode out of the hearing room to picket outside. They were joined by at least a hundred passersby, both women and men.

"What do we want? Abortion rights! When do we want them? Now!" "Rich or poor, Black or white, abortion is a woman's right!"

The picket line was initiated by the Reproductive Rights National Network.

More hearings on the HLB are scheduled for May.

Woman's Evolution

From Matriarchal Clan
To Patriarchal Family
By Evelyn Reed
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10014.

Sees struggle as progressive

Puerto Rican Socialist Party hails Polish labor

Last fall, when the battle of the Polish workers first erupted, the central committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party issued a statement supporting them. The PSP is one of the main forces fighting for Puerto Rican independence.

The article below appeared in the April 10-16 issue of 'Claridad,' weekly paper of the PSP. Written by Wilfredo Mattos Cintrón, it was translated by 'Intercontinental Press.'

In a recent interview, the Polish workers leader Lech Walesa emphasized that the aim of the Solidarity trade union is to consolidate socialism in Poland. His statement was reported by the Spanish news agency EFE. But the Puerto Rican people will read about it only in the pages of *Claridad*, since this is the kind of news that finds no place in the press dominated by the capitalist and imperialist interests in this country.

By brandishing the specter of a Soviet invasion of Poland, the capitalist press seeks to ignore the true aspirations of the Polish masses organized in Solidarity. So, among other things, we face a classic case of distortion.

Such distortion consists of taking up a real problem but suppressing a vital part of its content. An effort is made to divert the meaning of the news toward something that fits the interests of those who set editorial policy. Thus, instead of the consolidation of socialism that Walesa spoke of, we have instead a revolt against socialism.

The case of KOR

As evidence of such distortion, we can cite some significant aspects of the Polish situation that have perished under the scissors of the implacable ideological censors. For example, there is the case of the now-famous group of intellectuals, the KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense]. Who are they? What positions do they hold? It is enough for now to note the continually suppressed but nonetheless known fact that the KOR is a group of Marxists who disagree with the official line of the PUWP, the Polish United Workers Party. Several other things can also be pointed out:

The program of demands of the Polish workers is entirely within the framework of socialist relations, and in no way points toward the return of capitalism. Poland is not a country trapped by underdevelopment and pov-

erty but rather is one of the principal industrial powers of the world, a position it achieved under the leadership of the PUWP. And there are significant sectors of the PUWP itself that are promoting dialogue and renewal.

Central committee resolution

Some of the distortions also have to do with positions that we Puerto Rican Socialists have taken on Poland. Last September 1, our Central Committee approved a resolution in support of the Polish workers who were on strike. [See *Intercontinental Press*, September 22, 1980, for text of this resolution.]

We understood that, far from calling into question the conquests of socialism, the workers' demands were directed at consolidating it by eradicating bureaucratic abuses both in the productive sector and throughout political life. We understood then, just as we do now, that when socialist aspirations are led astray it is the task of the toiling masses to pick that banner up again. This is precisely what the Polish working class has been doing.

Our resolution was made available to all of the country's press. Only the *San Juan Star* published a summary of it, adding a postscript so as to distort it. This is obviously a marvelous example of what "freedom of the press and information" mean in a country dominated by the bourgeoisie.

Situation not easy

So what is our position? The situation in Poland is not an easy one—neither in the distorted sense projected by the capitalist press nor in the sense of a simple "consolidation of socialism." What is happening in Poland is extremely important for all of us who are committed to the struggle for a kind of socialism that can emancipate the working class from capitalist exploitation.

Socialism came into being historically, as a real social program, when the Bolsheviks took power in Russia in 1917. Under conditions of extreme poverty—produced by the First World War, the civil war, and a Tsarist regime that had not even developed bourgeois-democratic norms—the party of Lenin threw itself into the immense task of building socialism. They achieved great successes, but they also committed great errors. Over time, the old, backward, Tsarist Russia hung from their necks like a heavy tombstone. They became mired in deviations that still persist.

Poland: 'No one wants a return to capitalism'

Moscow portrays key leaders and advisors of Solidarity as plotting a return to capitalism. Their statements show otherwise. A number were quoted in a February 10 editorial in the *Boston Globe*.

Adam Michnik, a leader of KOR (Committee for Social Self-Defense), explained that in Poland "everyone is socialist, even if the word is compromised. In any case, no one wants a return to capitalism."

"My mother was in the United States," Lech Walesa was quoted as telling an interviewer. "She had to have \$3,000 in order to die. And when one is sick, it's the same thing: no money, no medical care. For a Christian, capitalism is worse than socialism. You think only of money. Conscience crumbles in money. From this point of view, we are better than in the West."

The same editorial quoted Jacek Kuron as stating that private prop-

erty is "an archaic category."

According to Solidarity advisor Bronislaw Geremek, "The problem of publicly owned property is definitively settled. To return to the western system would be a regression in civilization." The Polish system is being challenged, he said, "not because it is socialist, but because it is insufficiently so."

At an April 15 national conference of 750 delegates from rank-and-file Communist Party organizations in Torun, Tadeusz Neckowicz, a delegate from Bydgoszcz, expressed the spirit of those fighting for "renewal" in Poland:

"The authorities should not present the changes going on in our country as the work of antisocialist forces, but as a proper restoration of Marxist-Leninist principles. Our movement is fighting against distortions and deformations and this should be made clear to our neighbors."



Striking Lenin shipyard workers last summer.

But if anything has demonstrated the enormous progressive forces that the socialist program gave rise to, it is the survival of the Soviet Union itself. It not only had to survive Stalinist degeneration, but also underwent terrible bloodshed and the consumption of its resources in the Second World War, which left 20 million dead. Once the most backward Eurasian power, the Soviet Union has achieved the place it now occupies in only sixty years' time.

In the course of that development, the Soviet Union has inspired revolutionaries throughout the world. It presided over the establishment of socialism in Eastern Europe. It collaborated closely so that Cuba and Angola could defend themselves effectively against fierce attacks by Yankee imperialism. Those are contributions to the development of humanity that can never be underestimated.

Material conditions

But it is not the angels of heaven who build socialism. We human beings build it, and we are limited by the material and subjective conditions that surround us and that find their expression in us. The great merit of humanity is the ability to rise above our past; our great flaw is to have to coexist with the past. Nonetheless, we learn. For Marxists, every social struggle, every movement, is a source of lessons. This is true for Poland as well.

What are the lessons of Poland?

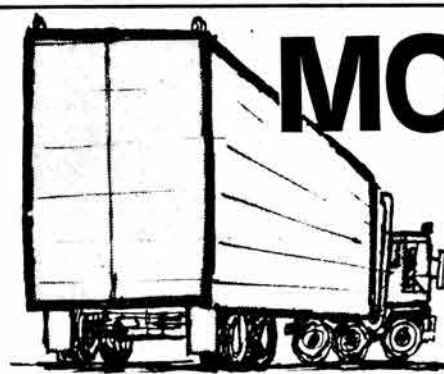
We can point out at least two. First, that it is not enough for the socialist revolution to expropriate the means of production that were in the hands of the capitalists. It is necessary to go

further, to the very heart of the relations that develop in the workplace, which Marx and Engels once characterized as the division between manual and intellectual labor.

Second, that the working class must develop its own rank-and-file democracy, on a basis that goes beyond the traditional structures of parliament and party. Must we recall that this was the most significant discovery of the Russian Revolution, emphasized by Lenin himself but later submerged by the practices of a bureaucratized state?

This is why we see such an important chapter unfolding in Poland today. We acknowledge that regressive forces are at work. How could it be otherwise? The enemy is always ready to fish in troubled waters, above all when our own errors make this easier. But it would be absurd to assume that such forces are the ones determining the course of events. More than thirty years down the road toward the construction of socialism, a massive movement unfolding in Poland, along with the program it upholds, is responding essentially to forces that are seeking to overcome a past that is no longer possible to live with. So what would be truly regressive—both in Poland and internationally—and what would be an error of historic proportions, would be for the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries to invade Poland as they did Czechoslovakia in 1968.

We are convinced of one thing, however: Left to their own devices, the Polish working class will find its own road, and, as Walesa said, "consolidate socialism." A new page in history is being offered to humanity, which, being realistic, aspires to things that go beyond its immediate concerns.



MOVING?

Take the 'Militant' with you. To avoid missing a single issue, send us notice of your change of address right away. Be sure to include the address label off your copy.

Steelworkers official speaks out on Salvador

The following speech was given by United Steelworkers Local 1938 President Joe Samargia April 11 in Virginia, Minnesota, on the Mesabi Iron Range. Samargia was one of the speakers at a rally of 200 people there against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Local 1938, which represents the 4,000 miners at the U.S. Steel Minntac mine, was one of the sponsors of the rally.

Other speakers included U.S. Congressman James Oberstar and Bishop Paul Anderson of Duluth.

Brothers and sisters, it gives me great pleasure to be here today representing Local 1938, and a feeling of solidarity for the workers and organizers in El Salvador.

We have seen a lot in the newspapers in the last few months of union struggles that are taking place all over the world. And it's with that type of feeling that I think it's so important for all of us to stand in solidarity for human rights.

Human rights, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom to organize, freedom to be able to be a human being. That's what the Salvadoran struggle is all about.

We see the Polish workers standing against the oppression of the Big Bear, the Soviet Union—bodies against tanks. We see the coal miners today struggling against the coal operators in this country. In each one of these situations they have a union, and they fought for the right to represent them.

In El Salvador that's where the major problem is. They have not had the opportunity to even begin to start

to have a free trade union movement, one that would enable them to have a decent wage, and decent working and living conditions.

In each one of the areas of the world where struggles like this have been, it's always the right wing governments keeping down working people, keeping us down. And that has to stop in El Salvador.

We have very liberal feelings in the northern part of Minnesota, one that has always stood up and said we're for human rights. It makes me very proud to be here today. Thank you very much.



SAMARGIA

Militant/Elizabeth Kilanowski

N.Y. labor sets up Salvador committee

By Ray Markey

NEW YORK—At the headquarters here of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), eighty trade union officials met April 8 and voted to form the Permanent Labor Committee in Support of Democratic and Human Rights in El Salvador.

The committee was formed to organize the New York labor movement in opposition to U.S. policy in El Salvador.

The meeting was called by Jacob Sheinkman, ACTWU secretary-treasurer; Victor Gotbaum, executive director of AFSCME District Council 37; Edward Gray, regional director of United Auto Workers Region 9; and others.

At an earlier meeting on February 12, some fifty trade union leaders from the New York area heard reports from representatives of the Salvadoran opposition and decided to propose the formation of a labor committee to oppose U.S. policy.

The April 8 meeting was chaired by Moe Foner, executive director of District 1199, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union.

A number of guest speakers were invited. Rep. Ted Weiss (D.-N.Y.) noted the opposition in Congress to Washington's military and economic support to the junta. He reported that he had recently submitted a bill in Congress that would effectively bar the deportation of Salvadoran refugees.

Rev. William Wipfler from the National Council of Churches exposed the claim that the junta represents a cen-

trist, reform-minded government.

At the insistence of AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, the meeting heard William Doherty, executive director of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). Doherty hailed the so-called land reform carried out by the junta in El Salvador and warned those present not to work with the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador because CISPES was opposed to the "land reform." Rev. Wipfler exposed the phony character of this reform, describing the brutal repression going on in El Salvador, especially in the countryside.

The meeting set the following principles for the labor committee: self-determination for El Salvador, and affirmation of basic democratic rights for the people of El Salvador, such as the right to strike, right to free elections, and right to free expression.

The committee is considering such activities as putting out a newsletter, holding news conferences, distributing petitions, organizing demonstrations, etc.

For more information, contact: Ernesto Jofre, ACTWU Local 169, (212) 255-9655.

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Ray Markey is a delegate to the N.Y. Central Labor Council from AFSCME Local 1930.

Solidarity with Central America



and the Caribbean

Hospital union hits U.S. policy

The National Hospital Union Executive Board voted unanimously March 11 to condemn repression by the Salvadoran government and to call for a halt to shipments of U.S. arms and military "advisers" to that country.

On March 12, Executive Director Moe Foner spoke to the District 1199 Guild Division Delegate Assembly in New York City. Following are excerpts from his remarks.

* * *

What is happening in El Salvador is all too reminiscent of Vietnam in the early '60s. And our government's reaction is ominously similar. The same frustrated demands for reforms by the peasants, the same repression by the ruling regime dependent on American military force for authority, the same appeal to the U.S. by the regime for support against its own people, and the same polarization of forces as moderates are driven toward insurrection by their inability to secure redress of just grievances from an oppressive regime.

Let me read you some official statements as quoted in the *New York Times*: "A Pentagon spokesman said today, 'we are drawing a line here.' . . . Our (military advisors) 'are not in combat' . . . A State Department spokesman said, 'we are not fighting and we are not running the war—our men are just there as advisors. . . .'"

The date—last week? Last month? No, it was February 9, 1962. The place—Vietnam. And a few weeks ago President Reagan said exactly the same thing, almost word for word.

What is going on in El Salvador did not come about as a result of "Communist subversion," of some conspiracy by the Russians and the Cubans. The problem—the suffering of the bulk of the population—has been boiling with only slight interruptions for the past 100 years.

We in 1199 shall not forget the past. That's what gives 1199 its special character, makes it one of America's greatest unions. I suggest that as a first step we enroll thousands of 1199ers in support of an ad calling for an end to military intervention in El Salvador by all countries and urging a negotiated settlement. Can we get thousands of 1199ers to contribute \$1 each for such an ad? That's what I urge you to act on tonight.

* * *

The council endorsed the proposal for an advertisement in the *New York Times* presenting the union's position.

If U.S. won't, Canada says it will

The April 4 *New York Times* reported that the Canadian government, which has cautiously criticized the Reagan administration's policy on El Salvador, offered to take in Salvadoran refugees deported from the United States.

Mark MacGuigan, foreign affairs minister, told the House of Commons he will inform the U.S. State Department that Canada is prepared to ease current immigration regulations to allow undocumented Salvadorans in the United States to apply to go to Canada.

Go to Grenada with the Black United Front

The Black United Front's International Affairs Section has put out a brochure urging people to join them in a tour of Grenada August 27 through September 8. It says, "Join us as we engage in work projects, building of the international airport in Grenada, lectures, meetings with government officials and the people, a visit to the home of Malcolm X's mother, and other activities.

"Don't listen to the foreign propaganda . . . visit and see for yourselves."

The tour costs \$550 per adult. For more information contact or call the Black United Front, International Affairs Section, 415 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, New York 11217. Tel. (212) 596-1991.

Nobel Prize to Nicaragua?

"In Nicaragua we did not execute our enemies, we only annihilated illiteracy," said Father Fernando Cardenal, director of Nicaragua's National Literacy Crusade, during his recent talk at Yale University's Battel Chapel in Connecticut.

Illiteracy in Nicaragua was reduced from 50 to 12 percent in a five-month campaign.

Cardenal has been nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize by 133 British parliamentarians. Last September Nicaragua received a United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization award for its achievements in eliminating illiteracy.

—Nelson González

Please send information on activities in your area to Nelson González, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Pulley hits Reagan bid to block Grenada aid

Below is the text of an open letter sent to President Reagan by Andrew Pulley, 1980 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. It responds to an administration campaign to block European and other financial aid to the construction of Grenada's new airport, which Reagan falsely claims would be used as a staging ground for Cuban operations in Africa.

I vehemently protest your effort to sabotage financing of Grenada's new international airport. Your claim that the new airport will be used as a military base for Cubans in transit to Angola is a blatant lie!

Grenada Prime Minister Maurice Bishop asked the right question: "How did Cuban troops reach Angola in 1975 when there was no international airport in Grenada?"

In any case, President Reagan, what Grenada does with her airport and what countries she has relations with is none of your business.

The new airport will be of tremendous economic value for the people of Grenada. It will make travel to and from Grenada easier and quicker for tourists from Europe, North America and elsewhere. Commerce between Grenada and other countries will be improved, resulting in more jobs and stepped-up development.

Mr. President, you seek to destabilize this little poor Black country not because she is attacking neighboring countries. Nor because she is attacking the United States. You attack Grenada because she is



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

ruled by workers and farmers and because she has declared independence from your repugnant imperialist goals.

You fear Grenada, Mr. President, because Grenada supports Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Africa, and all people who have won their freedom or who are fighting to win it.

Of course, Grenada is not alone. Most of the people of the United States oppose your criminal policies in El Salvador and southern Africa. And the more the word gets out about your vile designs against Grenada, the more American workers will oppose you and the more they will identify with revolutionary Grenada.

Hands off Grenada!

Oakland votes no on plan for more cops

By Priscilla Schenk

Oakland voters rejected a ballot measure April 21 that would have raised property taxes to put more cops on the streets.

The re-elected Mayor Lionel Wilson, who had campaigned vigorously for the measure, complained that the defeat showed "a continuing mistrust of the police."

The only candidate who campaigned against the tax measure was Zakiya Somburu, mayoral candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Far from "stopping crime," she explained, the plan would have

only meant "more Black youth brutalized and more attacks on picket lines and unions."

Initial vote totals showed a 55 percent defeat for the tax measure. The *New York Times* reported that it was "soundly rejected" in the city's working-class areas and the Black community.

A similar proposal will appear on the ballot June 2 in Los Angeles. Mayor Tom Bradley is the main backer of that tax plan. A spokesman for Bradley said, "The Oakland defeat makes our campaign look very tough."

Court rules company at fault in discrimination

The labor movement scored a victory April 20 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a union could not be forced to share an employer's financial liability for illegal employment discrimination.

In the eight-to-zero decision, the court rejected Northwest Airlines's contention that the Transport Workers Union and the Air Line Pilots Association had to help the airline pay an estimated \$37 million in back pay and interest to female

flight attendants. The women had previously won a suit against the airline on charges of sex discrimination. Since 1947 they had received lower pay and fewer benefits than Northwest's male cabin attendants.

The airline countered by suing the Transport Workers and Air Line Pilots to force them to share the penalties on the grounds that they had accepted the pay and benefits through collective bargaining and were therefore liable.

CLUW conference in N.J.: 'Get out and organize women'

By Mary Roche

"If the labor movement is going to grow in the next period, it's going to have to get out and organize women," said Vicki Saporta, an organizer for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Saporta was summing up the major theme of a day-long conference on organizing the unorganized, sponsored by the two New Jersey chapters of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The conference was held April 11 at Rutgers University Labor Education Center in New Brunswick.

More than half of all American women sixteen years and older are in the labor force—about forty-five million women. Estimates for the end of the 1980s say as many as fifty-seven million women will be in the labor force. However, only 15 percent of working women belong to unions—about seven million. Women earn \$3 for every \$5 men earn.

The New Jersey-wide CLUW conference, first of its kind,

drew women from twenty unions as well as unorganized women who wanted to find out how to organize their workplaces.

Women participated from such groups as the National Organization for Women (NOW), the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, and the Women's Affirmative Action Committee (WAAC) of the New Jersey State Industrial Union Council.

The need for the labor movement to take up the needs of women, particularly minority women, was a major topic.

"All women whether they're white or Black must push for more women leaders and committees in their unions," said Tressy Taylor, a Black woman from the American Postal Workers Union. "It's no longer a male union, but our union."

Mary Jane Karp, a member of NOW's Labor Task Force, explained that "one of the reasons the CIO movement succeeded was that it involved workers who were previously

excluded, like Blacks and women."

Elmer Chatak, secretary-treasurer of the Industrial Union Department (IUD) of the AFL-CIO, stated that the IUD will work with CLUW to organize the unorganized in a medium-sized city where female employees predominate.

Workshops covered such topics as union-busting; undocumented workers; industrial workers; organizing in an open shop; and organizing clerical, white-collar, and professional workers.

The fact that anti-union consultants and union-busters are everywhere, in increasing numbers, using sophisticated methods of trying to destroy unions, was frequently noted.

Kathy Andrade of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union was a speaker in the workshop on undocumented workers.

She stated, "The only solution to the problem is total amnesty for all undocumented workers." Participants in the workshop agreed.

Steelworkers join protests against nuclear power danger

By Diane Jacobs

Opposition to nuclear power and weapons was expressed in a number of protest actions around the country on April 25.

The Bailly nuclear reactor, currently under construction in northern Indiana, was the site of a demonstration of almost 800. More than one quarter of the participants were steelworkers.

Speakers included United Steelworkers District 31 Director James Balanoff, who is running for reelection; USWA Local 6787 President David Wilborn from Bethlehem Steel, which is only 500 yards from the Bailly nuke; Fred Hershberger, president of the local that will represent future workers at Bailly if it is completed; and Mike Olszanski, member of Local 1010 and District 31 environmental director.

The action received wide media coverage. The *Gary Post-*



At March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Tribune ran a poll the next day indicating that only 34 percent of northwest Indiana residents favored completion of the plant.

Chicago rail car workers confront Pullman union-busting

By Tom Campion

CHICAGO—Workers at Pullman-Standard's passenger rail car plants in Chicago and Hammond, Indiana, and at the freight car plant in Butler, Pennsylvania, were forced on a four-day strike April 4. Negotiations broke off when the company demanded a four-year contract with considerable wage concessions.

Workers at the two passenger car plants are members of United Steelworkers Local 1834. They have had the cloud of plant closings hanging over them for the past two years. Layoffs have reduced the work force from over 2,000 to 400. No

Tom Campion is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1848.

new orders have been taken as the current order of Amtrak Superliners is completed. Pullman recently closed its freight car plant in Bessemer, Alabama, and will close the Hammond freight car plant within three months.

Local 1834 has fought the plant closings. It opposes the cuts in federal aid to mass transit. It organized a picket line in February at the office of U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar in Hammond.

When the strike began there was confusion among the workers. Company officials predicted many would cross the picket line.

They were disappointed. Workers who came to the plant uncertain of what to do

were convinced of the need to stay out. Some stayed on the line for hours. Members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers honored the picket line.

Pullman agreed to go back to the bargaining table, and a three-year contract was signed April 8. It follows the basic steel contract except for some postponed wage increases.

At an April 12 local meeting, President John Bowman praised the membership for standing up to the company's union-busting attack.

The April 29 rail workers' demonstration against Amtrak and Conrail cuts was announced at the meeting as a continuation of efforts to save the Pullman workers' jobs.

Governor sends cops against Virginia miners

By Stu Singer

As the coal miners' strike enters its second month, violent attacks against strikers have increased, especially in southwestern Virginia.

Virginia Governor John Dalton has sent at least 200 extra state police into the coal fields to keep nonunion mines running. These cops have been used before against coal miners and against the steelworkers striking the Newport News Shipyard in 1979.

This year Dalton sent the cops into the coal area a week before the strike began. United Mine Workers leaders explain that "political contributions are the reason the police are in there."

In March, Dalton invited coal operators to a fund-raising dinner at the governor's mansion for Attorney General J. Marshall Coleman. Coleman, a Republican like Dalton, is running for governor in the November election.

While Dalton and the Republicans are leading this fight against the miners, Virginia Democrats are no better.

The president of the non-union United Coal Company, James McGlothlin, is heading a coalition of mine owners supporting Democratic candidate Charles Robb for governor. Robb, now the lieutenant governor, is married to Lynda Bird Johnson, daughter of former President Lyndon Johnson. McGlothlin's group of mine operators has already raised a quarter of a million dollars for Robb.

United Coal is operating at full production in Virginia. They are filling a contract for the New England Electric System's Brayton Point power plant.

The choice for coal miners in this year's election for Virginia governor, as far as Democrats and Republicans

are concerned, puts forward two candidates bought and paid for by the operators.

Private gunmen

The governors of West Virginia and Kentucky are not yet using state cops as openly as in Virginia. In those states, armed thugs hired by the coal companies are responsible for most attacks against union pickets.

In West Virginia, the state where the United Mine Workers is strongest, most non-union mines are shut down. West Virginia coal shipments went from an average of 2.5 million tons a week before the strike, to 35,000 tons the week ending April 18.

There was a big confrontation between sixty to seventy-five miners and eight Philpott Coal Corporation gunmen April 23 near Beckley in southern West Virginia.

The company guards fired between ten and thirty shots at the miners while the company tried to move coal through their tipples, according to a report in the *Beckley Post-Herald*.

The relationship of forces in West Virginia was shown in the incident when the county sheriff was forced to get Philpott Coal to agree to stop moving coal and to remove at least five of the gunmen.

Who causes violence?

The publishers of the Beckley paper do not seem to read their own news story. The editorial in the same issue blames violence in the coal fields on the union and demands that West Virginia Governor John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV use the state police against the union.

But Rockefeller is not asleep on the

job. Instead of a direct armed attack against the miners, which could not be carried off in West Virginia at this time, Rockefeller is going all out to turn the population against the union. As the article on page 21 in this issue by West Virginia miner Nancy Makler explains, Rockefeller has cut the entire state budget, including funding for schools and social services, blaming it on the losses because of the strike.

Rockefeller's fortune is based, in part, on large holdings in coal companies, including Consolidation Coal (Consol).

The liberal *Charleston Gazette* ran a similar editorial April 24, headlined "Enforce the law." They claim, "We think law can be enforced during strikes without showing partiality to either side."

Their real partiality is different, since the rest of the editorial is about the "right" of truck drivers to move non-union coal without interference from strikers. The newspaper is not concerned with the right of union miners and coal haulers to conduct an effective strike by stopping non-union coal. Or for that matter, the right of union miners to receive a decent contract in the first place.

Democracy is dangerous

A column in the *Gazette* on April 20 by William Miernyk of West Virginia University points to what the coal operators and their friends view as the real problem with the union: too much democracy.

Miernyk invents his own version of the history of the United Mine Workers and compares it with his version of the history of the Cigarmakers Union. He quotes a one-time president of the

Cigarmakers to explain why that union declined. The Cigarmakers were supposedly "cursed with the referendum." According to Miernyk, "The rank and file voted down contracts which might have permitted the union to move into mechanized shops."

Miernyk acknowledges, "The miners aren't likely to give up the referendum," but he advises "UMW leaders—from the local level to the top—to study the history of the Cigarmakers . . . [to] keep them from following that once proud union into oblivion."

But the miners know that their union has been made much stronger by the right to vote on the contract. As a letter printed in the *Gazette* March 24 said, "No wonder B.R. Brown, chief negotiator for the BCOA, was furious when the rank-and-file miner voted the contract down. Brown really thought that he had twisted the union's tail, but the UMWA is too sharp for that."

Reagan, courts against union

The Reagan administration has remained quiet about the strike, but it is moving against the union.

The proposed cuts in black lung benefits are still being pushed. The Reagan budget proposal on cutting food stamp eligibility will have a big impact on miners if it goes into effect. Already officials are making it difficult and denying food stamps to striking miners.

The U.S. Supreme Court is also getting into the action. The nine men in black robes will hear the case of Kaiser Steel vs. the United Mine workers Health and Retirement Fund Trustees. Kaiser is suing to invalidate a provision in union contracts since

Continued on page 22

UMW statement on Colorado disaster

The following is the statement issued by United Mine Workers union President Sam Church on April 16, the day after the explosion at the Dutch Creek No. 1 mine in Redstone, Colorado, which resulted in the deaths of fifteen coal miners.

The miners at Dutch Creek No. 1 are represented by an independent union, the Redstone Workers Association, not the United Mine Workers. As Church points out, one of the most important accomplishments of the United Mine Workers union contracts has been establishing and enforcing strict safety rules for coal mining. These have made UMWA mines safer than others, cutting into management prerogatives that put production ahead of safety.

Mine operators are willing to pay higher wages to many non-UMWA miners just to keep the union out. And keep the mine unsafe. This is the case at Dutch Creek No. 1.

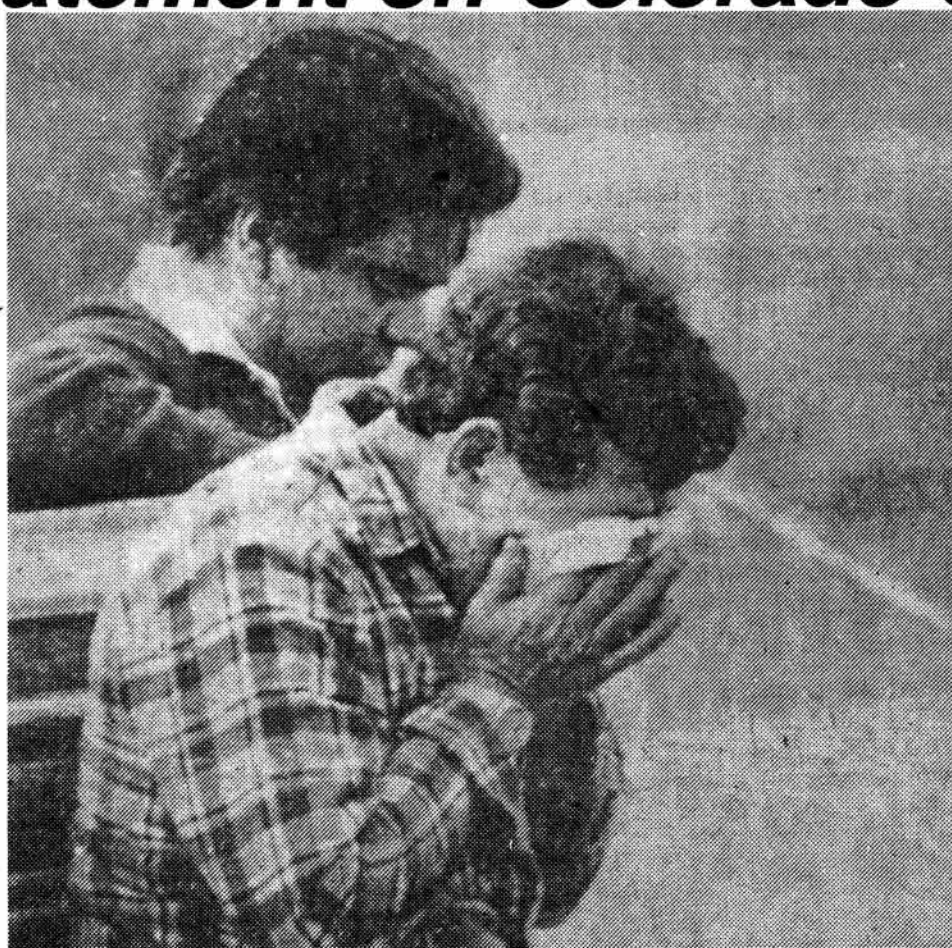
Last week's *Militant* had an on-the-scene report from Redstone, Colorado, on the mine disaster. *Militant* correspondent Bernie Senter reported that the rescue teams that went in after the explosion included UMWA members from mines now on strike.

Their example, risking their lives to try to find survivors, says more than all the pages of lies in the news media about "greedy," "immature," "strike-happy" UMWA miners.

* * *

Whenever miners are killed on the job, it is a tragedy. It is tragic not just in the loss of life, but also in the knowledge that many fatal accidents are preventable.

I wish to express my sorrow and sympathy, and that of the entire membership of the United Mine Workers of America, to the families of the victims at Mid-Continent's Dutch Creek No. 1 Mine. Our prayers are with the survivors for a speedy recovery.



Relatives of John Ayala, Chicano miner killed, at site of disaster.

There are many, many unanswered questions about the explosion, the safety record at the mine, and the general attitude towards safety at Mid-Continent's non-union mines. While the workers there were represented by an association, I am afraid that no matter how dedicated and concerned about safety the miners in that association were, they had little power to protect themselves and their lives.

From what I have been told by many safety experts, management at that mine was involved in driving a double-entry longwall. Production at such mines is very high, but the UMW has successfully fought that

type of mining in several cases. Our concern, and the Mine Safety and Health Administration has upheld it, is that that type of mining creates insurmountable ventilation problems. The kind of problems that can lead to an explosive build-up of methane gas.

If you examine fatality and accident rates at UMWA coal mines versus non-union coal mines, you will see that Union representation results in safer work places. There are two main reasons for that.

First, under UMWA contracts, miners have certain guaranteed safety rights. They may remove themselves from what they consider

unsafe workplaces and not fear reprisal. Safety committees may take their complaints to management and be heard. The miners have a stake in their own safety.

Secondly, the UMWA has the best trained safety staff of any union anywhere in the world. Our inspectors receive the same training as federal mine inspectors and are experts in their field. Many times their presence alone is enough to force coal companies to abide by safety practices they might otherwise ignore in their drives for higher production rates.

Perhaps the tragedy in Colorado could not have been prevented. But if further investigation shows that Mid-Continent was at fault, that they valued tonnage above human lives, it may stop the efforts of some politicians to weaken safety laws in this country.

Right now one Colorado Senator, William Armstrong, has introduced a bill to eliminate federal inspections at small coal mines. Senator Armstrong's bill would also reduce the regulatory power of the Mine Safety and Health Administration. In light of the deaths of 15 of the senator's constituents, maybe he'll see the error of his ways. In any case, the UMWA is dedicated to fighting this and any attempts at reducing the safety protection of the nation's miners.

There has also been talk of changing the role of MSHA to more so-called "cooperation" with the coal operators. I believe this is merely a smoke screen for further weakening of mine safety and health laws.

If this terrible disaster proves one thing it is that every coal miner in this nation deserves better and stronger protection on the job. It is tragic that common sense safety laws must be built upon the bodies of miners, but even the best safety laws don't mean a thing unless there is someone around to enforce them.

Miners vs. Republic Steel

No coal moves today in West Deer, Pa.

By Ginny Hildebrand

WEST DEER, Pa.—A warm April sun was already shining by 7:00 a.m. Wednesday, April 8, when I pulled off the road here. Many pick-up trucks, vans and other cars lined the soft shoulder of the road near Republic Steel's coal cleaning plant in this small rural community north of Pittsburgh.

By 8:00 a.m. seventy-five striking members of United Mine Workers of America Local 3506 were gathered in front of the plant. We were there to show our opposition to our employer's plan to use supervisory personnel to empty and possibly clean fifty-three railroad cars filled with coal.

Before coal is ready for market, the cleaning plant separates out the good coal from rock and other impurities that get mixed together when the bits of the continuous mining machine chew their tunnels through the earth.

But Republic made a gross miscalculation. Banking on a quick return to work, company foremen pushed production to the maximum in all sections of the Russellton and Newfield mines—the two mines that use the cleaning plant—up until the last minute of the contract deadline at 12:00 midnight, March 27.

The Newfield and Russellton locals were part of the resounding nationwide two-to-one "no" vote on the contract, voting three-to-one and eight-to-one respectively.

Provocation

Now the company was stuck with paying rent to the Bessemer and Lake Erie Railroad Company for each day those cars sat around.

The company knew perfectly well that to start up the cleaning plant and process that coal was a downright provocation to miners. After all, our most immediate pressure point on company negotiators is economic—our ability to stop all production of BCOA coal. Turning foremen into scabs is like turning a knife in the backs of union members.

At about 8:30 that morning, the presidents of the two locals took the picketers' message to Republic officials. Company men were vague on their plans, but firmly reminded the union representatives that the law was on the company's side. It could and would do whatever it pleased with the coal even if it meant calling out the police or national guard for protection.

The union men calmly replied that they were fully aware of the laws and that union picketers were peaceful women and men. However, no officer or member of these two locals could be held responsible for the reaction of miners from other areas should they drive by and see the company moving coal.

The two sides parted, awaiting the arrival of Republic Steel brass who were en route from the Republic dis-



Militant Joe Ryan

trict office some thirty miles away.

Meanwhile, discussions among picketers ranged from anger at the company's arrogance, to speculation on how the Pirates would do this season, to the status of contract negotiations.

Not one big family

Just about every member of my local is thoroughly familiar with the first contract offer. Close to 200 of us read it over together and discussed it, point by point, at a local meeting forty-eight hours before we voted. So when 167 of us voted it down, we knew exactly what we were doing.

Then again, just two days before this picket line our local meeting rediscussed priority issues for the second round of negotiations. That discussion was to prepare our local officers for a District 5 meeting of local and district officers to help give direction to UMWA negotiators.

Back at the picket line, three Republic Steel honchos drove up in a gray Chrysler K Car at about 10:00 a.m. They rolled down their windows, smiled, and accosted miners they knew, as if to say, "No need for this

fuss, we're all just one big, happy corporate family."

Our negotiators followed them in and returned some time later to report back on the company's intentions.

The union leaders said that the company remained firm on its legal authority to run the coal through the plant, but said that in the spirit of "good labor relations" they would provide the locals with a little bonus. They would donate to each local \$1,000 for a special fund that was used to distribute turkeys last Christmas.

Plus, the company thought it might be a good idea for some picketers to remain outside while the cleaning plant was in operation to explain to any passing UMWA member that the coal was being cleaned with the locals' okay.

Two strikers, who normally work at the cleaning plant, got right to the heart of the matter:

"That's just blood money," "Bribery," they fumed.

"But they're going to run the damn coal through anyway," said someone else. "So we might as well take the money."

The picket line turned into an open

air union meeting. Discussions went something like this:

"If the company runs that coal through, we want Republic Steel and everyone else to know that they're doing it over our protest and we'll see about 'good' labor-management relations when we get back to work with a contract."

\$1,000 turkeys, \$20,000 scabs?

"Every other UMWA local would see us as selling out if we took that money and then protected their bosses and coal while they cleaned it. Miners would want to kick the shit out of us and you couldn't blame them."

"If we take this \$1,000 for a few turkeys, people will wonder if we'll say it's okay for the bosses to mine coal for \$10,000, or bring in scabs for \$20,000."

"That's my job those bosses are taking. If they clean all that coal now, there won't be any work for us when the rest of the mine goes back to work. They'll lay off the cleaning plant for a few days."

"They may say they're just going to clean and stockpile the coal now, but they know it's ready for sale if the strike is a long one."

"Go back and tell them to take their thousand bucks and shove it."

Just as the bigwigs from Republic were getting back in their K Car, all smiles and shaking hands with the plant supervisors, our representatives started towards them while the picketers whooped up a cheer.

When the presidents came back, another cheer greeted their report: The company won't clean the coal, just empty the cars on the conveyor belt and dump the coal on the ground—dirty.

The Polish example

For sure, it wasn't the biggest event of the coal strike, but it said something big to me. Just like with the first contract offer, we'd put our heads together, saw through the company's game, and stood firm against it.

At all three local strike discussions, the Polish workers kept popping into my head—their democratic methods of making critical decisions and their rock hard unity. Even though the little cleaning plant isn't the Gdansk Shipyard, I couldn't help but think that day that maybe Poland isn't as far away from Pittsburgh as mere geography would have you believe.

No smiles or handshakes were exchanged as the big bosses slowly turned their cars out of the plant parking lot—just some icy stares through rolled-up windows.

After all, both sides knew that the turkeys weren't the folks on the picket line.

Ginny Hildebrand is a member of United Mine Workers Local 3506.

Rockefeller axes W. Va. budget, blames miners

By Nancy Makler

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—West Virginia Governor John D. Rockefeller IV didn't waste any time in retaliating against the striking coal miners. Just hours after the United Mine Workers voted down the first contract offer, the billionaire governor ordered a 10 percent budget cut for all state agencies, including the public schools.

West Virginia Education Department spokespeople said they had to work their accountants overtime April 4 and 5 to compute the exact amount of the cut, expected to be around \$9 million.

All this is blamed on the miners. The Morgantown daily newspaper, the *Dominion Post*, headlined: "Strike Forces

County School Spending Cuts."

But if you read down to the last paragraph of their April 8 story, you learn that the cuts are *really* to offset a cash-flow problem that began last July.

Rockefeller claimed he had "no choice": "All West Virginians hope for a quick settlement of the strike. The prosperity of our coal miners and operators, and indeed the entire future of our state depend on getting our coal moving again. However, as governor, I must deal with the fiscal realities we face."

The heir to Exxon and the massive Rockefeller family coal holdings could deal with the fiscal realities out of his pocket change.

A Taylor County schoolteacher in northern West Virginia told the *Mil-*

itant what the cuts will mean:

"We'll have no new supplies. If you run out of toilet paper or pencils, that's it. No more. No substitutes will be hired. When a teacher is absent, the other teachers in that building will somehow have to cover for him or her. We'll not be allowed to turn on the air conditioning, no matter how hot it gets.

"But even more important will be the effect on next year. Now is the time we have to order our textbooks and supplies. They usually take about six months to be delivered, but we're not allowed to place the orders now, so the kids will have nothing come next fall. We'll have to tell them to sit on their hands till their books come.

"For this spring, the usual field trips and picnics will be off, unless the parents come up with the money for them."

The teachers expect layoffs next year. They anticipate the state eliminating kindergarten.

Higher education is feeling the bite as well. Travel bans came down on all staff and even affected some of the athletic schedules.

The cuts have infuriated many who are normally loyal to the governor. The state board of education voted unanimously April 10 to seek a court injunction against Rockefeller's moves.

Nancy Makler is a member of United Mine Workers Local 1702.

New Atlanta killing shows urgency of May 25 march on Washington

By Tom Fiske

ATLANTA—A leaflet for the May 25 rally in Washington, D.C., against the killings of Atlanta Blacks is out. The rally is sponsored by the Committee to Stop the Children's Murders.

The leaflet announces significant labor endorsement: United Auto Workers District 65 in New York; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; and others.

Dick Gregory; Washington, D.C., Mayor Marion Barry; the National Black Independent Political Party; and the Martin Luther King Center for Social Change are also endorsers.

The rally, called "Rendezvous for Love," will take place at 11 a.m. at the Lincoln Memorial. For materials to help publicize it, contact the Committee to Stop the Children's Murders at 859½ Martin Luther King Drive, Atlanta, Georgia 30314. Telephone: (404) 525-7892.

Twenty-one-year-old Jimmy Ray Payne, whose body was discovered by police April 27, became the twenty-sixth victim in the last twenty months.

Like most of the recent victims, his body was clad only in undershorts and was found in a river.

Police indicate the probable cause of death was suffocation.

Like all the other murdered youths, Jimmy Payne was poor and Black.

Payne was discovered dead at the same time Atlanta Police Commissioner Lee Brown was holding a press conference to announce why Payne's name was not being added to the Special Police Task Force list.

Payne had been missing since the previous Wednesday.

Brown said that Payne was on parole and was probably "trying to change his identity."

Slandorous attacks like this on the victims of the Atlanta murders are not new. Other youths who have disappeared have been labeled "runaways" by the cops, their names not added to the investigation, only to turn up murdered weeks later.

Since Payne's body was discovered, another Black has been reported missing. Richard Character, thirty-two, is of small build and retarded.

The escalating wave of killings, now striking down older Blacks, underscores the importance of bringing the largest possible numbers to Washington May 25 to demand the government put an end to the terror.

...W. Va. forum

Continued from back page

Hawkins spoke, urging people to participate in the May 25 demonstration in Washington, D.C., against the Atlanta killings. Hawkins is a member of UMW Local 6132. Most people in the audience signed up to go to the May 25 action.

During the question and answer period, a number of other Black miners discussed the importance of getting the UMW behind May 25.

The entire meeting was filmed by WBOY-TV from Clarksburg, West Virginia.

...Ireland

Continued from back page

life of poverty as tenant farmers on what had once been their own land. Irish Catholics were long forbidden to hold public office, and until 1869 they were forced to pay tithes to support the Protestant Church of Ireland.

But the Irish never stopped their struggle for self-determination, and in 1919 they launched a war of independence that forced the British to give up their hold on the bulk of the island. However, the British retained the six northern counties, with their historically proimperialist Protestant majority.

Northern Ireland was established in 1920 by an act of the British Parliament. Ireland had been partitioned against the will of the majority of the Irish people.

Within the British-ruled enclave, the Catholic population continued to face segregation in education and housing, discrimination in employment and governmental aid, and a rigged electoral system that effectively deprived it of any voice in government.

Civil rights movement

These conditions led to the rise of a civil rights movement in 1968 that was inspired by the Black struggle in the United States. Tens of thousands of Catholics were mobilized in the streets to demand an end to the discrimination they faced in their daily lives.

The civil rights protests were met by violence from the government and from gangs of right-wing Protestants. The Catholic population was forced to arm itself and to seal off the Catholic neighborhoods in self-defense.

In August 1969, following particularly heavy attacks on the Catholic areas, the British army was ordered into Northern Ireland. At first most Catholics welcomed the British troops because they expected the British to protect them against the attacks of the Northern Ireland police and the rightist gangs.

It quickly became apparent, however, that the British were not about to do that. Instead, in the name of keeping the peace, the British forces began making raids and house-to-house searches to disarm the Catholic communities.

Proimperialist Protestants, in contrast, were able to legally own firearms by serving as reservists in the notorious Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR).

By the time the British introduced



At April 18 demonstration in support of Irish political prisoners.

internment without trial in August 1971 there were no longer any illusions among the nationalist population about which side the army was on.

British intentions were underscored on January 30, 1972, when army paratroopers opened fire on a civil rights demonstration of some 15,000 people in Derry, killing thirteen persons in cold blood.

Treatment of prisoners

But internment did not succeed in crushing the resistance of the nationalist population in the North. Furthermore, the imprisonment without trial of political activists was arousing more and more opposition internationally.

In response to this, the British officially ended internment in December 1975. Instead, they set up a system of special courts to try republican suspects.

Under the new system republican suspects could be held for up to one week in special "interrogation centers." The European Human Rights Commission issued an 8,400 page report in September 1976 accusing the British government of carrying out systematic torture of prisoners in these interrogation centers.

Using confessions obtained through

these methods, the British would obtain convictions in the special juryless courts they had set up for precisely this purpose. On this basis, the British imperialists refused to continue the special status that republican prisoners had been previously accorded.

Hunger strike

Republican prisoners have carried out a five-year struggle against the British attempt to label them criminals. The latest stage of that struggle began in October 1980 when seven republican prisoners in the H-Block at Long Kesh prison went on hunger strike.

Faced with this situation, the British promised concessions to the hunger strikers and the prisoners called off their protest after fifty-three days. But the British reneged on the agreement and Bobby Sands resumed the hunger strike on March 1. He has since been joined by three other prisoners—Frankie Hughes, Ray McCreesh, and Patsy O'Hara.

Sands's election to the British Parliament on April 9 was an indication of how deeply the plight of the prisoners has stirred the Irish people. His election victory strengthened the hand of the hunger strikers and it highlighted the stakes in this fight.

Thatcher hoped that by refusing to carry out the agreement after the last hunger strike she would succeed in demoralizing the prisoners and their supporters. That ploy did not work and it cannot be used a second time.

It is in this context that Thatcher is carrying out her policy of provocation. British rule in Ireland has always depended on terrorism against the nationalist population, and the current struggle has brought that reality very close to the surface.

However, Thatcher is not carrying out her policy of brinkmanship in Ireland from a position of strength. This is especially clear if the situation in Britain itself is taken into account.

The economic crisis in Britain has resulted in a deep radicalization of the working class. There have been massive mobilizations against Thatcher's hated austerity policies, unemployment, and nuclear weapons. The Labour Party has moved sharply to the left.

Objectively, the anti-imperialist fighters in Ireland are allies of the British working class in its struggle against the Thatcher government. And big struggles in Ireland may well lead growing numbers of British workers to adopt precisely this point of view.

From Intercontinental Press

...cops attack miners

Continued from page 20

1974. The provision calls for \$1.90 a ton royalty on non-union coal. Kaiser bought the coal from Mid-Continent Coal and Coke Company.

There are similar suits involving U.S. Steel, Consolidation Coal and Reitz Coal Company. But those three companies are being sued by the union for refusing to pay at least \$5 million in royalty payments.

In all these cases the companies claim the contract provision violates the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

Mid-Continent Coal is the owner of the Dutch Creek No. 1 mine in Redstone, Colorado where fifteen miners were killed in an explosion April 15. (See statement by UMW President Sam Church on page 20.)

The issue of royalties on non-union coal was one reason for the rejection of the first proposed contract, March 31. Since the operators couldn't win this from the miners in the contract, they hope to get it from a friendly court.

The operators used the same trick for other changes in contract language. In the contract that was rejected, the miners were informed that gains in union protection won in the past were being eliminated because of Supreme Court decisions.

But the miners did not seem impressed about the authority of the courts behind the contract takebacks. They rejected the contract anyway.

That should be a reminder that coal does not get mined by Supreme Court justices or by their decisions.

Coal gets mined by working miners. Period.

Strike gains labor support

The April 30 demonstration in Pittsburgh is the most important miners solidarity action to date in the strike. The backing by United Steelworkers of America President Lloyd McBride and other union leaders is a big step toward bringing the power of the labor movement behind the miners in this struggle.

The UMW is also reaching out for support in other ways. In Ohio's District 6, the UMW Miners Relief Fund has sent a letter to union locals throughout the state asking for support.

The letter, addressed to "Fellow members in organized labor," closes with: "Representatives of the Miners Relief Fund will be available for bucket collections or speaking engagements if necessary. Any additional information may be obtained at 614-676-3972 beginning April 20, 1981."

American Labor Struggles 1877-1934

By Samuel Yellen
416 pp., \$3.95. Include \$.75 for handling.
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Auto union discusses imports, AFL-CIO ties

Attacks on auto workers are spurring discussion of how to fight back among members of the United Auto Workers Union.

Some of the discussion revolves around the two proposals by the UAW leaders on how to meet the attacks: restriction of auto imports and re-affiliation with the AFL-CIO, which the UAW left in 1968.

UAW officials announced April 28 that delegates at seventeen regional conferences endorsed re-affiliation by a vote of 7,785 for to 4,527 against.

The following interview presents the views of Rodger McFadden, a member of UAW Local 160 and longtime union committeeman at General Motors Tech Center near Detroit, on these issues.

The interviewer, Tony Dutrow, is a member of UAW Local 36. He is currently laid off from his job at the Lincoln plant in Wixom, Michigan.

Question: You recently attended a United Auto Workers conference in Washington, D.C. on March 19. What was the meeting all about? Who was invited? What came out of the meeting?

McFadden: The meeting was for members of the UAW General Motors council. This body meets twice a year unless a special meeting is called. This particular one was just a normal UAW GM council conference.

The purpose of the council meetings is for the secondary leaderships to get together and discuss common problems throughout the General Motors industry.

Q: Could you explain some of the main points of the resolution presented at the meeting?

A: Well, the resolution raised the question of further wage cuts in the auto industry, the problem of imports. Also, we heard about the up-and-coming proposals from GM and the concessions they were going to ask for. In fact, in the speech by the council leader, UAW Vice President Owen Bieber, he said that General Motors management had "called him in" to discuss concessions.

Q: The resolution states that the UAW advocates a "tri-partite government-management-labor approach" to solve auto workers problems. It praises the "useful" government initiatives proposed by former Department of Transportation Secretary Goldschmidt and his successor Lewis. I believe these "initiatives" suggested by Goldschmidt included wage cuts and some type of curb on imports. Could you comment on this last point, the idea that import restrictions will help American auto workers?

A: No, I don't agree with that. I think that limits on imports will only increase the profits the American auto companies make on cars built in this country. They want to set up preferable markets, a situation for them of no competition so they can monopolize the market even more.

Q: You also told me that the resolution raised the idea of helping the consumer through the UAW working jointly with management for affordable prices for safer cars. Doesn't what you just said about imports cut across this? GM and other auto companies are demanding cutbacks in auto safety regulations. Won't the UAW's position on safety also run aground?

A: First, I don't think curbing imports will help the consumer because it means they are going to demand high prices. Secondly, cutting back on the safety regulations will not help the consumer.

I think management has made a lot of mistakes in the auto industry and

they want someone else to correct them. Basically they are interested in the workers correcting these problems—at their own expense.

Q: Do you think the UAW leadership has been successful in urging auto workers to support import curbs?

A: The initial impact of the "Buy American" campaign, it seemed to me, created a lot of discussion favorable to curbing imports in my shop. As of now, I hear very little about it today in the plant.

In fact, the people that were voicing opinions against imports—some of them anyway—are purchasing them. This is an indication to me that the "Buy American" campaign has lost its effect.

Q: You produced a leaflet in response to GM's anti-import propaganda titled "Don't Run this Scam on Us." What was the response to it in your plant?

A: I had a very good response. None of my coworkers responded negatively to it. Only management was in opposition to it. So it was well received.

The workers understood that GM is

a resolution demanding a special constitutional convention for a thorough discussion of re-affiliation. But the leadership didn't think too much of the idea.

Q: You told me earlier that this resolution included support from twelve other locals in Michigan, among them the huge Flint Buick local. What happened with the resolution?

A: I attended an informal meeting with our president and the others. They pointed out that they had gone to Fraser with a delegation and asked him about bringing the resolution up on the conference floor.

Fraser objected to this. Fraser did say they could have a discussion on the resolution at their regional conferences. But Fraser said in the last analysis that the International Executive Board could re-affiliate by a majority vote of the board, if they so desired, without the approval of the convention delegates. That's what we were told.

Q: What were the views of the local presidents on re-affiliation itself, apart

offensive against the workers' standard of living by the bosses. Do you think most workers would view it that way?

A: I agree that with more workers joined together it would be a forceful organization, if that's what the leadership wants right now.

But we haven't heard that this is what the leadership is interested in. In fact, the workers in the shop have not discussed it very much, except to voice their expectations that it might cost them more money.

In the auto industry today, with our declining membership, it could be a good idea to join forces to stop the wage cuts and unemployment and all the things like this in the interest of the labor movement today.

If there is a genuine progressive change that has taken place in the AFL-CIO and our leadership has a program that necessitates re-affiliation, I believe the workers in the shop could relate to it.

As I pointed out, in these times of real wage cuts it seems to me that a greater body of workers could be more forceful in fighting back. But the leadership hasn't put forward a program for what they want to do. It's hard for us in the secondary leadership to relate this to workers on the shop floor without it.

Q: How do you think the AFL-CIO workers are looking at re-affiliation? Do you think they view the UAW coming into the fold as positive?

A: I would think so. I would think they want us in that organization. Based on affiliation before [in 1955] it was explained to them that this was going to be a benefit and not just solely a raise in dues.

I'm sure, with this view, you would get agreement on both sides from the rank and file and the leadership.

Q: What was your thinking in supporting the idea of a special UAW constitutional convention to discuss re-affiliation?

A: I gladly supported the president of our local and his call for a constitutional convention to discuss re-affiliation. I believe the majority of the secondary leadership, and also the workers on the shop floor, want a discussion, and want to bring the issues related to rejoining up for discussion.

All of us want a full discussion. Questions of what should be done about the crisis would have to be brought up. What would come out of this would be a more united labor movement. I do think this would be progressive.

I also think it would be a very, very good idea if they brought both parties—the AFL-CIO and the UAW—together and discussed the question with the secondary leaderships, or the ranks, or the delegates of the convention.

I'm sure they could arrive at approval without the kind of opposition that we see from a number of locals today—locals who see it as just joining another dues-paying organization.

They don't as yet see it as putting us in a more forceful bargaining position, or as a group that has more strength to fight the bosses. So I think the leadership is very lax in not bringing this question up for discussion. They are missing an opportunity to strengthen our unions.

The Militant gets around Fraser on Madison Avenue Will UAW 'Buy American' ads save jobs?

By Frank Lovell

Full-page "Buy American" advertisements appeared in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Detroit Free Press*, *Los Angeles Times*, and some editions of the *Wall Street Journal* starting October 28. A series of three such ads were published. They warned against foreign-made cars, claiming that a constant stream of Japanese automobiles into this country is causing unemployment here.

A similar campaign on radio began shortly after the November 4 general election. It runs for four weeks in fifteen markets. Total cost of this advertising spree is \$200,000, paid by the United Auto Workers. The money comes from interest gains on the union's \$300 million strike fund.

Douglas Fraser, UAW president, said many American car buyers are "completely ignorant" of the sufferings of unemployed auto workers. His "exclusive concern," he said, is for the 300,000 laid-off workers in the U.S. auto industry.

A United Auto Workers member in Aurora, Illinois, recently sent us a leaflet he had prepared from *Militant* articles. The leaflet, shown here, reprints Frank Lovell's article on imports from the November 21, 1980, issue; and Vivian Sahner's article on the Chrysler settlement from the February 13, 1981, issue.

"I handed out 250 of these leaflets

The UAW ad campaign pleads only for "temporary import restraints." One ad says U.S. auto workers "want the chance to produce the smaller, more fuel-efficient cars that we know can compete with any the world has to offer. Once our industry finishes retooling, it's a trade-free-for-all," says the ad. "No restrictions. No advantages."

The "temporary import restraints" demanded from the International Trade Commission by the UAW and Ford would amount to an indirect subsidy for the U.S. auto corporations, paid for by American consumers in the form of higher prices.

The mark-up on each car sold has been estimated at around \$150. That's on top of the thousand dollars or so the U.S. firms have raised auto prices since last year.

Losing money to make money

All U.S. auto corporations have reported "record" profits this year. Most are accounted for by huge gains in the worldwide reorganization of the industry.

at our last membership meeting and the response was quite favorable," our reader noted. "In fact, one of our committeemen approached me later on in the week and questioned me about the authors. He said he didn't personally find anything offensive about the articles, that they made sense if you had 'an open mind.'"

exporting more jobs than can be saved by buying GM's products here. And they see at the same time GM buying outside the United States which is a contradiction. I think everybody understood this.

Q: Was Bieber enthusiastic in his talk about the anti-import campaign? I know at the 1980 UAW convention there was a real campaign atmosphere—posters, buttons, and even a banner that said: "You Can't Eat a Toyota."

A: No, it was low-keyed. They didn't have any leaflets, posters, or anything at the conference as they had before when they launched the "Buy American" campaign. As I said, there was no formal or informal discussion of this question at the meeting.

Q: This meeting took place two weeks or so after the UAW International Executive Board announced its recommendation to re-affiliate with the AFL-CIO. Was there any discussion of this at the council meeting?

A: There wasn't any formal discussion on this at all. But a number of local presidents, including my local president, came to the conference with

from the willingness to call for a special constitutional convention to discuss it?

A: It seemed to me their reasoning, according to the general discussions that I've had with them, is that they were concerned about the dues they would have to pay for re-affiliation and what, if any, benefits they would get out of the merger.

They were pretty fuzzy about what benefits would arise out of re-affiliation, and rightly so, since no attempt has been made to explain anything about this question.

Q: In your experience with affiliation, going back to 1955, how does this affect the dues structure?

A: I believe the way it worked then was that two or three cents per member per month was paid out of the general fund to the AFL-CIO. I don't know what they're proposing as far as dues or how it will be structured; it hasn't been explained to us.

Q: There are ways to look at it positively, as you know. The labor movement coming together could be a powerful counterweight to the all-out

UAW history

A Political Biography of Walter Reuther: The Record of an Opportunist by Beatrice Hansen. 23 pp. 40 cents, add 75 cents for handling. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Utah hearings on MX missile

'Gov't has lied to us over and over again'

By Dave Hurst

SALT LAKE CITY—Overwhelming opposition to the Pentagon's plans to deploy the MX missile in Utah and Nevada was voiced at two hearings on April 3 here.

Out of the 600-plus people at the Environmental Impact Studies (EIS) hearings, only a few supported the MX program.

The Air Force, initiator of the hearings, was resoundingly booed as its spokespeople continually dodged answers to concerns raised by Utahns.

Often the Air Force's answer to questions was a "classified" response.

One question concerned the great need for water in construction and deployment of the MX. Water in the Great Basin between Utah and Nevada is very scarce.

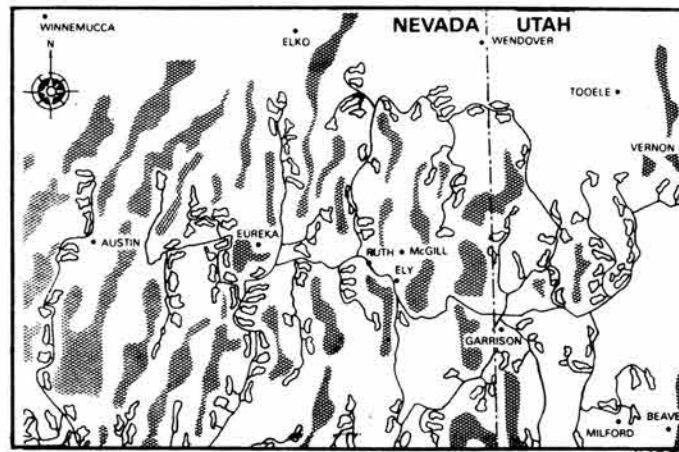
Just trust us

The Air Force said that it plans to do research to find adequate water supplies. Until then, people should trust the Air Force to do the right thing.

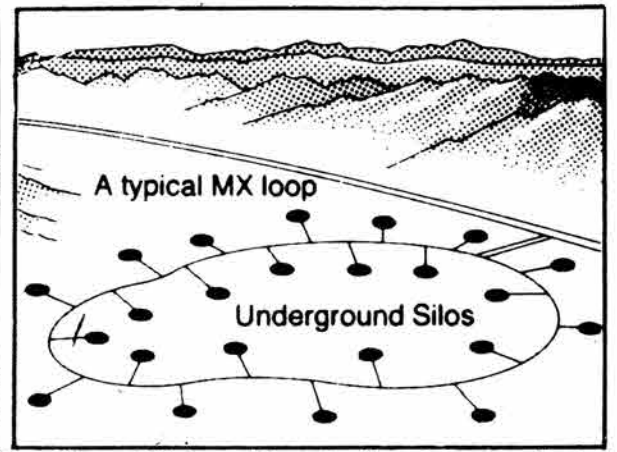
The hearing participants took every opportunity to denounce the entire system.

"I can't really conceive of a Soviet attack on this country. I'm more afraid of our own government. . . . They have lied to us over and over again," was one such comment.

Brian Greenberg, of the Salt Lake El Salvador Solidarity Committee, took up the claim that the MX is a massive public works program. "If it is such a public works program, why aren't other states clamoring for such benefits?" he asked.



Left, artist's representation of MX missile racetracks located in valleys of Utah and Nevada. Mountains are shaded gray areas. Each racetrack loop would contain twenty-three missile silos, as shown at right.



Another participant spoke of the "inherited credibility gap" of the Air Force. "Why do I believe you now? We believed you in southern Utah . . . what's different?"

This speaker was referring to the huge increase in cancer and leukemia among residents of southern Utah who were exposed to radioactive fallout from the army's nuclear tests in the Nevada desert in the 1950s and '60s.

The population was assured at the time that there was no danger from the fallout. They have since learned differently.

In eloquent testimony Mildred Hinckley, a sixty-three-year-old grandmother, denounced Air Force

plans for a first strike against the Soviet Union. "All in the name of national security—that magic word that has camouflaged so many military sins," she said.

No respect after Vietnam

She concluded, "You are asking us, after Vietnam, to believe what you tell us? . . . If we had any respect for our military after Vietnam, the MX shell game would reduce it to zero."

Concluding her statement, Hinckley echoed what was a common theme at the hearings. "You are not really asking us to do anything. These mass meetings are nothing but pretense at democratic action. You are dictating to us, period."

Another statement to the audience was made by Ed Berger of the Utah Socialist Workers Party. He spoke about the massive amounts of money being used to finance this doomsday weapon. The estimated cost has risen to more than \$106 billion. "Workers who could be building schools and hospitals will instead be wasting their labor and our tax dollars constructing machines of death," he said.

May 2 march

To prolonged applause Berger urged all concerned citizens to rally in Salt Lake City on May 2 to demand "No MX."

The demonstration and rally was called by the MX Information Center in Salt Lake. Activists will be coming from Colorado, Idaho, Arizona, Texas, and elsewhere to join in the growing movement to stop the MX.

Catholic bishop denounces MX

SALT LAKE CITY—Bishop William Weigand of the Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City recently denounced the MX missile.

"Many Utahns oppose the MX, or at least its deployment in Utah and Nevada," the bishop said April 8. "I oppose not just the land deployment mode in Utah and Nevada, but the MX itself. I do so on moral grounds."

Bishop Weigand has publicly opposed U.S. aid to the brutal junta in El Salvador. He has continued to speak out against such aid and has organized a number of meetings here on the issue.

Further opposition to the MX has come from Catholic clergy in Las Vegas.

In Utah, the Rt. Rev. Otis Charles, bishop of the Episcopal Diocese, said that he concurred with Bishop Weigand.

On a recent visit to Salt Lake City, Rev. John Collins of the national office of Clergy and Laity Concerned also attacked the MX. "It's a sad monument to this society that the largest engineering project the United States has undertaken is to be used for a destructive purpose," he said.

The Mormon Church is officially neutral on the MX at this time.

Iraqi regime edges closer to Washington

By Janice Lynn

In the midst of the Iraqi regime's war against Iran, Iraqi officials have begun to openly establish closer ties with U.S. imperialism and proimperialist regimes in the region.

In April, in response to signals from Baghdad, a senior emissary to U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig was dispatched to Baghdad for talks with high Iraqi government officials.

This followed a March 31 public announcement by Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat that he was sending thousands of tons of ammunition, missiles, artillery, and spare parts to Iraq.

These recent developments are further confirmation that the September 22 invasion of Iran by the Iraqi regime was a direct attack against the Iranian revolution that only served imperialist interests.

Baghdad, Washington, and the proimperialist Egyptian regime would like nothing better than to see the Iranian revolution reversed and thereby hinder any new advances by the masses of workers and peasants in the Middle East.

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, along with Sadat, fears the dynamic set in motion by the Iranian masses who have weakened the imperialist stranglehold over their country and are moving along the road of taking the kinds of measures necessary to meet their economic and social needs. Hussein and Sadat know that their own regimes are threatened by the

example set by the Iranian workers and peasants.

It is for this reason too that the most reactionary Arab governments in the region—from the Saudi Arabian and Jordanian monarchies to the conservative Persian Gulf shiekdoms—have all lined up behind the Iraqi war effort.

It is no coincidence that the April 12-13 Baghdad visit of the U.S. State Department's second-ranking Middle East official, Morris Draper—the first visit to Iraq by a top U.S. official in nearly four years—comes as the Iraqi regime continues its attacks against Iran.

Draper met with Iraqi Foreign Minister Saadoun Hammadi and other officials in Iraq's Foreign Ministry. But the contents of the meetings were not publicly revealed.

The April 11 *Washington Post* noted that, according to a well-placed Arab official, the Iraqi regime had made known its desire for restoration of full U.S. diplomatic relations, as well as encouragement for American businesses to sell technologically advanced equipment to Iraq.

The Iraqi regime severed formal diplomatic relations with Washington after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, although the U.S. government maintains a sizable interests section in Baghdad.

Draper went out of his way to state that, contrary to earlier media reports, diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Iraqi governments would not be resumed "in the early future." Draper

did note that he was "frankly pleased" with the outcome of the discussions.

The Iraqi regime—which proclaims its opposition to U.S. imperialist intervention in the Middle East as well as the Camp David accords—fears the reaction from the Iraqi masses to openly restoring full, formal ties with imperialism. It also must consider its relations with the countries of the Nonaligned Movement.

But the rightward course of the Iraqi regime, which was apparent even before its military offensive against Iran, has become clearer.

Trade between the U.S. and Iraq has been steadily increasing. In 1980, U.S. companies sold Iraq some \$725 million worth of goods. And Washington has just decided to go ahead with the sale of five new Boeing jetliners to Iraq.

Following the Iraqi regime's invasion of Iran, the Soviet government refused to provide Iraq with any new weapons. Baghdad began to turn increasingly to Europe for major arms purchases, especially to France.

Sadat's March 31 announcement that the Egyptian regime was also supplying Iraq with needed weapons and ammunition confirmed earlier reports—all of which had been denied—that Egypt was in fact lining up behind Iraq.

According to the April 2 Paris daily *Le Monde*, the ammunition was badly needed by Iraq in its war against Iran. *Le Monde* reported that it was the Jordanian regime—with Washington's

approval—that had made the request for arms and ammunition on behalf of the Iraqi government. An Iraqi delegation then visited Egypt and concluded the deal.

This is another sign of the Iraqi regime's rightward drift. In 1979, the Iraqi government had severed relations with Cairo to protest the Egyptian regime's betrayal of the Palestinian struggle in signing the Camp David accords with Israel.

The Iraqi regime's new relationship with Washington and Cairo—coming in the context of its attacks against the Iranian revolution—is a real threat to both the Iranian revolution and the Palestinian struggle. And it dangerously paves the way for U.S. imperialist intervention in the Middle East.

This is especially so given Washington's March 26 announcement that it planned to spend \$100 million improving the Egyptian airfield and port at Ras Banas. U.S. government officials said the Reagan administration hoped to use the strategically located Red Sea base to support possible large-scale U.S. military moves that could become necessary in the Persian Gulf and the rest of the Middle East.

As the Iraqi regime's collusion with imperialism becomes clearer, it is important to demand an immediate end to Iraqi military aggression against the Iranian revolution and to call for all U.S. military troops, planes, and ships out of the Middle East.

From Intercontinental Press

Our Revolutionary Heritage

The May 1970 massacre

In 1970 there was an upsurge on campuses across the country against U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. On Thursday, April 30, Richard Nixon gave a televised speech announcing the invasion of Cambodia. By the end of the speech, spontaneous protests were taking place on some campuses, including a meeting of 2,500 at Princeton that called for a university strike.

The next day opponents of the war began organizing meetings and rallies on hundreds of campuses. Many campuses joined Princeton's call for a strike.

In several states the National Guard was mobilized. At Kent State University in Ohio, it was called to the campus.

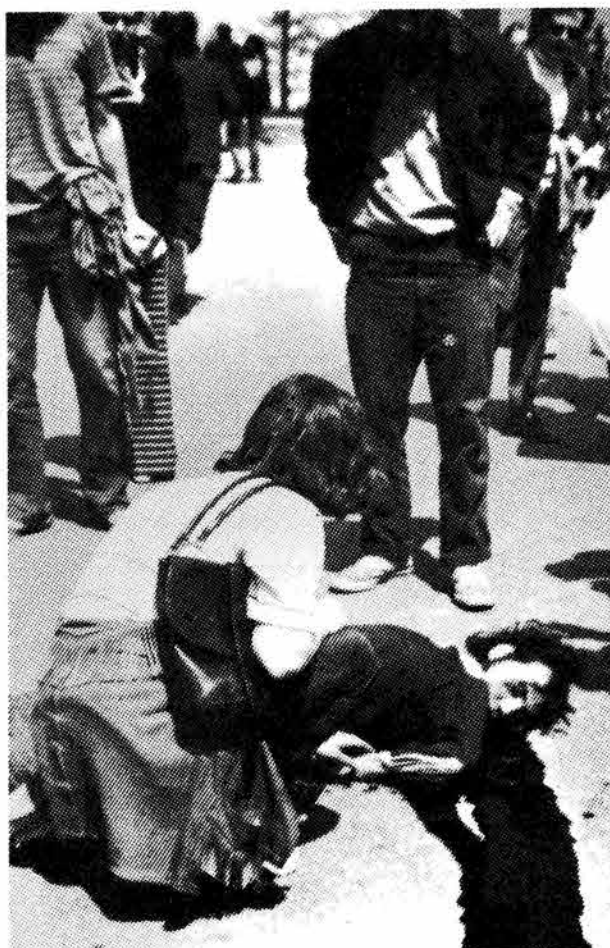
On Monday, May 4, four student demonstrators were killed by the National Guard. This sparked a national student strike that was to involve millions of students, the largest such strike in world history.

Below are excerpts from an account of the Kent State massacre from Fred Halstead's 'Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War' (Pathfinder Press, \$9.95).

At noon on the day following Nixon's speech, some 300 Kent State students rallied in protest. In the afternoon the Black United Students held another rally. A pent-up anger soon became apparent.

Saturday, May 2, the National Guard was called out. Later the same evening some two thousand students marched on the ROTC [campus reserve officers training program] building and some of them set it afire. While it burned, the guardsmen were given orders to shoot anyone cutting fire hoses. There was no shooting then, but a tone had been set.

On Monday, May 4, at noontime, students gathered around a bell mounted in the Commons, an open field in the center of the campus. A speaker



mounted the base of the bell and called for a strike.

A state trooper with a bullhorn pronounced the gathering illegal and told the crowd to leave. A few of the more than a thousand students in the area threw rocks. Guardsmen arrived and gassed the crowd, which retreated, but did not fully disperse.

Gas cannisters were lobbed; some students lobbed

them back; the students retreated again, toward a parking lot. Some students were throwing small rocks at a group of guardsmen on a hill.

A line of soldiers got to their knees and aimed their rifles. Two students, Mike York and Fred Kirsch, who were present, later recalled:

"At first no one was sure what was happening. There was a steady loud rattle, like machine guns. Someone yelled, 'Those are only blanks.' Then we heard bullets whistling past our heads.

"Dirt flew up in our faces, where bullets were hitting the ground, landing only a few feet from us. There was a tree about fifteen yards behind us. There were repeated sounds of thuds and splintering noise as bullets hit the tree. More bullets hit the cars in the lot, smashing the windshields, hitting the fenders and the sides of the cars. . . .

"A girl was screaming. 'They're not using blanks. They're not using blanks.' Another student fell over, dead. A student collapsed to the ground, hit.

"Suddenly, after about 30 seconds, the shooting stopped. We got up and looked around. One girl was lying on the ground, holding her stomach. Her face was white. There were others, lying on the ground. Some moved. Some didn't.

The whole area was one of panic. We heard a girl crying hysterically. 'Get an ambulance, get an ambulance,' others were shouting. A guy picked up one girl and held her in his arms. The front of her was covered with blood. 'She's dead,' he was shouting. 'She's dead. I know she's dead.'"

* * *

Four students were killed and many wounded, one crippled for life, in that fraction of a minute. The guardsmen claimed they had been fired upon, but this was later proven false. Some of the students who were shot had not even been in the demonstration but were simply passing through the parking lot. The dead were Allison Krause, 19; Jeffrey Glenn Miller, 20; Sandra Lee Scheuer, 20; and William K. Schroeder, 19.

Learning About Socialism

Extrasensory cover-up

The April 3 *New York Times* ran the picture shown here. The *Times* quoted Atlanta Public Safety Commissioner Lee P. Brown as boasting that the task force supposed to be investigating the murders of twenty-five Black youth is equipped with "the most sophisticated computer system in the world for a criminal investigation."

Brown and the other cops and politicians are not investigating the murders, they are covering them up. Their main aim is to keep the lid on the outrage of the Black community. That's why they try to blame the murdered children, the mothers, and the Black community in general for the crimes.

One FBI agent has publicly suggested that the children were killed by their parents.

Only one possible solution is arbitrarily excluded from consideration: that the killers are racists.

But what about the "sophisticated computers"?

Computers are just machines that can quickly and accurately shuffle around information that has been fed into them. Computer operators have a saying about this: "Garbage in, garbage out." And the Atlanta cops' computers are being fed garbage.

Look again at the picture and the caption. The cops who operate the sophisticated computer spend their days staring at drawings provided by "psychics."

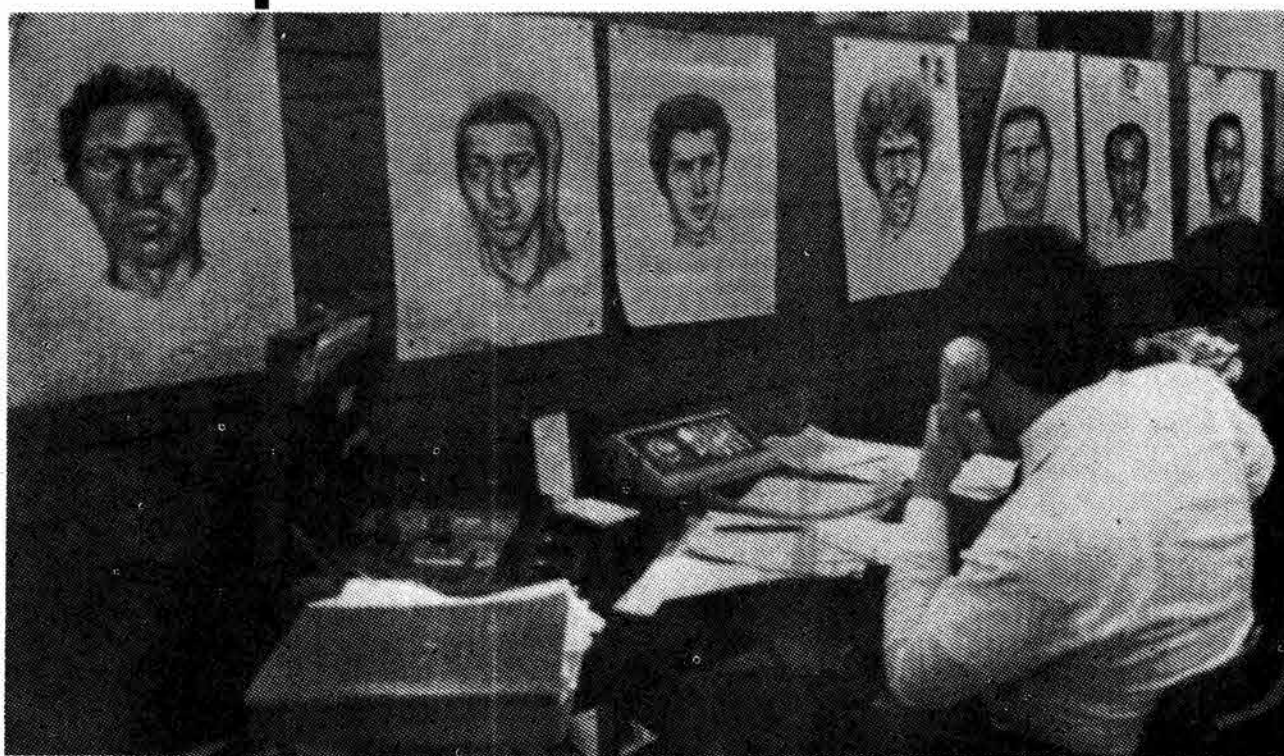
"Psychics" are people who claim to read minds.

The *Times* article states: "there were also numerous composite sketches of suspects as seen and sent to the task force by psychics from all over the country and abroad."

Thus the *Times* asserts: One, that there is such a thing as a psychic; two, that the pictures are of real "suspects;" and three, that they were "seen" by the "psychics."

But there is no such thing as a psychic. The pictures are of no one. And none of those pictured has been seen by anyone.

This superstitious nonsense is peddled by a capitalist newspaper that pretends to a high level of culture and objectivity.



Sketches of 'suspects' drawn by 'psychics.'

In former days, "psychics" used a crystal ball as a prop. Now their "visions" can be processed by computer.

The psychics' composite sketches can thus be matched to real people whom they may resemble. These people can then be "investigated" by the cops.

If anyone were arrested as a result, many newspapers could be counted on to proclaim the "miraculous" find and hail the "brilliant" police work.

Five of the seven drawings shown in the *Times* are of Blacks.

"Psychics" don't have any extrasensory percep-

tion. But their sense of what kind of suspects the Atlanta police are in the market for is pretty good.

The cops are ignorant and superstitious, and the editors of the *Times* aren't much better. But that is not the only reason why the "psychics" are being used. Whatever gullibility exists about "psychics" and "extrasensory" perception is being used to keep the lid on the murders.

The "psychics" are having a field day in Atlanta. This is another reason why the Black community and working people as a whole need materialism, the scientific approach, in order to combat lies with truth.

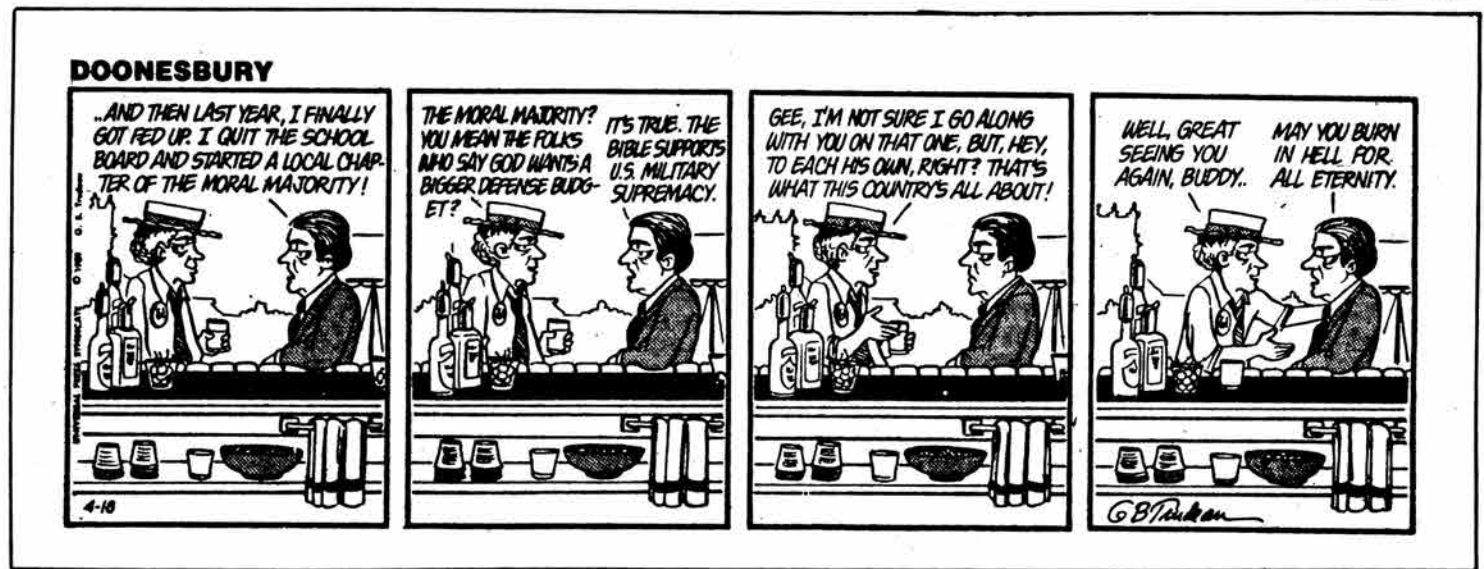
—Stu Singer



Almost perfect—A *New York Times* realty ad offers a Western Caribbean island: "A private island paradise, uninhabited but improved. . . . possible gambling license. . . . friendly stable government. . . . serenity. . . . adjoining islands blessed with English-speaking and smiling-faced people. . . . foreign investors' political insurance available—\$2.9 million."

Sound pretty educated to us—A professor at a Seattle community college says most of a group of students flunked an exam given to people who want to become citizens. Asked who the mayor of Seattle was, many left it blank. Asked which U.S. department handles foreign affairs, they responded: the CIA.

Capitalist realism—A nuclear accident exercise was held in the Nevada desert to estimate what would happen if a helicopter carrying atomic weapons collided with a plane and one of



the warheads blew up, contaminating a town of 650. The \$2.2 million test included spraying a bit of real nuclear contamination which officials said should be gone in 100 days. They didn't say how many days the 650 people would last.

Austerity budget—The British government complains it's losing 50 million pounds a year in tax evasion. So it's axing 9,000 jobs in tax offices. Meanwhile, it's adding 1,000 people to the welfare payroll to deal with alleged chiselers.

Hardly fill a freezer—Two men were arrested in Brooklyn for driving a truck from Nebraska with \$500,000 worth of meat that allegedly didn't belong to them. What puzzles us is, with that amount, why didn't they just send it parcel post?

The American Way of Life

'Post' scandal: another day, another lie

Caught red-handed.

That's why the *Washington Post* had to shamefacedly give up the Pulitzer Prize for feature writing that had been awarded to their reporter, Janet Cooke.

Cooke admitted that her prize-winning story about an eight-year-old Black heroin addict was a fabrication. According to the story, entitled "Jimmy's World," the boy had been hooked on heroin since he was five years old. His mother and grandmother were also heroin addicts, and his mother's boyfriend was a dealer who used to shoot Jimmy up with the stuff.

Why did the *Washington Post*, famous for breaking the Watergate story, print an article that many reporters were suspicious of all along?

Robert Maynard, a Black former member of the *Post* staff, pointed out that top *Post* editors' "preoccupation with crime and deviance" in the Black community contributed to their acceptance of Cooke's story.

The *Post*, like all other big-business-owned media, features sensationalized stories about crime in the Black community in order to perpetuate racist stereotypes of Blacks as a criminal class.

This is very important to the government, which needs a justification for cutbacks in jobs and social services that hit Blacks the hardest. It's part of trying

to prevent working people from uniting against attacks on our living standards and racist violence. Blacks, the government would have us believe, deserve what they get—or don't get.

The capitalist newspapers have drawn one basic lesson from this scandal. It is: let's be more careful so we don't get caught again. They want us to believe that lying is the exception, not the rule.

A *Post* editorial explained, "In some way . . . the sheer magnitude and breathtaking gall of the deception—its size—made it harder to detect."

But the *Post* is no stranger to the "big lie" technique. In fact, the big lie is editorial policy.

When 100,000 Blacks marched in D.C. on January 15, demanding that Martin Luther King's birthday be made a national holiday, the *Post* said only 25,000 people were there!

Then there were the stories about the U.S. reporters who "covered" the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan by manufacturing articles while bar hopping in Kabul.

The April 17 *Wall Street Journal* suggested that if the quality of journalism is poor, it's because publishers are being forced to hire more Blacks, Latinos, and women.

Janet Cooke is Black and a woman. That's part of the reason she was forced to lie on her job application at the *Post*. She was a victim of this racist, sexist educational system. But until her downfall, all agreed that she was a talented and promising reporter.

The conspicuously racist editorial policy of the big dailies, often covered with a liberal veneer, forces reporters who want to make it to write articles cut from the same cloth as "Jimmy's World." No matter what is actually going on in Atlanta, for instance, the reporter who wants to stay employed has to produce copy that portrays the murder victims as young hustlers who were almost asking for it.

Capitalist newspapers, like other corporations, are owned lock, stock, and barrel by ruling class families. They exist to turn a profit and to defend the status quo.

Lies and deception are standard procedure for such journals because they represent interests that need lies and deceptions—such unsavory folks as the big oil companies, the war industry billionaires, and the corrupt politicians in the Republican and Democratic parties.

Compared with their records, what Cooke did is small potatoes.

—Margaret Jayko

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA SAN FRANCISCO

WHAT'S BEHIND THE CIVIL WAR IN LEBANON. Speaker: Georges Sayad, participant in student struggles in Lebanon, member of Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., May 8, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

COLORADO DENVER

RAILROAD CRISIS: HOW LABOR SHOULD ANSWER. Speaker: Pat Silverthorn, member, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 270 and Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., May 8, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

WHY IS FBI BLAMING PARENTS FOR CHILDRENS' MURDERS? A panel on FBI disruption of social movements. Speakers: Sidney Hunter, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council; representative of Committee to Stop Children's Murders; representative of Martin Luther King Center for Social Change. Sun., May 3, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St., N.E. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

AN AMERICAN WORKER VISITS POLAND SOLIDARITY. A slide show and speaker. Suzanne Weiss, just

returned from Poland. Fri., May 8, 8 p.m. Pathfinder Books, 3207 Dublin. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

BOBBY SANDS'S IRELAND VS. BRITISH OCCUPATION. Speakers to be announced. Fri., May 8, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

THE MINERS' STRIKE—LABOR'S STAKE. Speaker: Tom Moriarty, United Mine Workers of America Local 1949, former candidate for governor of West Virginia for Socialist Workers Party. Sun., May 10, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

BANKERS PUT SQUEEZE ON CITY WORKERS. Speakers: Steve Beamer, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 26; Elizabeth Ziers, United Auto Workers Local 600 and Socialist Workers Party; Phil Shannon, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor. Sun., May 10, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

REAGAN'S FIRST 100 DAYS: WHAT IT'S MEANT FOR WORKING PEOPLE. Speaker: Les Evans, Social-

ist Workers Party. Sun., May 10, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling. St. Paul. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

NATIONALIZE THE RAILROADS. A panel discussion on future of America's railroads. Speakers: Brian Elam, member, United Transportation Union Local 1435 and Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment; others. Sun., May 10, 7:30 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW YORK MANHATTAN

VIETNAM/EL SALVADOR RALLY. Celebrate Sixth Anniversary of Liberation of Vietnam. Support Struggle of El Salvadoran People. Speakers: member of Permanent Mission of Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the United Nations; member of El Salvador Revolutionary Democratic Front; others. Sat., May 9, 3-6 p.m. Washington Square Methodist Church, 135 W. 4th St. Donation: \$3. Aup: Committee in Solidarity with Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos; Caribbean and Latin American Solidarity Project; Casa El Salvador; Caribbean People's Alliance; and Association of Vietnamese Patriots in the U.S. For more information call (212) 624-8173.

SCHENECTADY

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND THIRD WORLD NATIONS. Speakers: Scott Sommer, Nestle's Boycott Committee; George Birgos, Friends of Filipino People; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Slide

show and film. Fri., May 8, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

OHIO CLEVELAND

CUBA: TWENTY-TWO YEARS AFTER THE REVOLUTION. Firsthand report featuring Alicia Merel and Louise Haberbush of the Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., May 9, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

FILM: 'HARLAN COUNTY USA.' Two showings. Wed., May 6, 8 p.m. California State College, California, Pennsylvania, at Learning and Research Center Auditorium. Aup: Black League and Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., May 8, 8 p.m. 1100 E. Carson, Pittsburgh. Donation: \$2, miners free. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

IRELAND AND THE H-BLOCK PRISONERS: SAVE THE LIFE OF BOBBY SANDS. Speaker: Jesse McDonnell, member, United Mine Workers Local 2874 and Socialist Workers Party, recently visited Ireland. Fri., May 8, 7:30 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 957 S. University Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

Letters

'A real tragedy'

One might label the bill passed on March 17 in Arkansas to teach children in the primary schools "creationism" as well as evolution a real tragedy.

The Biblical concept of the creation of the world, like Darwin's theory of evolution, is a theory that has not been proven true or false.

However, unlike the idea of the creation of the world in the Bible, Darwin's theory of evolution has been and is still supported by independent data collected by scientists over the years. It includes physical evidence of both animal and human fossil remains, experimentation in interbreeding of species of animals, technological advances in genetics, etc.

Indeed there are huge disagreements among scientists in exploring the only yet theorized scientific-rational concepts to add to our only limited idea of the overall picture of evolution itself. The idea of creation, however, can only be accepted on faith alone, for essentially it is an absolute concept that must stand or fall as it is.

Let us see to it that this law falls flat in court for exactly what it is—an idea that has no rational reason to exist in a rational, progressive, and socialist world.

Daniel Nardini
Beloit, Wisconsin

Best paper

Keep up the good work!
The *Militant* is by far the best paper of its kind. I look

forward to the day when I will read in its pages of the progress being made in building socialism in the United Soviets of (North) America!!

P.K.
New Haven, Connecticut

Prefers the 'Militant'

I heap much praise upon the *Militant* because I feel it is most truthful in its overall aim to inform the people. I read the other Marxist papers also, but, as a whole, I like yours the best.

F.P.
New York, New York

Freedom of Information Act

I recently discovered firsthand what I had long suspected—that the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) often guarantees very little "information" to American citizens.

I recently requested that the FBI send me a copy of any dossiers they had on me. In April, nearly four months after I submitted my request, I finally received a copy of the five-page file kept on me by the FBI. The only problem was that *virtually every word* on all five pages was censored—blotted out with a heavy black marker. Even my name was marked out!

There are a number of exemptions under the FOIA, and the one cited was subsection (b)(1)—information



By Peters for the Dayton Daily News

HAVE YOU NOTICED THAT PICTURE HASN'T CHANGED IN TWO DAYS?

classified "in the interests of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods."

It's almost as if I was an international terrorist! In point of fact, my political activities have primarily involved expressions of opinion via newspaper and magazine articles and letters to the editor, some of which advocated democratic socialism, and none of which

advocated violence in any form.

References to these articles (or any other matters of public record) would in no way reveal the identities of FBI informants, since anyone could have gathered such materials.

It would appear that the FBI is violating at least the spirit, if not the letter, of the Freedom of Information Act.

Allan Kieth
Mattoon, Illinois

Request for an article

I'm writing to you in hopes that you can do an article on the John Birch Society and what it's all about. Also, if possible, what socialism has to do with the prison movement. If there is an article already about that, the people here would love to check it out.

A prisoner
California

Prisoner fund donation

I am enclosing a check for \$100 to be divided into two one-year subscriptions for myself and a friend, with the balance to go to the prisoner fund.

In solitude I can't imagine anything more exciting than some exciting reading, which the *Militant* represents.

I think you might write me something about how many

prisoners' requests you have or, if you like, print a notice which I will look for giving your experience in this field.

The testimony of Farrell Dobbs and Jack Barnes [at the trial of the socialist lawsuit against government police agencies] was magnificent.

L.K.
L. Mohegan, New York

[In reply—the *Militant* receives two or three new requests for prisoner subscriptions every week. We fill as many as contributions to the prisoner fund will permit.]

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Our party is your party

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WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Irish protests mount over political prisoners

By David Frankel

Northern Ireland is building up to a political explosion.

Irish republican political prisoner Bobby Sands has completed his eighth week on hunger strike and is close to death.

On April 26 the largest demonstration in the past decade took place in Belfast as Sands's sister Marcella led a march of 30,000 to show support for the prisoners.

Rebellions of the oppressed Catholic population have broken out in cities throughout the British-occupied enclave—in Belfast, Derry, Newry, Lurgan, Strabane, and Dungannon.

In Belfast, thousands marched on April 19 to commemorate the heroic 1916 Easter uprising against British rule. Following a similar demonstration in Derry British troops responded to a group of stone-throwing youths by smashing their landrovers into the crowd, killing two teenagers.

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, a leader of the campaign in behalf of the republican political prisoners, said the following day: "By allowing Bobby Sands to die the British will have clearly established that they have no right to be in this country and are incapable of governing this country with any degree of humanity."

But British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is taking the same callous and unyielding attitude to the demands of the oppressed Catholic population in Northern Ireland as to the British workers suffering under her austerity policies.

Speaking in Saudi Arabia April 21, Thatcher took time out from a tour in which she pledged her support to some of the most backward, vicious, and dictatorial regimes in the world to give a self-righteous lecture to the Irish people.

"There can be no question of political status for someone serving a sentence for crime," Thatcher remarked. "Crime is crime. It is not political and there can be no question of granting political status."

A further step in what is clearly a policy of conscious provocation by the British government came when the authorities refused to allow former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and peace activist Daniel Berrigan to meet with Sands.

Such a meeting, the British said, "would serve no useful purpose."

British oppression

Behind the latest turmoil in Northern Ireland is a history of centuries of colonial oppression by the British.

When English armies finally conquered Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they established what came to be known as the Protestant ascendancy. What was involved was not just religion. The Irish people had their own language, history, and culture, and the colonial rulers sought to stamp these out as part of the process of absorbing their new possessions.

Land—the main form of wealth—was taken from the Irish and given to English overlords. In the north, where



BELFAST, April 26: More than 30,000 march to support hunger striker Bobby Sands.

the resistance to the conquest had been the strongest, mass emigration of settlers from Britain was encouraged. This was how the current division

between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland originated.

The native Irish were relegated to a

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Miners speak out against Atlanta killings

By Yvonne Kennedy

FAIRMONT, W.Va.—"In the mines before the top comes down, you know because it begins to sprinkle, it gives you a warning. What is happening in Atlanta is just a warning, what happened in Miami is a warning, what is happening to Blacks, poor whites and working people is a warning," stated Eddie White, a twenty-three-year-old Black miner from Local 1570.

He was speaking to an April 17 meeting held in Fairmont, West Virgi-

nia, to protest the murders of the Black children in Atlanta.

"What is happening in Atlanta is going to spread," White continued, "because the government is not doing enough to stop the spread of right-wing terrorism that is sweeping the country."

"Atlanta is a tragedy. If it would have happened to white children, Atlanta would be like Fort Knox. There is a conspiracy going on in this country against Blacks, the labor movement and the poor. They want to stop anybody that is out to make social change."

The meeting was initiated by the Militant Forum, and was co-sponsored by Greg Hinton, a Fairmont city councilman and member of the Monongalia County Black Caucus; D.D. Meighan; Rev. Joe Jordan; Rabbi Jeffrey Foust; and the West Virginia University Black American Law Students Association.

The meeting was held in the Fairmont Hotel. Four days before it was scheduled, the hotel management contacted the Militant Forum to say the room reservation was cancelled. They claimed to have forgotten it was Good Friday and that much of their staff would not be working.

Many people called the hotel to protest the cancellation. Management backed down, but they tripled the price of the room. Supporters of the meeting donated money to pay the exorbitant price.

The forum began with a moment of silence for the children in Atlanta. Dave Ferguson, a miner from Local 2095 and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance said, "We are here tonight because we are outraged. We are especially outraged by the FBI accusation that four mothers killed their own children." Ferguson pointed out that not a single shred of evidence

has been produced to substantiate this racist charge.

"If this was happening to rich white kids," said Anita Trice, a life member of the NAACP and a member of the West Virginia Teachers Association, "it might have been one or maybe one and a half, but never twenty-three."

Socialist Workers Party leader John

Continued on page 22



MINER EDDIE WHITE

Militant/Joey Ryan

Green ribbons cover coal town

Madison, West Virginia, is a town of about 2,300 people thirty miles south of Charleston.

The green ribbon campaign in solidarity with the Black community in Atlanta is a big project in this Boone County coal mining town.

The April 15 issue of the local *Coal Valley News* features a picture and article on the front page of Madison NAACP leaders and the mayor of Madison with a box of green ribbons. The article reports that, "Both Mayor Jim Burgess of Madison and Mayor Rex Burton of Danville have proclaimed the week of April 20-25 as 'Remember the Children in Atlanta Week' in their respective towns and have signed proclamations stating that their municipalities are supporting the local group's cause."

The same issue of the newspaper prints a resolution adopted by the

Madison City Council. It says, in part: "The effort of the Madison Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to draw attention of the local citizenry to the horrifying events in Atlanta is encouraged and sanctioned. . . ."

On April 25 about 200 people gathered in Madison in a protest meeting around Atlanta.

The same day, the Ku Klux Klan met in Chapmanville, twenty miles away. Newspaper reports said that about fifty went to the Klan rally.

But the Klan's presence did not cut into the solidarity with the Black community in Atlanta.

Madison, a mostly white town, is covered with green ribbons.

The green ribbons go well with the UMWA buttons worn by the miners around Madison. White robes and burning crosses do not.