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# THE MILITANT

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

## British youth say 'enough!' to austerity, racism

PAGES 2, 5

### Steelworkers local backs socialist suit

—PAGE 9

### San Diego unionists get jail terms in frame-up

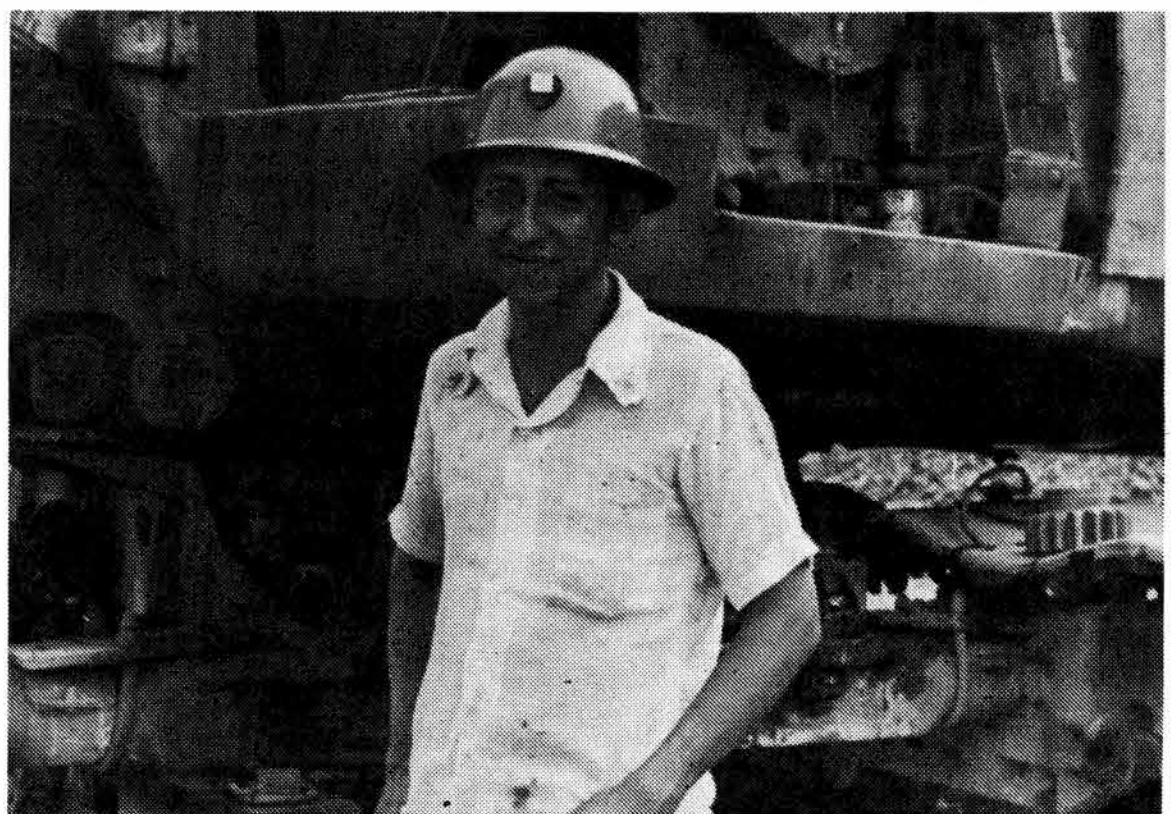
—PAGE 10

### NICARAGUA

- Two years of  
revolution
- How miners'  
lives have  
changed

—PAGE 16

—PAGE 12



Worker at Siuna gold mine

Militant/Lorraine Thiebaud



## Whose 'naked greed' in Britain?

The following is a statement issued by the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee.

As the British ruling class prepares an extravagant wedding for Prince Charles, young people have exploded in rebellion in the streets of over thirty cities.

The grim reality of life for working-class youth in Britain has been brought to the attention of the world. Unemployment is more than 11 percent—at least 3 million people are out of work. Among youth, especially Blacks and Asians, unemployment soars above 50 percent.

British workers are being driven increasingly into poverty. Unions are under attack. Slashes in social services are combined with increased military spending.

Immigrant workers from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean—the remains of the British empire—are being made the scapegoats of the capitalist crisis. Racism is increasing in housing and employment. Cops regularly harass Black and Asian youth.

And 10,000 troops are engaged in an increasingly unpopular war against the Catholic population in Northern Ireland. The world has watched as six heroic hunger strikers have been murdered.

Fed up with the criminal policies of the Tory government, inspired by rebellion in Northern Ireland, working class youth in Britain are saying "Enough!" The form of their protest and depth of their anger is reminiscent of the Miami rebellion in May 1980.

Cries of "hooliganism" and "vandals" from the British ruling class echo the condemnation of the Miami explosion.

Black and white youth in Britain are fighting back together against the hated cops and racist gangs. They have reappropriated some of the wealth that has been stolen from them.

The real vandals are the ruling class of Britain. They have robbed working people of the right to a job, youth of the right to a future.

The "Iron Lady," as British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is called, wants to use the iron fist against working people in Britain. She plans to bring the water cannons, plastic bullets, mass arrests, and kangaroo courts of Northern Ireland to bear against the youth of the cities of Britain itself.

The British Labour Party has spoken out against her repression, citing the racism and unemployment that are at the root of the youth rebellion. Leaders of the party are also calling for the withdrawal of troops from Ireland.

The U.S. government is watching the situation nervously. The same austerity policies as in

Britain are being forced on American workers. New York Gov. Hugh Carey told the New York *Daily News* the Reagan budget could spark the same kind of protests in the United States.

Margaret Thatcher says the crisis in Britain shows the "veneer of civilization is very thin." She has called the rebellion a "spree of naked greed."

It is the greed of the uncivilized capitalist class around the world that is driving down the living standards of workers, sparking the Miasis, the Brixtons, the Liverpools.

The youth of Britain and the freedom fighters in Northern Ireland deserve the fullest solidarity. Their combativity and determination to end the rule of "naked greed" is an inspiration to young people around the world.

## False friends of Polish workers

The struggle of the Polish working class has been an inspiration to the working people of this country.

Through their union Solidarity, the Polish workers have made giant strides in establishing union democracy, shortening the workweek, winning the right to strike, and increasing social benefits. They've exposed and fought bureaucratic privilege and corruption.

The basic program of Solidarity—that the working people must be masters of the economy and society—points the way forward not only in Poland but for workers in this country as well.

This is why American workers are the genuine friends and allies of the Polish workers.

But the Polish workers have some false friends as well.

In the July 10 issue of the *New York Times* an ad "supporting" the people of Poland appeared. It praised Ronald Reagan's action "on behalf" of the Polish workers and urged him to prevent a Soviet invasion of that country.

Among signers were Albert Shanker, president, American Federation of Teachers; International Longshoremen's Association; Frank Drozak, president, Seafarers International Union; David Fitzmaurice, president, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; William Wynn, president, United Food and Commercial Workers; Arch Puddington, of the League for Industrial Democracy; and Congress members Walter Fauntroy and Shirley Chisholm.

Also signing the ad were reactionary anti-labor outfits like the International Anti-Communist Alliance of Southern California; as well as Gustavo Marin, national chairman of the rightist Abdala Cuban Movement, and Rep. Larry McDonald, a member of the John Birch Society.

The ad urged that contributions be sent care

of Freedom House, which is linked to the Social Democrats USA.

Why are labor officials signing ads with enemies of the union movement like those listed in the *New York Times*? Because they share a common goal: to disguise from American workers the real meaning of the Polish workers' struggle.

Another example of this is a leaflet being circulated by the "Polish Workers Task Force," which works with the AFL-CIO and Social Democrats, USA. Under the hypocritical title, "Support the Polish workers," this leaflet tells American workers that "the Polish workers have laid bare one of the most cherished myths of Communist totalitarianism: the myth that Communism somehow speaks for workers' interests."

This lie has been echoed by U.S. trade union officials ever since the Polish workers began their struggle. American unionists have been told our Polish brothers and sisters are fighting for "free unions" like we have in the United States. For a "free economy" like we have here. "Free" for who? For the capitalists.

Far from wanting to restore capitalism, however, the Polish workers are raising demands that can only be realized within the framework of a nationalized planned economy, where the bosses have already been kicked out. The Polish workers did this more than thirty years ago. They have no intention of returning to the "free"

### Attention subscribers:

If there is a postal strike, your copy of the *'Militant'* will be at the nearest office listed on page 23.

society where private ownership and profits rule.

The AFL-CIO bureaucrats and their social-democratic advisors fear that American workers will learn the real lessons of the Polish struggle, that we too will take up the demand for working people to be the masters of the factories and society.

And they fear the victory of the Polish workers. That's why the *New York Times* ad praises Reagan, instead of blasting the economic strangulation U.S. banks are imposing on Poland right now.

The labor officials' foreign policy on Poland mirrors their policy on other international questions—like the AFL-CIO's scandalous backing for the CIA's American Institute for Free Labor Development.

American labor needs its own foreign policy, free of control by the CIA and the White House.

And we need socialism. We too must be the masters of the factories where we work, so we can help meet the needs of the world's people instead of grinding out profits for the wealthy few.

## Militant Highlights This Week

- 4 Black United Front meets Iran executions
- 7 N.Y. transit protests Reagan budget attacked
- 8 Testimony of Jack Barnes
- 10 Iran socialist fights INS
- 11 Rallies back SWP suit
- 14 Destruction of railroads
- 15 OCAW candidate speaks out
- 15 National Picket Line
- 16-20 World News & Analysis
- 22 Great Society Union Talk What's Going On
- 23 Letters If You Like This Paper ...

### What Polish workers want

• *Intercontinental Press* correspondent Ernest Harsch files another report from Poland, this one on how Szczecin workers are organizing their Solidarity union. **Page 6.**

• This week we begin printing an important document for American workers—Solidarity's draft program on how Polish society and the economy should be reorganized to meet the needs of the workers and farmers. **Page 19.**

### The Militant

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# Cuba reports U.S.-based plot to kill Castro

By Nelson González

On July 11 Radio Havana reported the capture of five U.S.-based Cuban counterrevolutionaries on a mission to assassinate Fidel Castro.

The five men were captured while trying to land on the north coast of Cuba near Matanzas.

According to Radio Havana they were part of a commando team trained in the United States carrying American-made weapons and explosives. Their mission: to infiltrate and sabotage Cuban industrial installations and to assassinate Fidel Castro.

Alpha 66, a murderous right-wing Cuban exile group based in Miami, has confirmed that they are responsible for the assassination plot.

Their general secretary, Andrés Nazario Sargen, asserted that despite the

failure of this attempt, new assassination tries would be made. "We have an alternative plan to kill Castro," he said.

He claimed that a second squad of saboteurs has infiltrated Cuba.

Alpha 66 boasts that in the past several months it has committed "dozens" of acts of sabotage and arson. They claim to have murdered one Cuban official.

Alpha 66 is one of several bands of exile thugs that have enjoyed CIA support and protection.

Another, Omega 7, in the past five years has claimed responsibility for twenty-two U.S. bombings and the murder of two Cubans in the United States.

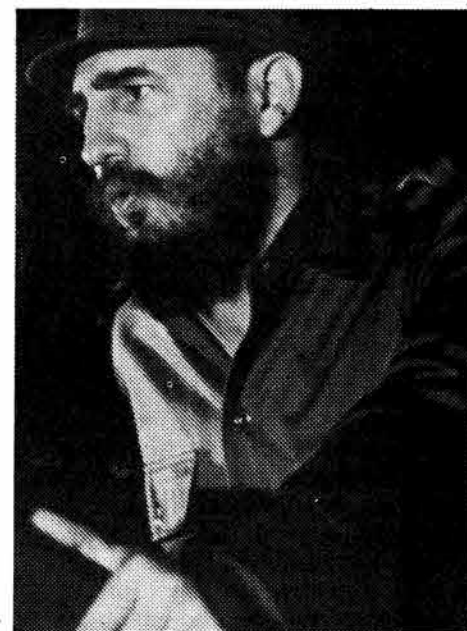
A third group, the Cuban Nationalist Movement, carried out the 1976 bombing that resulted in the death of Orlando Letelier, the former Chilean diplomat.

Reporters have gone down to the Everglades in Miami and visited terrorist training camps that have the express purpose of organizing attacks against not only Cuba but Nicaragua as well. Individuals in this country who support these revolutions are fair game as well.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig brazenly claims that these training camps are "legal" as long as they are not planning to invade a country friendly to the United States.

The activity of these groups is common knowledge to all. Yet even though these outfits are clearly breaking the law nothing is done to put them in jail where they belong.

The failure of federal authorities to act against these admitted killers exposes the fraud of their concern about combating "terrorism."



## New revelations on slaying of nuns in Salvador

By Nelson González

An article in the July 12 *Boston Globe* has revealed evidence that the Salvadoran military organized the premeditated murder of four American women missionaries last December in El Salvador. Until now, the story has been that the grisly killings were the unauthorized deed of enlisted soldiers.

The article, written by John Dinges for Pacific News Service, includes a series of interviews with Salvadoran, church, and American officials who were in El Salvador at the time of the murders.

In one such interview, Robert White, former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, revealed the existence of a radio transmission between two Salvadoran military units. The transmission indicates that the Salvadoran military was monitoring air flights and roadways in order to determine the exact time of arrival and whereabouts of Sisters Ford and Clarke. They were returning from a Maryknoll conference in Managua, Nicaragua.

The revelations appearing in the *Globe* badly shake the State Department's attempts to pass the murders off as the spontaneous violence of right-wing paramilitary gangs or the over-



Maura Clarke . . . army was waiting for her at airport.

reaction of nervous soldiers to the missionaries' alleged running of a roadblock.

According to Ambassador White, a high-ranking Christian Democrat gave him a copy of the radio transmission obtained from a military source opposed to the violence of the security forces.

The transmission recorded the conversation between two military units stationed near the airport. It contained the following sentence: "No, she didn't

arrive on that flight; we'll have to wait for the next."

On the earlier monitored flight was Sister Marie Rieckelman, a Maryknoll psychiatrist who had also attended the conference in Nicaragua. She had left Managua en route to the U.S., with a forty-minute layover in El Salvador. She reported that Salvadoran soldiers boarded her plane and questioned those on board as to their destination. They were particularly interested in who she was and where she was going.

The radio transmission was issued soon after this incident.

According to Ambassador White, the person they were after was Ita Ford, because of her work feeding and caring for the peasants of Chalatenango province.

People traveling from the airport the same evening reported that cars were stopped and searched by a military roadblock.

At 10:30 p.m. on the night the missionaries were killed, peasants from the village of Santiago Nonualco reported seeing the white Toyota bus used by Sister Kazel and Jean Donovan to pick up Ford and Clarke pass their village from the airport.

A few minutes later they heard the burst of machine gun fire, followed by

three or four separate shots.

Reports of incidents prior to December 2 indicate concerted efforts by officials of the military and the junta to prepare the groundwork for the murders.

Carlos Paredes, former deputy minister of planning now in exile, reported that several weeks before December 2 he attended a meeting at the palace where Defense Minister Guillermo Garcia accused the priests and nuns of Chalatenango of collaborating with the guerrillas.

The very night of the murders, a parish staff member was approached by an unknown man and given a list of people targeted to be killed. On it were the names of Ita Ford and Maura Clarke, as well as others.

The bodies of the four women were discovered the next day.

After a six-month investigation, Salvadoran authorities have recently reported that six soldiers have been arrested in connection with the slayings.

Asked if he thought that these soldiers would be punished, Ambassador White remarked that he's convinced nothing will be done to them for fear that they would reveal who really was involved.

## State Dept. turns down Salvadorans' asylum bid

By Steve Bride

The Reagan administration has quietly decided not to grant asylum in this country to refugees from El Salvador's ruling military junta.

Word of this comes from the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), which learned of an April 28 ruling by the State Department denying asylum to Salvadorans as a group.

According to the July issue of the *USLA Reporter*, the State Department has also begun reviewing the requests of more than 3,000 Salvadorans who had filed for political asylum as individuals.

The July 15 *Los Angeles Times* re-

ports that already 1,200 letters have been sent out to refugees by the State Department, the "vast majority" of which are rejections.

This clears the way for the Immigration and Naturalization Service to begin delivering these people back into the hands of the Salvadoran junta.

If it behaves as the world has come to expect, the junta will promptly turn many of them into corpses. "It just stands to reason," said former State Department official Millard Arnold, "some of them are going to get killed."

Arnold was referring to the more than 20,000 Salvadorans who have already been driven from this country, forced by

the INS to sign "voluntary departure" agreements or face jail terms.

Efforts to determine their fate by, among others, the *New York Times*, have been blocked by the INS, which refused to supply the addresses of deportees.

The State Department routinely turns over the names of all those who are to be deported to the Salvadoran junta.

Meanwhile, the latest victims of the junta's relentless slaughter lie in a mass grave thirty-six miles north of San Salvador. They are twenty-eight peasants—"ordinary citizens," said the July 11 *Dallas Times Herald*—murdered by pro-

government forces for no apparent reason.

Their names—if and when they are learned—will be added to the list of 26,000 others that human rights and religious groups estimate have been killed in the last year and a half.

The toll has moved even the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to declare that Salvadorans who left after January 1980 have a "well-founded fear of persecution" if they are returned.

Washington, however, remains unphased by such warnings.

"Most people who are not directly in-

*Continued on page 7*

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# Nat'l Black United Front holds convention

By Kara Obradović

BROOKLYN, N.Y.—The National Black United Front (NBUF) got down to serious business at its second convention here, July 2 through 5.

About 700 people registered from sixteen chapters, sixteen organizing committees, and affiliated individuals from thirty-five cities.

NBUF was formed as a national organization in June 1980. Its activists include veterans of the civil rights struggles of the 1960s, and the new generation of militants involved in struggles for equality, against racism, and in solidarity with revolutionary movements around the world. Members are church activists, community organizers, nationalists, socialists, and Democrats.

Literature tables were set up at the convention by groups including the African People's Socialist Party, *Guardian* newspaper, Revolutionary Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

The convention opened with greetings from the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM). Both groups lauded NBUF's role in bringing young Blacks to the May 3 antiwar demonstration in Washington.

Plans were discussed at the convention for holding actions across the country to protest racist violence. These actions are scheduled for October 3 of this year and April 3 next year.

The NBUF convention ratified the constitution that had been discussed at local levels. The convention's general assembly deliberations included a decision to strive for 50 percent women in NBUF leadership positions.

Workshops met through the weekend and brought resolutions into the general assembly. Topics included international issues, concerns of Black women, police brutality, students and youth, labor, and the antidraft movement.

The NBUF convention had an internationalist character. National Chairman Rev. Herbert Daughtry had just returned from the Organization of African Unity Conference in Nairobi, Kenya. Representatives of the Pan African Congress of Azania (South Africa) and other international groups were present.



NBUF leader Rev. Herbert Daughtry addressing May picket line in defense of Grenada. Convention emphasized solidarity with revolutions in Caribbean, with South Africa struggle, and other liberation fights.

The convention decided to launch an educational campaign to expose U.S. support to the apartheid regime in South Africa. A boycott against companies investing in South Africa was also discussed. These activities will be a priority for NBUF in the coming months.

Telegrams were also solicited to protest the U.S. government's deportation threats against noted South African poet Dennis Brutus.

NBUF international affairs director

Adeyami Bandela called for a stepped-up campaign to stop Reagan's destabilization effort against Grenada. He urged chapters to emulate the work of the New York BUF in the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society.

Another way NBUF is carrying solidarity with the Caribbean forward is with a work-tour in August to Grenada and also Trinidad and Tobago.

Participants at the convention expressed support for the Cuban revolu-

tion and for the fighting people of El Salvador.

There was a wide-ranging discussion on the needs of women in the women's workshop. Participants touched on the need to respond to cutbacks in education, social services, and affirmative action.

The workshop proposed that NBUF express support for the mothers of murdered Black youth in Atlanta. It also proposed that NBUF support abortion rights and oppose forced sterilization.

The workshop on electoral politics reflected NBUF's tactical approach to the electoral arena. Most workshop participants focused on reasons for Blacks to back candidates who can win elections. They maintained that Black interest groups or factions should be formed within the Democratic Party.

But this defeats the purpose of forming independent fighting organizations like NBUF itself.

Many Blacks have learned the hard truth about Democrats who sell us out as soon as the polls close, whatever they promise during the election campaign. What is on the agenda today is to find ways to break free of the bosses' political control. And free of their parties.

These questions are part of a continuing discussion within NBUF. They run parallel to the debate in the Black movement as a whole and in the labor movement.

A step forward was the decision of NBUF members to work with the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). A meeting between the leaders of both organizations is expected after the NBIPP congress this August.

The NBUF convention and its discussions reflect the new leadership coming to the fore in the Black community. It is an activist and an internationalist organization.

The constitution that was adopted states that NBUF, "resolves . . . to struggle to eliminate racism (including Zionism and apartheid), sexism . . . to build a politically conscious, unified, committed, and effective Black mass movement; and to build unity and common struggle with oppressed peoples in the United States and throughout the world."

# Iran executions: gov't tries to intimidate workers

By Janice Lynn

Since the June 28 bombing of the Tehran headquarters of the Islamic Republican Party (IRP), there have been more than 150 executions and 1,000 arrests in Iran.

Bombing of the IRP headquarters was an action that only served to strengthen the hand of U.S. imperialism against the Iranian revolution. But the capitalist government in Iran has seized on this attack to attempt to intimidate and weaken the Iranian working class and hold back its independent mobilization.

Those executed have primarily been young men and women belonging to leftist groups like the Mujahedeen, Fedayeen (minority), and Peykar.

Among those arrested are two anti-imperialist activists who are members of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE)—one of three groups in Iran affiliated with the Fourth International.

The two women—Faranak Zahraie and Monavar Shir Ali—were arrested July 4 at their jobs at the Ray-O-Vac battery factory. They are currently in Evin Prison, where their lives are in danger. Many of the executions have been carried out in this prison.

Iranian socialists have informed *Intercontinental Press* that a dangerous frame-up campaign is under way to link Zahraie and Shir Ali with the Maoist Peykar group. A false dossier has been produced in the Islamic Revolutionary

Court that accuses them of being members of Peykar.

On July 5, a reporter for the HKE newspaper *Kargar* attended a press conference at Evin Prison held by Tehran's Revolutionary Prosecutor General Asadollah Lajverdi. The *Kargar* reporter asked Lajverdi why, in the context of imperialism's stepped-up campaign of terror against the Iranian revolution, have two staunch anti-imperialist fighters been arrested? The two women have played an important part in the military mobilizations in their factory against the Iraqi invasion, and in anti-imperialist struggles.

Lajverdi's response was that all Marxists are enemies of the Islamic revolution.

When asked what the charges were against the two women, Lajverdi replied that the charges would be revealed when they have been proven.

Initially, it had been learned that the two women were being charged with starting a strike in the Ray-O-Vac factory. But the HKE immediately issued a leaflet refuting these charges.

The HKE leaflet declared there had never been a strike at Ray-O-Vac; the two socialists had never proposed that there be a strike; and there had never even been a discussion of any strike.

Lajverdi did not mention the strike charges in his press conference. The portion of the press conference concerning

the two socialists' arrest was reported in the Tehran daily *Kayhan*.

HKE members and supporters have launched a vigorous defense campaign, distributing leaflets daily to various workers' meetings.

Socialists report that the day the two women were arrested and on July 5, the following day, hundreds of other workers were also arrested in factories throughout Iran. Many were members of the Mujahedeen and Peykar. Others were workers charged with being *monafeqin* (hypocrites), accused of insulting a clergy member in some conversation.

Many of these workers have since been released, although some are not being allowed to go back to their jobs. In factories where the workers organizations were strong, arrests were minimal. In other factories, workers organizations came under strong pressure from management and government ministries to cooperate in the arrests of leftists.

While the arrests and executions have had an intimidating effect, and created a certain amount of confusion among layers of the population, there is still strong opposition to the government's repressive measures.

The HKE has also come under attack by right-wing gangs. In Isfahan and Tehran, HKE offices were ransacked and socialists injured. On July 8, Hamid Shahrabi, an HKE leader in Isfahan,

was kidnapped and interrogated for eight hours by four of the gang members who had earlier attacked the HKE offices. Shahrabi was badly beaten and finally dropped off in the street.

Meanwhile, elections for forty-six vacant parliament seats and the presidency are scheduled for July 24. More than seventy people have filed as candidates for president. The candidates must be screened by the Council of Guardians before all the names can be made public.

In a significant step, the HKE and the Workers Unity Party (HVK) are running a joint election campaign.

The HKE and HVK have announced that they are running HKE leader Babak Zahraie for president; HVK leader Mahmoud Sayrafiezadeh for parliament from Tehran; Rezvan Rooshenas, a woman textile worker, for another Tehran parliament seat; and Khosrow Movahed, a fired employee of the Isfahan Oil Refinery, for an Isfahan parliament seat.

The joint election campaign platform calls for anti-imperialist mobilizations to counter imperialist threats; unity of all workers in the fight against the Iraqi invasion and imperialism; and for an immediate halt to the executions.

It also raises proposals for reorganizing and reconstructing the economy in the interests of the Iranian workers and peasants.

From Intercontinental Press



# Black and white youth rebel in Britain

By Janice Lynn

Youth rebellions have swept through more than thirty cities and towns in Britain.

Black, white, and Asian youth have joined together in driving back the police, who have long harassed them all.

Staggering levels of unemployment, widespread poverty, rotten housing, police brutality, and racial discrimination is what these young people face, day in and day out.

They are fed up.

The first rebellion flared in the Southall area of London on July 4. Pakistani, Indian, and other Asian youth poured out to protest an organized assault on their community the night before by several hundred fascist youth. Busloads of these white toughs had arrived for a rock performance. As police stood by, the fascists proceeded to assault people and attack Asian shops and shopkeepers.

The next day, the Toxteth section of Liverpool was the scene of hundreds of Black and white youth fighting shoulder-to-shoulder against police attacks.

The rebellion quickly spread to other areas of Britain. In the textile city of Manchester, where unemployment has reached record levels, more than 1,000 Black and white youth battled together against the police.

In London, rebellions flared in more than a dozen neighborhoods. In the largely Black district of Brixton, were rebellions protesting police harassment had broken out last April, some 400 predominantly West Indian youth protested the arrest July 10 of a local resident.

By July 12, youth rebellions had erupted in the major industrial cities of Birmingham, Sheffield, Nottingham, Preston, Wolverhampton, Hull, and Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, as well as in smaller towns such as Maidstone, Cirencester, and Knavesborough.

The Nottingham chief constable declared, "It was not racial violence. Both Black and white youths were making an attack on the police and authorities."

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had repeatedly insisted that unemployment—which has reached a



post war record of 11 percent of the workforce—was not a cause of the rebellions. Some 3 million people are out of work. In many areas where rebellions broke out, the unemployment rate is 50 percent, and climbs even higher among Black youth.

An indication of the enormous pressure on Thatcher was the July 12 announcement that her government would propose a special youth employment plan among other measures in response to the rebellions. Such a plan—even the kind of phony one that the Tories are sure to propose—goes against the whole course of Thatcher's economic policy.

But the Tory government's basic response has been repression. It has urged better protective gear for the police and "riot act" legislation that would make it a crime to be in the vicinity of a disturbance.

Thatcher condemned what she called "terrorism and criminal looting and thuggery," and her aides have called for the setting up of special courts to try the thousands of young people who have been arrested so far.

In addition, the British government has severely restricted democratic rights—banning demonstrations for one month while at the same time promis-

ing new measures to strengthen the police.

Home Secretary William Whitelaw said he would not rule out the use of troops and said he had no objections to the use of water cannon.

In contrast, Labour Party members have placed the blame for the rebellions on the Tory government and its savage economic policies.

Labour Party leader Michael Foot told a mine workers convention July 11 that behind the rebellions was "the return to mass unemployment and particularly unemployment for young people, on a scale that most of us believed had been banished from our country forever."

The Trades Union Congress (TUC), Britain's national labor federation, called for an immediate \$1 billion program to create new jobs, build and renovate homes, and widen educational opportunities.

In a stormy parliament session July 9, Labour member of Parliament Bob Brown from northeast Britain—which is hardest hit by unemployment and Thatcher's economic policies—accused the prime minister of "ripping away the fabric of our society." He told Thatcher she was seen as the biggest vandal in

the country whose government was "mugging the taxpayer."

Conservative government officials and big business newspapers tried to place responsibility for the rebellions everywhere but on Thatcher's economic policies. They blamed "outside agitators." They suggested that Trotskyists or even the Irish Republican Army were responsible. And they blamed the influx of immigrants from the West Indies, Africa, and Asian countries. Some of these racists spoke about "genetic inheritance" or "feelings of criminal hooliganism."

Former Labour cabinet member Shirley Williams, who led a right-wing split-off from the Labour Party in March, joined in the chorus. She charged that radical leftists who have "climbed into the Labour Party" could be linked to the urban rebellions.

The outbreak of these rebellions is part of the fightback against Thatcher's austerity offensive. These youth rebellions spotlight the bankruptcy of Thatcher's Tory government—its callous disregard for the economic problems facing working people and especially youth, its cold-blooded insistence that they pay for the capitalist crisis, and its racism.

It has been the government's various racist measures—including laws to keep Blacks and Asians out of Britain—that have encouraged right-wing, fascist attacks.

Faced with this rising opposition among youth, along with the rising opposition among labor—reflected in the turnout of some 150,000 people May 31 to protest unemployment and welcome the month-long People's March for Jobs—the future of Thatcher's Tory government is not bright.

Added to this is the international isolation of the Thatcher government over its criminal policies regarding the hunger strikers in Northern Ireland and its military occupation there.

British youth—Black, Asian, and white—have joined the fighters for self-determination in Ireland in dealing a body blow to the Thatcher government.

From Intercontinental Press

## Issues in Canadian postal workers' strike

The following article is taken from the July 13 issue of 'Socialist Voice,' a sister publication of the 'Militant' published in Montreal.

By Robert Simms

MONTREAL—The federal government's arrogant rejection of its own Conciliation Board's report forced 23,000 members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) out on strike June 30.

The Trudeau government is once again out to break the postal workers union. A very long and costly strike or back-to-work legislation are clear dangers.

The stakes in this strike are high. At a time when the government is trying to lower our living standards, CUPW is out for real contract gains. The union's principled stand for paid maternity leaves and other benefits is in the interests of all working women.

Postal workers are not backing down. Reports indicate that this is the most solid strike they have ever waged. Strike votes were the highest in CUPW's history, up to 90 percent in Montreal.

What the postal workers need now is concrete, visible solidarity from the entire labor movement.

### Contract demands

Conciliation Board Chairman Pierre Jasmin agreed with CUPW's arguments on several key contract demands:

- Paid maternity leave. Forty percent of CUPW's membership is women. In the post office, a woman on maternity leave now receives no benefits what-

soever for the first two weeks, then unemployment benefits for fifteen weeks, and no benefits for the remainder of the twenty-two-week leave that is allowed. This means a woman takes a 50 percent wage cut to have a child—a loss of \$4,600.

CUPW says women "must not be financially penalized because they are the ones in our society who bear children."

Jasmin agreed. He called maternity leave a right, not a privilege.

- A twelfth paid statutory holiday and four weeks vacation after five years instead of the present two.

Because of the rotten working conditions in the post offices and resulting high turnover, 60 percent of CUPW's members receive only the minimum vacation. CUPW, which won a 37½ hour workweek last year, is a consistent fighter for shorter work time.

- Important health and safety improvements. More than 3,800 accidents hit CUPW members last year, involving 20 percent of the CUPW membership. Nine members received some form of permanent disability. The post office is the most dangerous government installation to work in.

Jasmin would give postal workers the right to refuse unsafe work. A union spokesperson called this "vastly superior" to the provisions of the Canada Labor Code. Jasmin also called for permanent devices to monitor noise, temperature, carbon monoxide, dust, and lighting—another union demand.

### Gov't surveillance

- A moratorium on further installation

of Closed Circuit TV surveillance of CUPW workers. Union members consider this practice an outrage. Jasmin agreed, saying the government's evidence for its need "is certainly not convincing."

A moratorium would make it easier for CUPW to demand the removal of the TV surveillance system in the Toronto plant where it has already been installed.

CUPW President Jean-Claude Parrot welcomed the report as a minimum basis for negotiations. At the same time, the union is pursuing demands for a higher wage offer than that contained in the Conciliator's report and full cost of living protection, since the current formula cannot keep up with sky-rocketing inflation. The union also wants an end to contracting-out work and preretirement leave.

## U.S. postal contract to expire

As we go to press, contract negotiations continue between the U.S. Postal Service and representatives of the postal unions. The Postal Service is still stalling on union demands.

The present contract for the nation's 600,000 postal workers expires at 12:01 a.m. Tuesday, July 21.

Expiration of the contract could mean a strike, only the second in the unions' history.

Leaders of the American Postal Workers Union and the National Association of Letter Carriers—which together represent 500,000 workers—have called an emergency leader-

The battle lines in the strike are drawn. As Marcel Perreault, president of CUPW's Montreal local, told *Socialist Voice*, in rejecting the Conciliator's report "the government is operating with strong-arm tactics" just like those it is using to force through its plan for a new constitution.

The Chamber of Commerce, the Conservative Party, and big-business newspapers are already calling for back-to-work legislation.

The Canadian Labour Congress, and the New Democratic Party [NDP—Canada's labor party], on the other hand, have given welcomed support to the CUPW. But the stakes are high, and much more must be done.

Defend the postal workers!

ship conference for July 24 in Washington, D.C. The conference will consist of all national and local officials of the unions.

In interviews with the *Militant* during June 25 "Solidarity Day" pickets, postal workers indicated what they thought were the major issues in dispute. These included speed-up, mandatory overtime, and hazardous working conditions that have cost three lives and hundreds of injuries in the last year and a half.

The unions are also demanding an annual 5 percent pay increase for three years and an increase in their cost-of-living clause.



# Polish workers: 'Join and build Solidarity'

By Ernest Harsch

SZCZECIN—"To ensure a better future join and build Solidarity." That is the message that is being conveyed to the people of this port city by Poland's independent union movement.

There can be no mistaking the vitality, strength, and influence of Solidarity among Szczecin's more than 400,000 people. The Solidarity logo is everywhere. It can be seen on the lapels of people walking on the streets or working in offices and shops. It is displayed in the windows of clothing stores, hotels, and restaurants. Solidarity posters abound throughout the center of Szczecin, especially one that portrays workers standing abreast, arms locked in unity.

On the street leading to the Warski shipyard, the largest in the city, one is first confronted with several large, multicolored billboards put up by the authorities to praise the accomplishments of the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), the Communist Party.

But the workers have the final say. Just outside the gate, with the huge shipyard cranes towering in the background, stands a series of black-and-white photo enlargements showing scenes from the August 1980 sitdown strike at Warski.

The organizational center of Solidarity in Szczecin is on Malopolska Street, in the downtown area. Housed in the building of the former official trade union, right next to the main police station, it is a hub of activity.

People are constantly coming and going. Lines form to buy *Jednosc* (Unity), Solidarity's local weekly newspaper. Workers walk in off the street, sometimes with their families, to seek help for specific problems.

Unlike in the days of the old government-controlled union, there is no barrier of receptionists to prevent workers from speaking directly to top union officials. They can now walk straight into the offices of members of the regional executive committee.

## Working-class militancy

Just as in Gdansk, Poland's other major port city, Solidarity is rooted in a long history of militancy among the working people of Szczecin.

It was in the Warski shipyard in January 1971, following the police massacre of hundreds of striking workers in Gdansk and Szczecin the month before, that the first major sitdown strike in the history of the Polish People's Republic was organized. This served as a model for the strikes of last August.

During the August 1980 strike wave, Szczecin again moved to the fore, taking second place only to the powerful example set by the Gdansk workers.

After the workers of Warski occupied their shipyard on August 18, the rest of the city followed. By the end of the month, the workers of hundreds of factories in the Szczecin area were represented on a democratically elected Inter-Factory Strike Committee (MKS).

Although the workers of Szczecin had little initial contact with the Gdansk strikers (the authorities had cut communications), they formulated a list of demands that was remarkably similar, including recognition of their right to form an independent union free of government and party control.

After the government agreed in late August to most of the strikers' demands, the MKS in Szczecin was transformed into a regional body of Solidarity, known as the Inter-Factory Workers Committee (MKR).

Against continual resistance and provocation from the government and party bureaucracy, Solidarity succeeded in building a powerful union structure in Szczecin. One of its most important instruments was *Jednosc*, Solidarity's first public weekly newspaper. (Even today, the only other one is the national *Tygodnik Solidarnosc*, printed in Warsaw).



To counter the distortions and slanders in the official press, the unionists of Szczecin fought to make *Jednosc* into a mass newspaper. They succeeded. By the beginning of the year, the press run had reached 100,000.

## Union elections

As elsewhere in the country, Solidarity in Szczecin organized new elections to union leadership positions with the aim of strengthening the union's organizational capabilities.

The initial leadership had come out of the strike committee. While many were fully capable of leading the union in its day-to-day tasks, others proved to be better public speakers than organizers.

The June 5-7 elections in Szczecin, for which posters were put up all over the city, provided the union members with an opportunity to choose their representatives on the basis of greater familiarity with their abilities. While some of the top leaders of the union were reelected, including Marian Jurczyk and Stanislaw Wadowolski, about half of the eleven-member presidium is new.

At the same time, the MKR transformed itself into a regional arm of national Solidarity.

Following the elections, the local Solidarity leadership began planning organized discussions of Solidarity's draft program. That program, around which there have already been informal discussions for many weeks, presents the union's basic proposals for economic, social, and political change in the country to help pull Poland out of its deep crisis. (For part one of the text of the draft program, see page 19.)

## Economic crisis

The effects of the crisis are very evident. Hours before the stores open in the morning, people form long lines outside

in hope of buying meat, cigarettes, butter, and other scarce items. In many stores, shelf after shelf stands empty. The prices of cars, appliances, and many other imported or locally manufactured products are beyond the means of many ordinary workers.

Although Szczecin has more gasoline than many other parts of the country, the shortages are a problem even here. One construction worker told me that many truck drivers in his industry are unable to work because of gasoline shortages.

Such disruption of the construction industry can only contribute to the country's already severe housing shortage.

Although the coming agricultural year is expected to be better than the last, working farmers still face many difficulties. According to one member of Rural Solidarity, the private farmers' union, the prices he will get for his chickens will increase as of July 1. But so will his costs for feed and baby chicks.

## Political pressures

The problems facing working people in Szczecin are not just economic. They are also political.

The authorities, who claim to speak in the name of the workers, are still trying to prevent the workers from exercising their rights. *Jednosc* is engaged in a constant battle with censors. Efforts by workers to exercise greater control over their factories are meeting with considerable resistance.

According to Mieczyslaw Ustasiak, a member of the MKR executive committee, "the Party and the regional authorities are more rigid now than they were before" in their relations with Solidarity.

Ustasiak attributed this stance to the "international situation, especially as a

result of our relations with the Eastern countries." He believed that the threatening letter sent in early June by the Soviet leadership to the Central Committee of the PUWP was "the reason for the stiffer position of the authorities."

Ustasiak explained: "On the whole, our union is on the defensive, not on the attack. This is a result of the letter and the greater pressure by the Soviet Union on our country. The danger of the Soviet army coming into our country is real. We know that. And that would be the end of everything. So we have the idea that it would be better to be on the defensive than to attack and lose everything. I hope that soon the situation will change and we will be able to again go on the offensive. But for now, that is impossible."

This does not mean, however, that Solidarity is remaining passive. It is taking on the censors and responding to the slanderous attacks of top party officials. It is prepared to counter any provocative actions the bureaucrats may try to take.

## Strengthening ranks

Above all, Solidarity is continuing to organize and strengthen its own ranks in order to be in the best position possible to defend its members and move ahead.

At the Warski shipyard, as in some other large workplaces around the country, workers have set up the Workers Self-Management Organizing Committee (KZSR). The task of the KZSR is to lay the groundwork for the establishment of democratically elected bodies of workers to manage the shipyard; make key economic, financial, and production decisions; and choose a director.

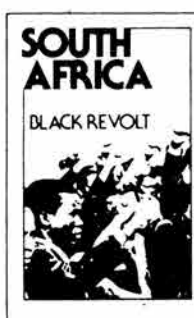
This is the kind of initiatives that the PUWP and its administrative apparatus have been particularly firm in resisting. But Solidarity does have some allies within the party itself, especially among the rank and file, who are demanding internal party democracy and new pro-worker policies.

"All people in Poland know that Solidarity is the guarantee of renewal," Ustasiak said. "But we don't take up an official war with the party. The party isn't a monolith. In the party there are groups that I think are on the same side as us. So we can't fight against the whole Communist Party, only against that group of people which also talks about renewal but which does nothing but strike out at renewal."

And there can be little doubt that the people of Szczecin stand solidly behind Solidarity in that fight.

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# NY transit workers blast murderous job conditions

By Art Jackson

NEW YORK—About 250 angry transit workers held a noon picket line in front of the Transit Authority (TA) offices in Brooklyn July 9. It was called by Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) to protest the deaths of a Black motorman, Jesse Cole, and of track specialist Al Lambreti.

Cole died in a collision on the IRT#2 line July 3, caused by a failure of the signal system. More than 100 passengers were also injured.

Lambreti was killed July 2 when he was struck by a train while working on the tracks of the IRT Longwood stop.

The union was also protesting the public statements made by TA president John Simpson blaming the July 3 collision on Cole. The picket was one of several protests held by TWU members over a two-day period.

On July 8, 500 TWU members attended funeral services for Cole. At the funeral, many of his fellow workers carried signs protesting the unsafe conditions that led to his death.

When interviewed by the press outside the funeral home, worker after worker denounced the TA for covering up the hazardous conditions and for making the dead man a scapegoat. When Simpson showed up at the funeral home, he was roundly booed.

At the 207th Street Maintenance Shop, the Coney Island Maintenance Shop, and at some of the inspection barns in the Cars and Shops Division, hundreds of workers left their jobs on the day of Cole's funeral and briefly rallied to pay their respects to their union brothers.

The mood of the pickets at TA headquarters was bitter. Workers chanted, "Simpson must go" and carried signs that said, "Workers run the trains and buses, workers can run the system."

In a press interview after the picket, John Lawe, president of TWU Local 100, called on Simpson to resign and promised he would get "no cooperation" from the union for his slanderous behavior.

The July 3 collision has brought into sharp focus the rapid deterioration of the transit system. It is at the point where it is a daily safety hazard for both commuters and workers.

Cole's death is a case in point. He was trapped in the motorman's cab for four hours, bleeding to death, before rescue workers got him out. As Cole was dying, Simpson was on the air blaming him for the accident. Simpson used the same approach in Lambreti's case.

A close examination of the facts reveals a different story. The signal system that failed was installed in 1918. The system should have been replaced a number of years ago with a more modern one equipped with an automatic brake trip feature that would have prevented the accident. The TA refused to lay out the money to do so.

Without any evidence, Simpson charged that Cole ran through several signal lights that were out, violating the TA's rule during such a situation. However, media reports indicate that the signal lights in this particular stretch had been out for three hours before the accident and that repairmen had been working on them before and during Cole's run. It is possible that they could have been green when he went by them.

Cole's co-workers say that he was a very responsible worker with ten years of service. "To last ten years as a motorman with the TA you have to be good—or lucky," said another motorman at his funeral.

They pointed out that motormen are under tremendous pressures to meet the TA's schedule at any cost. If they take common sense precautions, they risk disciplinary action for falling behind schedule. If they rush and get into an accident, they can be disciplined if they survive.

Since Cole's death, many motormen have been running slower in the interests of safety. In discussions on the job, it has been reported that motormen intend to "go by the book" and resist any pressure from TA authorities to cut corners and take risks to stay on schedule.

Transit workers are fed up with being automatically blamed for every accident that occurs.

Given Simpson's conduct, transit workers feel that any investigation will be a cover-up and a fraud. The demand for an investigation by the union, or by an independent board that represents the union and the riding public, is gaining support among TWU members.

## ...Salvadoran refugees

Continued from page 3

involved with one side or another," said State Department official John Blacken, "don't have a well-founded fear."

The decision not to grant asylum to Salvadorans as a group, in effect, denies that they are fleeing a war. The "extended voluntary departure" status that recognition of this fact would confer has previously been granted to Nicaraguans under the Somoza regime, and to people from Laos, Kampuchea, Iran, and Ethiopia.

"It is far from clear," Phil Chicola of the State Department told USLA, "that the presence of Salvadorans in the U.S. is due to civil disturbance." They're here, he said, "due to economic hardship."

"In Nicaragua we had aerial attacks by the air force in the city, open warfare. Most people in El Salvador go to work, go shopping, and go to the beach on weekends."

They are, in other words, "ordinary citizens" of the sort that now lie buried somewhere north of San Salvador.

Another such "ordinary citizen" is Tulio Mendoza: for fifteen years a teacher in El Salvador. His only crime was to join a teachers union.

Last December, Tulio Mendoza was placed on a government death squad hit list and fled El Salvador. He is now in this country fighting efforts to deport him.

As well as any other, Mendoza's case offers a genuine explanation for the April 28 decision.

For Washington to grant asylum to Mendoza and other Salvadorans would be to admit these people are indeed fleeing something. It would be to admit they are the victims of Washington's policy of support to a government that is at war with an entire people.

Labor, antiwar organizations—the majority of Americans who oppose U.S. policy in El Salvador—should therefore oppose this attempt to add to the casualties of that policy.

Protests demanding a halt to the deportation of Salvadorans can be sent to: —Alexander Haig, Secretary of State, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

—Dorothy Meissner, Acting Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536.

Copies of all messages should be sent to USLA, 200 Park Avenue South, Suite 812, New York, N.Y. 10003.

# Reagan budget cuts draw fire across U.S.

## Handicapped lead Chicago march of 5,000

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—Led by a contingent of handicapped people, nearly 5,000 people protested Ronald Reagan's budget cuts when the president appeared here July 7 for a \$250-a-plate dinner.

The march and rally were sponsored by the Illinois Coalition Against Reagan Economics (ICARE). Demonstrators included groups of welfare mothers, jobless youth, senior citizens, and neighborhood service organizations.

Thousands chanted a slogan that seemed to unite everyone: "Money for jobs, not for war! U.S. out of El Salvador!" Groups of Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, and Guatemalans led the shouts, along with activists in the People's Antiwar Mobilization and other antiwar groups.

Hundreds of women marched in a contingent organized by the Illinois National Organization for Women to demand passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Labor contingents included the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Coalition of Labor Union Women; International Association of Machinists; United Electrical Workers; American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; and United Food and Commercial Workers.

Among the many speakers who addressed the rally was national AFL-CIO Vice-president Ken Blaylock, the president of the American Federation of Government Employees.

Blasting Reagan's spending for the military, Blaylock asked, "What are we defending?" When he answered "poverty, hunger, no housing and no employment," the crowd roared.

The people of the United States, Blaylock said to louder cheers, have nothing to fear from "the freedom fighters in El Salvador."



Militant/Jon Hillson

## Operation PUSH to back Sept. 19 march

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—Rev. Jesse Jackson told reporters at the annual convention of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) here July 7 that the organization will join with labor and civil

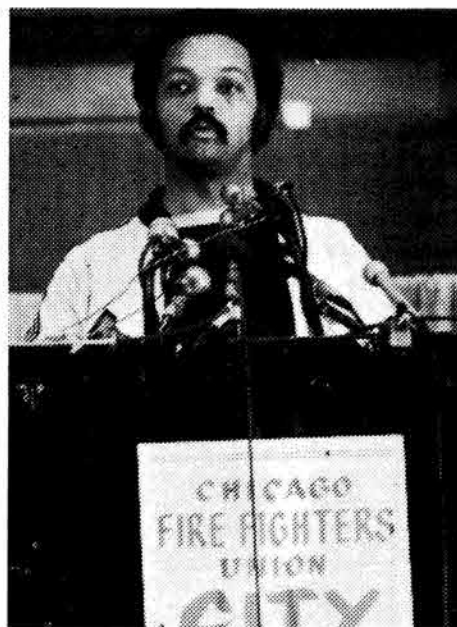
rights groups in the march on Washington, Saturday, September 19, called by the AFL-CIO to demand "jobs and justice."

"The first thing that Black, Brown, poor, and concerned Americans must do" to fight Reagan's budget slashes, Jackson said, "is to get the president's attention with their marching feet."

He called on opponents of the cutbacks to protest Reagan's presence wherever the president travels. "We urge persons all across the nation to greet him wherever he goes with the drama and education inherent in direct action," Jackson said.

Along with backing the AFL-CIO march on Washington, Jackson announced a PUSH program of economic boycotts against corporations that refuse to contribute "back to our community what they have taken out" of it in consumer dollars; a voter registration campaign; and a drive to secure renewal of the Voting Rights Act.

Several hundred delegates from around the country attended the PUSH convention, which celebrated the tenth anniversary of the organization.



REV. JESSE JACKSON

## Atlantans set 'trial' for Reagan visit

By Chris Hoeppe

ATLANTA—A "Protest of Reagan's Policies of Cutbacks, Racism, and War" will be held here Wednesday, July 29. Sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the American Federation of Government Employees, the protest will be held at 11 a.m. at the Hilton Hotel, where Reagan will be speaking.

At the rally will be a mock trial of Reagan's economic cutback policies. Representatives of labor, Blacks, and women will testify on how these policies affect them. Joseph Lowery, president of

the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, will preside over the trial.

Meetings to plan the action have sparked broad interest and support. Other sponsors now include the People's Anti-War Mobilization, Atlanta Coalition Against Registration and the Draft, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, Workers World Party, and Citizens Party.

The July 29 protest will build support for the September 19 "Solidarity Day" budget protest in Washington, D.C., called by the AFL-CIO.



# How Marxists view U.S. Constitution

## Jack Barnes on fight for socialism and democracy

The following excerpts of testimony by Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes concluded almost three months of testimony in the trial of a suit brought by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance against the U.S. government.

First filed in 1973, the suit asks an end to government spying and harassment by the FBI, CIA, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other federal agencies. It also asks \$40 million in damages.

Government justification for its actions rests in part on the claim that the U.S. Constitution grants the president broad powers to violate the rights of those he deems a threat to the republican form of government.

In the excerpts printed below, Barnes explains what socialists think about the Constitution and republican form of government.

He also takes up the question of democracy in Nicaragua, Cuba, and Grenada, as well as the Russian revolution of 1917.

Prior to Barnes taking the stand, Stephen Cohen, professor at Princeton University, had testified. He supported earlier testimony by socialists that the Russian revolution was a mass-based democratic movement.

Judge Thomas Griesa will hear written and oral argument in coming months. His decision is expected late this year or early the next. Any appeals of the ruling will follow.

Examining Barnes was Margaret Winter, chief counsel for the SWP and YSA.

**Margaret Winter:** Mr. Barnes, I hand you the copies of the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence.

**Does the Socialist Workers Party believe that their ideas are consistent with the philosophy underlying the United States Constitution?**

**Jack Barnes:** Yes, in the sense that a republican form of government—in the sense of a rule of law, which has elected officials that govern—is the only possible basis for socialist democracy, for the extension of democracy, as counterposed to any authoritarian and totalitarian mode of functioning.

That philosophy is similar to the philosophy of those who held that in the writing of the Constitution.

I leave aside the complexities. There were big differences among the framers of the Constitution.

I am especially saying yes in the sense of taking the Constitution as amended with the Bill of Rights, with the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments, the amendments on the franchise, on the poll tax and so forth, all of which substantially in our opinion democratize the Constitution. Some took mighty struggles. Three took a civil war of the most horrible kind to accomplish.

Without an extension of those conquests all talk about socialism is a mockery; and one would be a fool to trade in whatever democratic rights one has for promises to get rid of them for some other end.

But the answer has to also be no in this sense. The Constitution was written with the philosophy which did not see a contradiction between the republican forms and checks and balances of the Constitution and chattel slavery for millions of human beings; for property requirements for the electorate; for the lack of franchise for more than half the population, the female half, until the 20th Century; for no rights for the original native residents of the continent; the original absence of the Bill of Rights itself; the absence of even direct elec-

tions of senators; and a number of things like that.

### Workers & farmers republic

But to that degree the philosophy is in contradiction, completely with the philosophy of Marxism, which would define a workers and farmers republic, our concept of democracy, as being combined in a constitution which would be in contradiction to chattel slavery, property requirements, restriction of franchise for any reason of sex or age or anything like that. It would also include the fact that the prerogatives of the largest property owners, the largest productive property owners, the owners of the big mines, mills and factories would be subordinate to the development and extension of the democratic rights of the great majority of the citizenry.

In some ways maybe the Civil War is not the best example of this—the blood that was necessary to eliminate chattel slavery and get the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments. But the fact that it took until 1964 to get the poll tax to be unconstitutional and 1965 to, by law, guarantee the franchise without any restrictions because of anything to do with color to the adult citizens of the American South—

**Judge Griesa:** Look, I respect those views, you know. I mean we

Does this book set forth the Socialist Workers Party's views on the relationship of democracy, the Constitution, and socialism?

**Barnes:** Yes. In view of the questions of the Court on this topic the last week, I tried to find a single book that was written and printed well before the litigation which captured the views of the Socialist Workers Party on the question of the republican form of government, democracy, the Constitution and how the fight in defense of democracy connects with the fight for socialism.

This is the single book that collects the views of the SWP on these questions, buttressed by our views on the rise of democracy going back to the first known examples I think in the rise of the republican form of government.

**Winter:** We could offer [this book as evidence], your Honor.

**Judge Griesa:** Received.

### Russian revolution

**Winter:** Mr. Barnes, does the Socialist Workers Party consider the Russian revolution to be a model to be followed in the United States?

**Barnes:** No, not in a concrete sense of an overthrow of czarism and the mass of

the direction of creating the kind of democratic society that the Socialist Workers Party believes in?

**Barnes:** Well, the greatest progress since the Soviet government tried to start down that road in 1917, we believe, has been made in Central America and the Caribbean—Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua.

I would like to simply give two examples if I could.

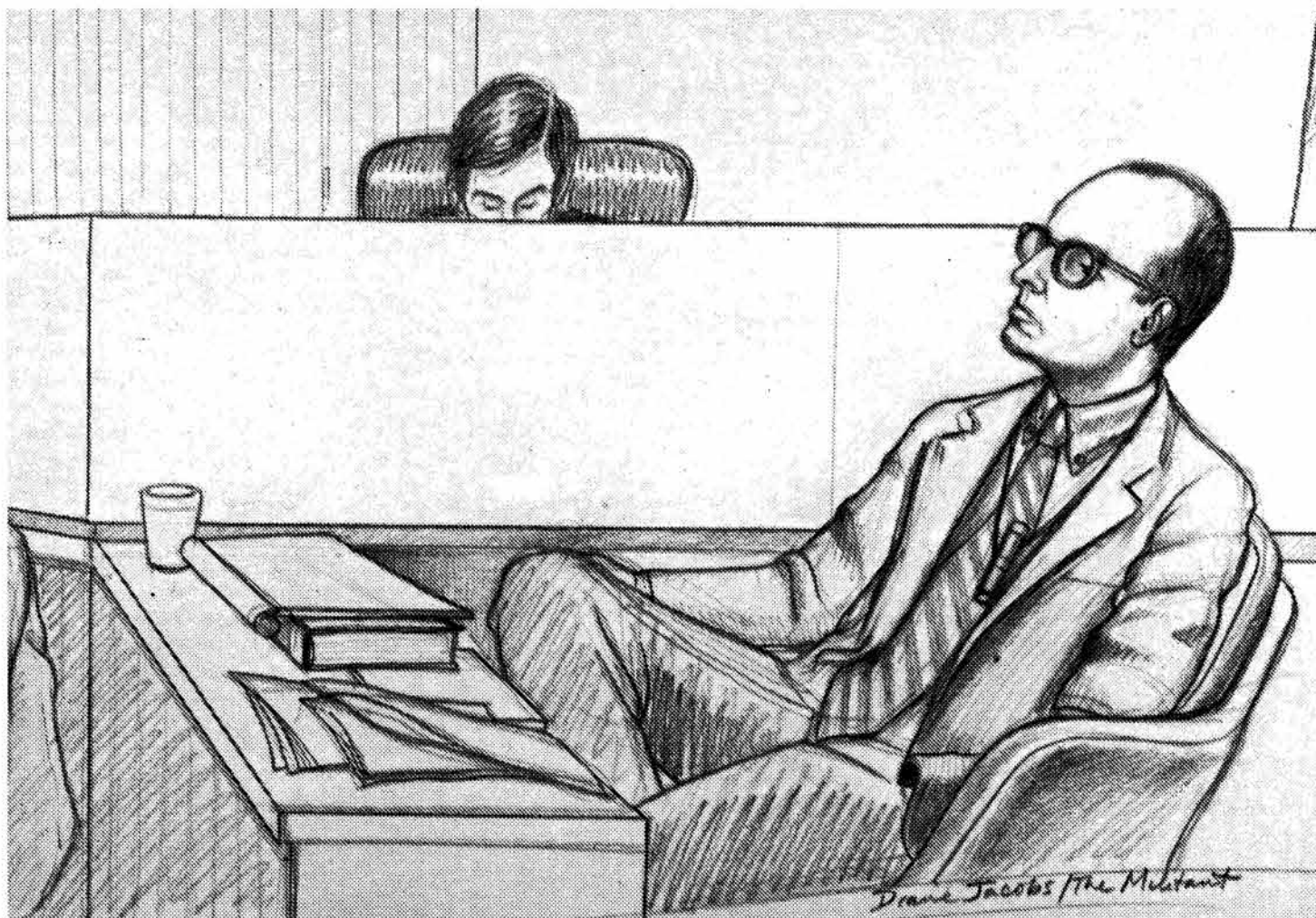
### Nicaragua

One is Nicaragua itself. It is a very poor country that overthrew a very brutal totalitarian dictatorship that lasted for decades.

There are three aspects after two years of the Nicaraguan regime which are worth looking at, which show progress along these lines in my opinion.

One is what they call the use of mixed economy. The attempt not to be forced like the Russian government was to nationalize everything—but to try to evolve with a majority of the population, taking over more and more of the economy, by maintaining the small and middle farmers in the countryside, by aiding the small and medium businesses as part of the development of a workers and farmers regime.

Second is their insistence on pluralism. Where they made a point of the



Jack Barnes testifies at trial

are really not here debating about slavery or anything like that and let's bring this to a close.

**Barnes:** All right.

The yes and no can be indicated maybe in one other thing. That's the evolution toward greater and greater concentration of executive power, which has been a tremendous change since the drafting of the Constitution and the original first ten amendments. We feel there is a growing contradiction from even the constitutional viewpoint talking politically, not as a lawyer—between executive decision, orders, even up to a declaration of war and the total protections guaranteed by the amendments to the Constitution.

**Winter:** Mr. Barnes, I hand you a copy of a book called 'Democracy and Revolution' by George Novack put out by Pathfinder Press.

peasantry and all the things that were discussed in the last several hours. That would be false.

There are two aspects that would be true. One is the need to have a party, a leadership which is a conscious Marxist leadership like the Bolsheviks.

The other was the goal of the Bolsheviks—to try to establish a socialist soviet democracy. That is, a democracy in which the working people would legislate and run the country.

Those remain our goals today. The concrete evolution of the Russian revolution and its degeneration and the concrete conditions faced in the civil war, of course, no one could choose that as a norm.

**Winter:** One final question, Mr. Barnes. Is there any government in the world today that the Socialist Workers Party views as moving in

principle not to close down radio stations, not to close down newspapers, including the one big newspaper which is a total opponent of the regime. They don't think that the people of Nicaragua can develop, can take over and run the country unless they can have a confrontation of the different ideas and unless everyone can know what they are.

These are newspapers and radios and political parties who have not taken up arms against the government.

Third is the question of the death penalty. To my knowledge Nicaragua is the only country to come out of a revolution as bloody and as long and have as one of its governmental acts the abolition of the death penalty. Today [they are] trying the leaders of the secret police and torturers of the Somoza regime and insisting they will not relinquish the abolition of the death penalty.

*Continued on next page*



# Iron Range steel local endorses socialist suit

VIRGINIA, Minn.—United Steelworkers Local 1938 voted unanimously July 8 to join with others in the labor movement in endorsing the socialist suit against government spying and to back a rally for the suit here on July 11. The rally, sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, backed the suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The 4,000-member local represents the workers at the giant U.S. Steel Minntac Mine in Mountain Iron here on the Mesabi Iron Range. Minntac is one of the largest taconite (low grade iron ore) mines in the world.

Steelworkers Local 1938 has been in the forefront of fighting for union rights and in taking up social and political issues. Within the United Steelworkers of America it has fought for years in favor of greater democracy. Its militant tradition was demonstrated by leading the three and a half

month strike in 1977 uniting all the iron ore miners in northern Minnesota and the upper peninsula of Michigan.

Recently, after discussing the issue, 1938 took a position against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. It has also taken strong stands in defense of women's rights in general and in defending the women in the local against company harassment.

Local 1938 has a well deserved reputation as being a bastion of labor solidarity.

The endorsement of the socialist suit was not an endorsement of the political views of the SWP. But it was a conscious decision in defense of workers' rights. Other labor movement figures such as United Farm Workers President César Chavez and Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser also support the suit.

During the local meeting, attended by ninety

members, one miner pointed out that the harassment of the SWP by the government threatens labor: "If this can happen to the Socialist Workers Party, then it can happen to unions like Local 1938. And I'd hate to see it happen to this local."

Many local members are familiar with the socialist suit. It has received substantial media attention in northern Minnesota for several years. Many have heard about the suit at work, at union meetings, and have read about it in the *Militant*.

In addition to the backing from Local 1938, another Steelworkers local offered support. A message to the July 11 rally came from Roger Klander, president of Local 6115, which represents about 500 miners at the Inland Steel Minnoka Mine in Virginia, Minnesota. He called on others to "join this fight on government spying on all of us and hopefully we can gain our own survival."

—K.M.

## Minn. 'Bill of Rights' rally draws wide support

By Kirsten Murati

VIRGINIA, Minn.—A June 11 rally here heard an impressive range of speakers in support of the socialist suit against government spying and harassment.

Sponsored by the Political Rights Defense fund, the rally received the endorsement of the largest Steelworkers local on the Iron Range. (See accompanying box.)

The Rally for the Bill of Rights, held at Mesabi Community College, drew some sixty-five people.

Almost three months of testimony in the trial of the suit ended June 25. It was first filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance back in 1973.

Greetings to the rally came from Al Church, executive director, Minnesota Council 65, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

"Having spent a lifetime crying out against abuse of government authority, I have a keen awareness of the oppressive measures instituted by agencies of our own government against members of the SWP. I am appalled and outraged.

"I join with you in the fight against these assaults on individual liberties, wherever and whenever they occur."

### 'Take to the streets'

Peggy Metzger, a board member of the Iron Range National Organization for Women, reported on the spying by the FBI against the women's liberation movement. "They turned over 1,400 pages of documents on NOW.

"People will have to take to the streets again. When it happens, I'm going to be ready for it."

Other speakers included Bill Ojala, a civil liberties attorney who was harassed for refusing to pay taxes to fund the war in Vietnam.

Mickie Scholtus, a board member of the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union, recalled asking an Internal Revenue Service agent, formerly with the FBI, about FBI bugging of Martin Luther King. "We did it for his own good," she was told

Scholtus encouraged everyone to join "their friends on the Minnesota list" of endorsers of the Political Rights Defense Fund.



Waubun-Inini (Vernon Bellecourt) speaks at PRDF rally

Waubun-Inini (Vernon Bellecourt), leader of the American Indian Movement, detailed the harassment and murder of Native Peoples throughout North, Central, and South America. He proudly pointed to the role played by the Indian people of Nicaragua.

### 'Use us against us'

Three local elected officials addressed the rally. They were Tom Anzelc, St. Louis county commissioner; Minnesota State Senator Ron Dicklich; and Duluth City Council member Michael Paymar.

Anzelc, who has spoken out against U.S. aid to El Salvador, emphasized the need for more politicians to support issues like the SWP suit against the government.

Calling this suit "an important turning point for civil rights," Senator Dicklich also called for action against the deaths of twenty-eight Black youths in Atlanta and for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Paymar, a member of the Farmer-Labor Association, pointed to an important aspect of the SWP case. "For once, we are not on the defensive, we are on the offensive. All who believe in the Bill of Rights must support this suit, despite their political affiliation."

Barbara Lamma of the Iron Range Historical Society told how immigrants have had to fight for their rights and organize for better working conditions.

Pointing to how the bosses pitted one nationality against another, like the Finns against the Slovaks, she said, "We can't let them use us against us."

### Media coverage

Both Channel 3 TV and the *Mesabi Daily News* covered Mac Warren's visit here to address the rally. Warren, a member of the SWP Political Committee, explained that the suit proved the government committed illegal acts against the SWP, challenged the constitutionality of thought-control laws, and challenged the argument that the government has the right to carry out such harassment campaigns.

"This is a government that lies, that cheats, that does everything in its power to represent its interests. And that's class interests, the interests of the rich," said Warren.

Kirsten Murati is a millwright apprentice at Minntac and a member of United Steelworkers Local 1938.

## ... Barnes

Continued from preceding page

Fidel Castro in a speech told them what a gain that was in his opinion above Cuba.

I simply show these examples to show the progress and the fight for the kind of goals even the most backward country can have, if it is not invaded, not forced into civil war.

### Cuba

Of course, the second example is Cuba with all the problems and with the isolation, with the terrible economic and military pressure it faced. I think the Cubans have gone the farthest in attempting to maintain themselves, to survive as Mr. Cohen said about the Russian

government over twenty years, and to do it in a way so as to expand rather than restrict the involvement of the majority of the population and society in the economy and in the politics of the country.

It is the one experiment that I know of—although Grenada and Nicaragua should be watched for this—the one experiment I know of since the soviets of Russia: The People's Power organs in Cuba are an attempt to institutionalize democratic channels of the people electing the officials and attempting to run the country.

Progress has not been as great as they would like in the decade since they attempted to do this. In my opinion, under the pressures they have done it, it is the greatest attempt since the Soviet Union in 1917 and 1918 to do this.

## Correction

In our July 10 issue, an error appeared in the "Day by Day" column summing up events in the trial of the Socialist Workers Party suit against the government. The column included a one-sentence report on the testimony of SWP leader Catarino Garza, who was called to the stand to rebut the earlier testimony of Hedda Garza. This sentence incorrectly reported that Hedda Garza had testified that Hugo González Moscoso, a Bolivian Trotskyist leader, had said the SWP had given him money while he was in the United States.

Hedda Garza's testimony was reported accurately and in detail in our June 26 issue. On the witness stand, she

claimed that González Moscoso, who stayed with the Garzas while in the United States, had told her he had come here "for financial aid." She testified that he told her, "... My trip was successful. I did what I came for. I got what I came for."

Hedda Garza's testimony was offered by the government in an effort to leave the impression that the SWP had given González Moscoso money for guerrilla activities in Bolivia. However, she did not directly testify that money came from the SWP. When asked by the government lawyer, "Did you understand it to mean that he had obtained it [the money] from the SWP?" she replied, "Well, that would be conjecture on my part. . . ."

The *Militant* regrets the error.



## NASSCO 3 get jail term in FBI-boss frame-up

By Michael Boys

SAN DIEGO—The NASSCO Three were sentenced to six months behind bars and three years probation July 14.

The three unionists were convicted on the basis of testimony of a paid agent-provocateur working for the FBI and the company, National Steel and Shipbuilding Company. The largest shipyard on the West Coast, NASSCO has been on a union-busting drive.

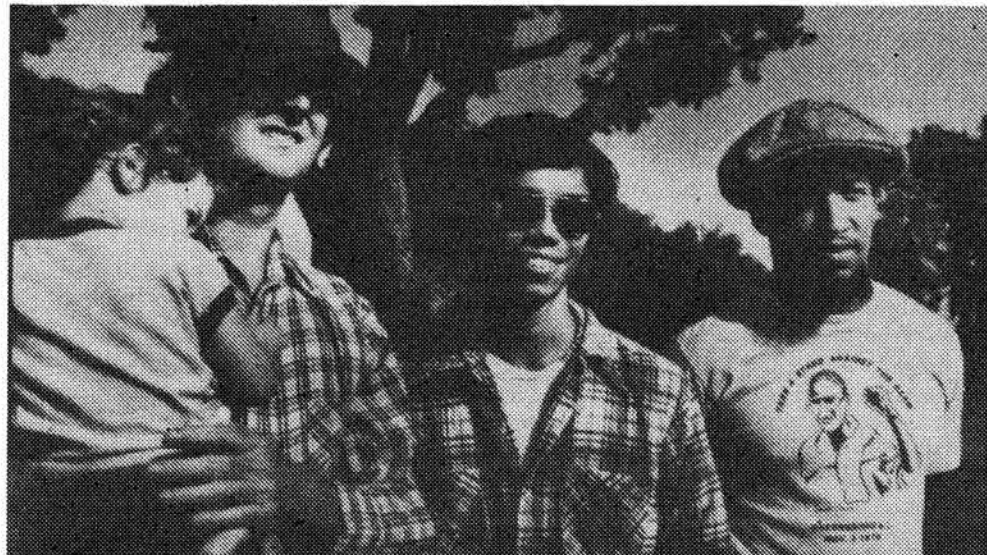
The three are David Boyd and Rodney Johnson, members of Iron Workers Local 627; and Mark Loo, a member of Machinists Local 389. They were convicted on four felony counts involving an alleged plot to blow up a transformer at the ship-

yard. They remain free on \$40,000 bond apiece pending appeal.

Federal Judge Edward Schwartz rejected three separate motions for a new trial. He also dismissed a motion that the convictions be overturned on the basis of outrageous government conduct.

Rhonda Levine, chairperson of the NASSCO Three Defense Committee, told the *Militant* that plans are under way to step up the fight against the frame-up.

Prior to the sentencing, a government arbitrator upheld the firing of thirteen of seventeen NASSCO workers who were dismissed as a result of their participation in a strike and demonstration at a ship launching last summer. Boyd and Johnson were among the thirteen.



NASSCO Three, from left: David Boyd, Mark Loo, and Rodney Johnson.

Workers Viewpoint

## News conference hits threat to deport socialist

By Etta Ettlinger

BALTIMORE—Supporters of Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh's right to stay in this country have hailed the postponement until next fall of her deportation hearing.

On July 6, Immigration and Naturalization Service Judge Joan Arrowsmith decided to delay the hearing, originally scheduled for July 7.

Hariri-Vijeh, an Iranian student, is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

At a July 7 news conference, she told TV and newspaper reporters, "I will use the additional time we have been granted to urge more people to support my right to complete my education in this country. Just because I am a socialist and an Iranian, the INS should not be able to get away with singling me out for deportation."

In the meantime, she said, she hopes "that INS District Director Wallace Gray will reconsider his refusal to reinstate my student visa."

Hariri-Vijeh's visa lapsed at the end of 1978, but she is now a full-time student at Morgan State University. In June, Gray turned down her request that he grant "discretionary relief" and renew her visa.

Shelley Davis, attorney for the Political Rights Defense Fund, was prepared to present extensive evidence at the July 7 hearing to prove that Hariri-Vijeh is a victim of selective political prosecution on the part of the INS.

INS officials confiscated her Iranian passport in February, just two weeks after she joined the Young Socialist Alliance. This was the first contact with the INS she had had for two years, a period marked by intense anti-Iranian campaign in the media and the big INS round-up and deportation of Iranians.

The two INS investigators who knocked on her door in February were observing the news conference in front of the INS offices. One asked this reporter what was going on.

I told him what the news conference was about; that people were protesting how the INS uses technical violations of immigration laws or procedures to deport people whose political ideas they don't like. The INS cop, looking uncomfortable, said, "I know the way it works, but that's my job."

A few months ago, following an interview with INS officials, one told Hariri-Vijeh that they would be interested in any information she could provide on Iranian "troublemakers" in this country. The clear implication was that if Hariri-Vijeh would turn informer they would take it into consideration in her case.

Rather than inform on her brothers and sisters, Hariri-Vijeh set out to inform the American people of the issues in her case and how it ties into the government's four-decades-long campaign to destroy the socialist movement.

The July 7 news conference was covered by the local TV affiliates of CBS, NBC, and ABC, and went out on the AP wire. WEAA-FM, the Morgan State radio station with a large Black audience in the Baltimore area, reported the postponement as "a great victory."

The postponement gives Hariri-Vijeh's supporters more time to pressure the INS to reinstate her student visa and drop all deportation proceedings.

Send protests to: Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C., 20536.

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

## Bill of Rights threatened, says union official

BALTIMORE—Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh was joined at the July 7 news conference by union official Kenneth A. Williams and Dr. Clifford DuRand, chairman of the Philosophy Department at Morgan State University.

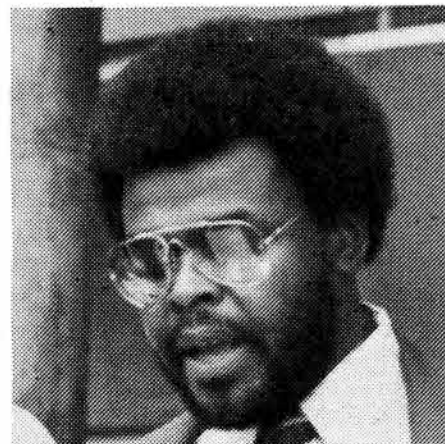
Speaking on behalf of District 4 of the United Furniture Workers of America, Williams asked,

"If those people who speak out, regardless of their political affiliation, are silenced by deportations, intimidation, threats, and coercion, then what good is the Bill of Rights and freedom of speech?"

"There is a move afoot in this country to stifle debate, crush dissension and to leave those without a voice no one to speak for them," Williams said. "It has manifested itself in some subtle and not so subtle ways. The so-called conservative movement has left the poor, handicapped, elderly, and unemployed without a voice to express their concerns, without an ear to hear their pleas. Reaganomics marches forward crushing the have-nots in its path and the fallout is being felt in all walks of life."

"The deportation hearing of Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh is another area where that fallout is being felt. Ms. Hariri-Vijeh is being faced with deportation because she dared associate herself with a political group that is totally unpopular with the powers that be. She further dared to be born Iranian in Iran."

"Political expression is the cornerstone of our heritage. . . . We must not penalize and ostracize individuals or groups because they dare to be different."



KENNETH A. WILLIAMS

Militant/Salm Kolis

Dr. DuRand spoke as one of Hariri-Vijeh's teachers at Morgan, a mostly Black school. He pointed out that she was "a full-time student in good standing . . . it's hard to understand why the INS doesn't give her a student visa."

He said that it is important to understand what it has meant for Hariri-Vijeh to be at Morgan State. "As an Iranian in the United States during a time when there was what at many points verged on political hysteria about Iran, she found herself in a very hostile environment."

"In that context she came to Morgan, which she considered a haven. At a Black institution with people who have experienced oppression, she found that she was well received. . . . I have seen anti-Iranian graffiti on walls all around Baltimore, but never at Morgan. She's had a very warm reception from the students."



Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh speaks at Baltimore news conference.

Militant/Salm Kolis

## PRDF needs your help

Testimony in the trial of the government's snoops is over, but the bills are still pouring in to the offices of the Political Rights Defense Fund. In order to meet the enormous costs of this trial, PRDF needs to go substantially over its goal of raising \$125,000.

Thus far, \$111,526 has been collected. Another \$28,633 has been pledged.

Why not make your contribution today to the fight to stop government spying?

☐ Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to help defray legal and publicity costs of socialist suit.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Union/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

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



# Rallies win broad support for socialist suit

## Newport News: greetings from ERA fighter

By Craig McKissick

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—A meeting was held here June 27 for the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the FBI, CIA and INS.

Sonia Johnson, who was thrown out of the Mormon Church for her support to the Equal Rights Amendment, sent greetings to the rally. Pointing to the approaching deadline for ERA, Johnson stressed the need to be more vocal and visible in support of the amendment.

"To do that means having the confidence that your constitutional rights will not be denied or abridged," Johnson said. "I support the efforts by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance to defend those very rights for all of us."

Johnny Hunter, a teacher and member of the Hampton Education Association, denounced the double standard of justice in this country—from Atlanta, Greensboro, and Miami to the SWP suit.

Cindy Jaquith, editor of the *Militant*, gave the meeting an account of the latest developments in the suit and the significance of the court fight in uniting progressive forces in defense of common rights.

Gayle Conroy, a member of the Peninsula chapter of the National Organization for Women, declared that the SWP lawsuit "is for us, for women."

There were greetings to the meeting from Chan Kendrick, director of the Virginia State ACLU, and from Aundria Foster, on behalf of a group of students at William and Mary law school, members of the Black American Law Students Association.

The sentiment of many of those present was expressed by a young Black woman. Commenting on what she had learned at the meeting about government dirty tricks against dissidents, she observed that it was a very different thing from what they teach in high school about American democracy.

## Albuquerque: Unionists and activists hail suit

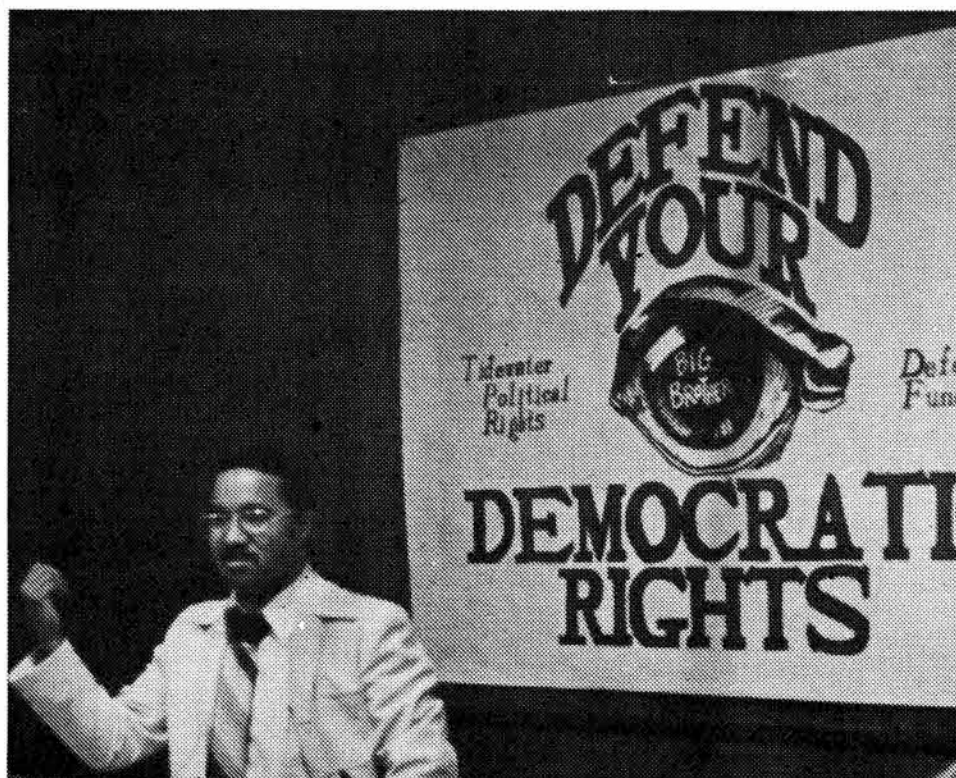
By Jim Miller

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.—Two unionists, a civil liberties activist, and a defender of Native American rights joined with Héctor Marroquín at a meeting here July 1 in support of the Socialist Workers Party suit. The meeting was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

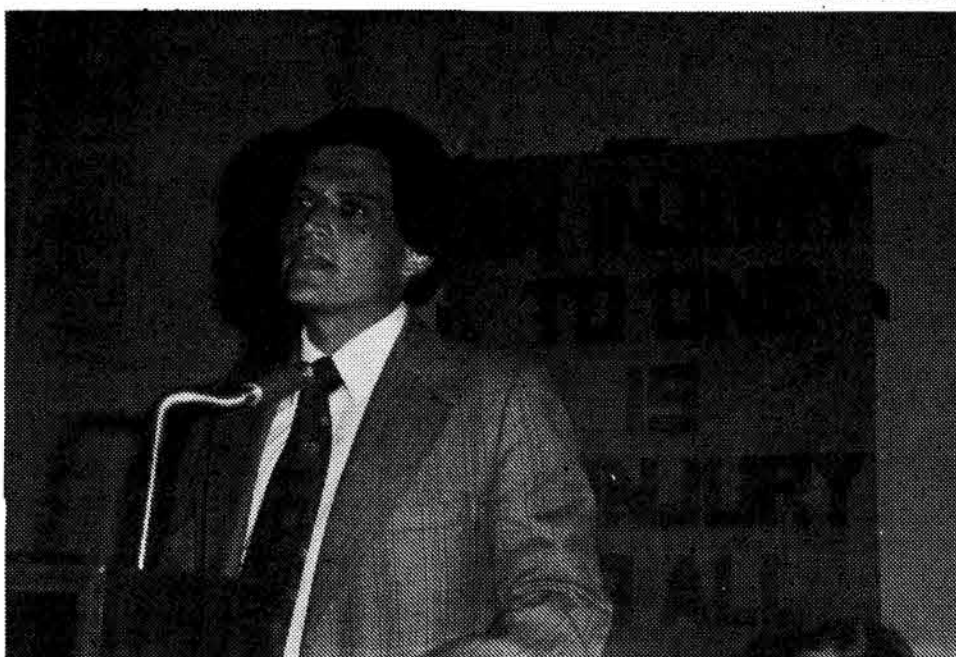
Diane Brasell, president of the Albuquerque Coalition of Labor Union Women, hailed the SWP suit as an initiative that all unionists should support. Recalling the experience of the J.P. Stevens organizing drive, she pointed out how company agents and local police were used to harass the unionists and illegally interfere with the right of workers to organize.

Tom Bidell, recently elected to the Central Labor Council on the slate of the Teachers for a Democratic Union said the result of recent elections in the Teachers union confirmed that teachers are ready to fight back. "It is this tendency to fight back against cutbacks and abuses," he said, "that is the real target of government spying and harassment."

American Civil Liberties Union member Blanche Fitzpatrick pointed out that in its attacks on the Bill of Rights, the Reagan administration is using the same justification of a "foreign threat" that was used back in 1798 to



Militant/Frank Lord



Militant/Jim Miller

Rallies back lawsuit against government. Top, Johnny Hunter of Hampton Education Association speaking in Newport News. Bottom, Héctor Marroquín during Political Rights Defense Fund tour of Albuquerque.

push through the antiliberties Alien and Sedition Act.

The meeting also heard Helen Vozenilek of the Big Mountain Support Committee, a support group for Native American rights in the Navajo/Hopi Joint Use Area in northeastern Arizona.

Héctor Marroquín was in Albuquerque as part of a speaking tour he made on behalf of the Political Rights Defense Fund. Marroquín is fighting government efforts to deport him to Mexico because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. His visit here was very successful. In addition to the rally, it included eight press interviews and a fund-raising cocktail party. More than \$500 was raised for the Political Rights Defense Fund.

## Newark: broad array of speakers

By Steve Patt and Mary Roche

NEWARK—An impressively broad array of speakers shared the platform at a Political Rights Defense Fund rally here June 27 in support of the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit. Nearly 150 people attended.

The rally was chaired by Connie Gilbert-Neiss, coordinator of the Essex County National Organization for Women.

Among the speakers was Robert Lowenstein. His successful fight to win back his teaching job here after being fired as a "communist" was one of the

celebrated cases of the 1950s.

The meeting heard Alvaro Montealegre, New Jersey coordinator of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES); Rev. Paul Mayer, convener of the religious task force of the Mobilization for Survival; and Al Swenson, program coordinator of New Jersey SANE and an area leader of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

Also on the platform was Kabili Tayari, state convener of the National Black Independent Political Party and chairperson of the New Jersey Black United Front.

An important defense case was brought to the meeting by Louise Sinesio, of the NASSCO Three defense team. The three are San Diego unionists framed up by the FBI, local cops, and the NASSCO shipyard company. The rally sent a message protesting the victimization of the three.

Irwin Nack, president of the American Federation of Teachers local at William Paterson State College, also spoke, as did public TV producer Al Levin and Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, an Iranian student fighting attempts to deport her because of her membership in the Young Socialist Alliance.

Mary-Alice Waters, cochairperson of the Socialist Workers Party and a witness in the suit, spoke for the SWP.

Chairperson Gilbert-Neiss read a message from Essex County NOW expressing support for a "tenacious and courageous effort to prohibit the government from intruding into the lives of all [who] seek . . . social progress."

Similarly, Alvaro Montealegre of CISPES read a message from that or-

ganization noting the government's recent attacks on solidarity movements and expressing "full support for the SWP suit and its efforts to stop repressive policies."

Kabili Tayari pointed out that a major focus of repressive government disruption programs has been the Black movement.

Recalling his successful six-year fight to win back his teaching position, Robert Lowenstein told the audience, "What saved me was the unity that was organized around my case."

The audience responded generously to an appeal for funds by Diane Jacobs, courtroom artist for the *Militant*. More than \$4,300 was raised for the Political Rights Defense Fund.

## Lincoln, Nebr.: rail workers, farmers at rally

By Kevin Porch

LINCOLN, Neb.—A crowd of students, rail workers, farmers, and community activists turned out for a Political Rights Defense Fund rally here June 25. The meeting was held to support the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government spying.

Speakers included representatives from the Kiko Martínez Defense Committee, Nebraskans for Peace, University of Nebraska Feminist Action Alliance, Rice-Poindexter Defense Committee, Nebraska Civil Liberties Union, United Transportation Union Local 305, and others.

Kathryn Crowder, national organizational secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, explained that "over the last eight years, through the pretrial discovery in our case as well as the discoveries of other victims of the secret police, we have documented far-reaching spy operations against unionists, antiwar activists, feminists, Blacks, and Chicanos."

"The trial of the SWP and YSA suit against the government is the most direct challenge yet to the government's use of its secret police to stifle dissent and disrupt the organizations of working people."

"What is being played out in the courtroom is a real fight. The socialists have challenged the whole legal underpinnings that justify the suppression of democratic rights in this country."

"Even though we are the named plaintiffs, this lawsuit has not been conducted only on our behalf. It's being fought on behalf of hundreds of thousands, in fact millions."

Merle Hansen, a farmer and board member of Nebraskans for Peace, explained how the government's use of the secret police extends around the world. "We [the U.S. government] play the role of world policeman," he said, "using force and might without regard for international law to impose our will on the rest of the world. Our domestic problems can't be divorced from our international policy."

Leroy Casadas, a Chicano activist and frame-up victim, spoke about how the government has targeted the Chicano and Native American movements for disruption.

Joe Swanson, a member of the United Transportation Union Local 305, chaired the meeting and told of the threats by the government to deport YSA member Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, who was born in Iran. A petition was circulated at the rally in support of her right to stay in this country.

Swanson closed the meeting with an appeal for funds to help collect the \$125,000 necessary to cover the costs of the socialist suit. The crowd responded generously, contributing \$370 to the Political Rights Defense Fund.



By Lorraine Thiebaud  
and Maltilde Zimmermann

LAS MINAS, Nicaragua—May Day 1981 had a special meaning for miners in Nicaragua—the signing of their first contract ever and the first nationwide contract in any industry in Nicaragua. The event was celebrated at a May Day rally in the mining town of Rosita, in the region of Las Minas.

Written into the two-year contract are strong union rights, including significant control over health and safety questions, improvements in working conditions, and new social benefits in the areas of health care, housing, transportation, and food subsidies.

The new contract covers approximately 2,000 miners at five gold mines, the three largest of which are located in this isolated region of northeast Nicaragua. We spent the week before May Day here in the three mining towns of Siuna, Rosita, and Bonanza, talking to miners, union leaders, and mine administrators.

### Interest in U.S. miners' strike

We were struck by the political gains miners have made since the Nicaraguan revolution two years ago, and in particular the way in which everything possible has been done to strengthen the union. One aspect of this political advance was the interest we found in the struggles of miners in other countries, especially in the coal miners' strike in the United States.

Compared to U.S. miners, the miners of Nicaragua have an obvious political advantage. The Sandinista government and the mine administration are on their side.

The other side of the picture, however, is the desperate poverty of the mining towns and the primitive and dangerous conditions of work in the mines. At the time of the revolution, living and working conditions for Nicaraguan miners were truly miserable, and despite some improvements, this is in general still true.

The first miners unions in Nicaragua were formed only in November 1979, when the gold mines were nationalized. Up to that time the mines were owned by U.S. companies, the Rosario & Light Mining Company and the Neptune Gold Mining Company, to which the dictator Somoza had turned over as concessions vast expanses of Nicaraguan territory.

### Nationalization of mines

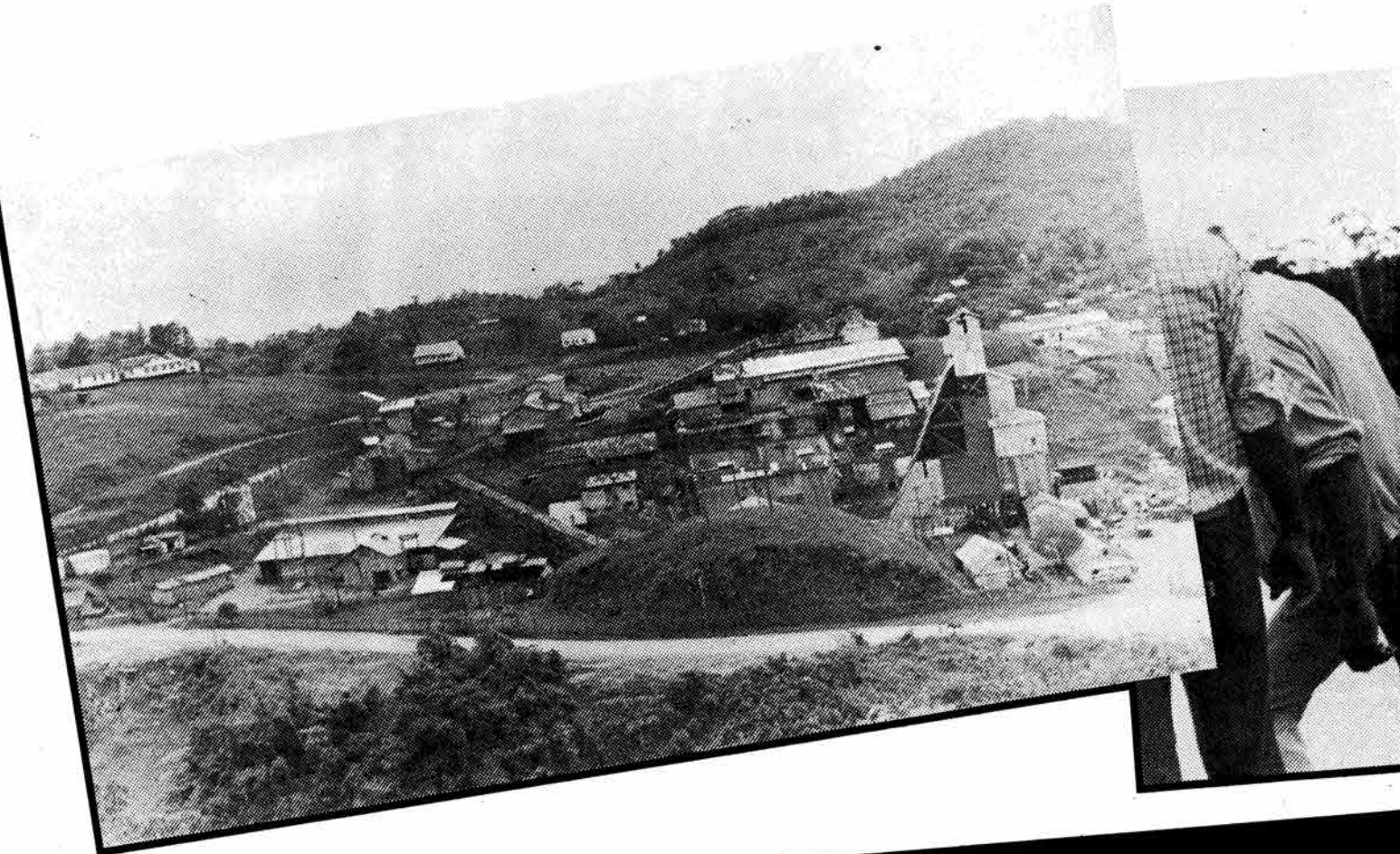
Because of the importance of gold as a natural resource, and because of the extreme degree of abuse of the miners by the foreign companies, nationalization of the mines was part of the program of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) even before the victory over Somoza. As the Sandinista victory approached and then became a reality, the U.S. mine owners stopped investing and began to remove whatever they could. Still they were surprised when the nationalization decree was actually issued on November 2.

Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge tells the story of attending a luncheon at the U.S. Ambassador's house that day. "When they served the wine, I lifted my glass and said, 'Mr. Ambassador, I want to propose a toast because at this very moment the North American mines in Nicaragua are being nationalized.'"

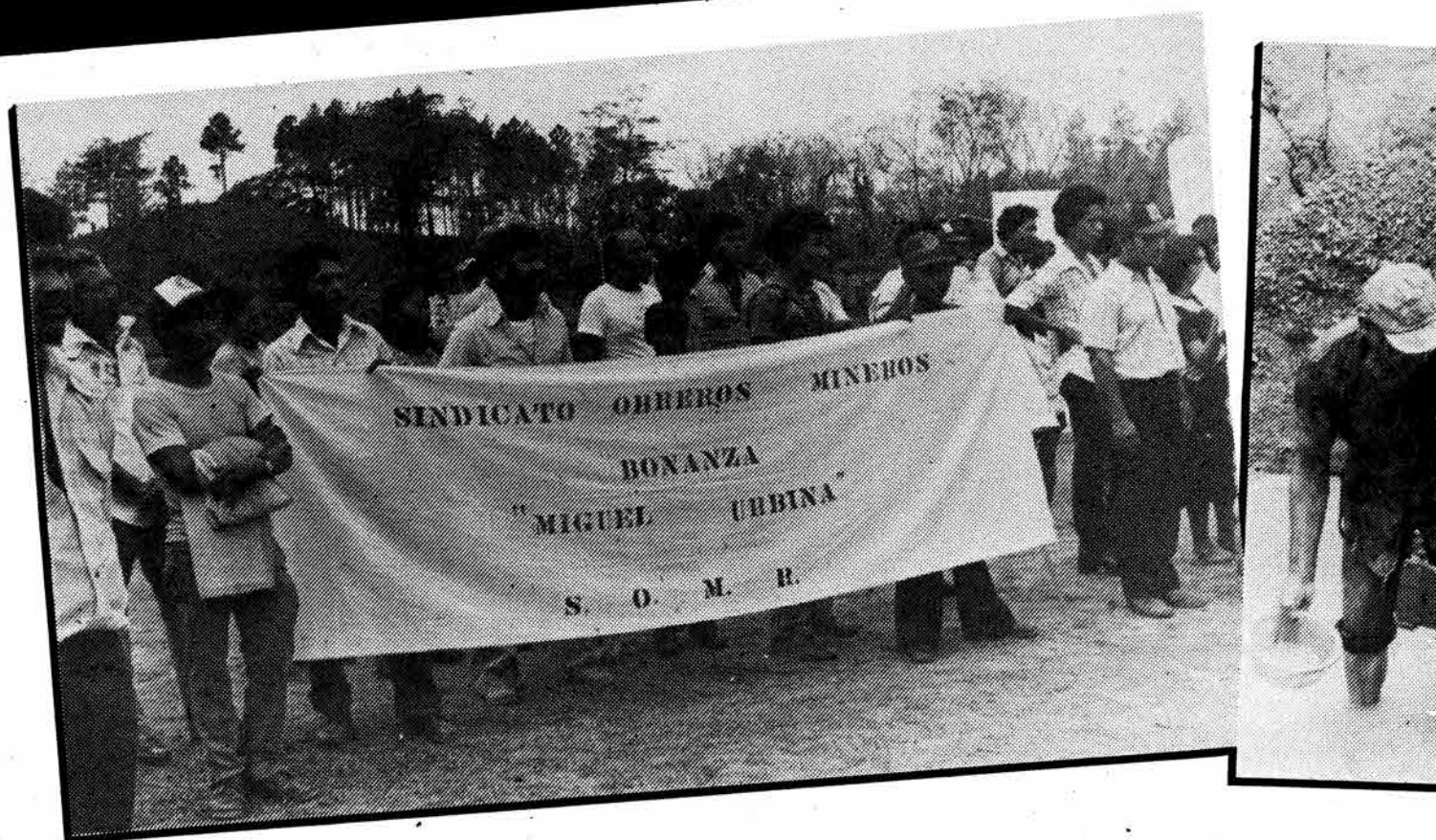
The mining firms have demanded that the Nicaraguan government pay them \$10 million for their property and millions more for profit loss. The Sandinista government has, however, filed a \$100 million lawsuit against the companies, citing environmental destruction, theft of a natural resource, and criminal disregard for miners' lives and health.

### Gov't administers mines

When the mines were nationalized, a government agency called CONDEMINA (Corporación Nicaragüense de Desarrollo Minero) was established to administer them. By that time the mines at Rosita and Bonanza were operating at a loss and the one at Siuna had long been abandoned. But rather than close the mines and throw miners out of work, the revolutionary government decided



## What Sandinista revolution has meant for N



to try to rehabilitate them, improve the miners' condition, and build the working-class movement in this neglected corner of Nicaragua.

We were not surprised to learn that the miners never had a trade union when they worked for Rosario and Neptune. But we were somewhat surprised when people told us there had been no real attempts to organize a union at least since the 1930s. The various explanations we were given for this fact help to give a picture of the difficult political as well as material realities that confronted the new union when it was finally formed.

### Racial divisions

The foreign mine owners were able to take advantage of racial divisions among the workers and elaborate salary differentials to discourage any tendency toward unity. A significant proportion of the miners are Miskitu Indians. In Bonanza they form 60 to 70 percent of the work force and until nationalization were the only ones who worked underground in the hardest and most dangerous jobs. Relations between Miskitu and Spanish-speaking miners have long been characterized by suspicion and hostility, and the task of overcoming this history remains a big challenge for the union.

Now a new union leadership has been

elected in Bonanza which is by agreement 50 percent Miskitu, and relations seem to be improving.

### Isolation

Another obstacle to the development of union consciousness was the isolation of the region and the enclave character of the communities that grew up around the American-owned mines. Siuna, Rosita, and Bonanza were company towns in which the mining companies owned and controlled everything—houses, stores, the church apparatus, and local politics. The owners used this dependency and selective favors to convince miners that they needed the company to take care of them—even while the company was actually taking care of nothing but its own profits. Whenever this fake paternalism failed, the company turned to repression and called on the National Guard.

Another negative factor was the low cultural and educational level of the miners. The majority could not read or write. Most miners had little knowledge of the world outside Las Minas and none at all of the organized labor movement.

Even during the civil war of 1978 and 1979, there was no fighting or other political activity in the mining towns. We talked to the Guerrilla Commander Manuel Calderón, who led the first FSLN column into Las Minas on May

28, 1979. He described to us the reaction of the miners.

### Response of miners

"It was positive," he told us. "In Rosita and Bonanza alone, about 300 people joined our army right away. Three hundred young people. And workers in the mines too."

The response of the miners to the nationalization of the mines was also positive. One miner explained to us how the Vigilance Committee, of which he was a member, organized the posting of guards for six months after the nationalization, in case the former owners tried to reclaim their property. When the mines were nationalized, production at Bonanza jumped from 1,200 ounces of gold a month to 2,000.

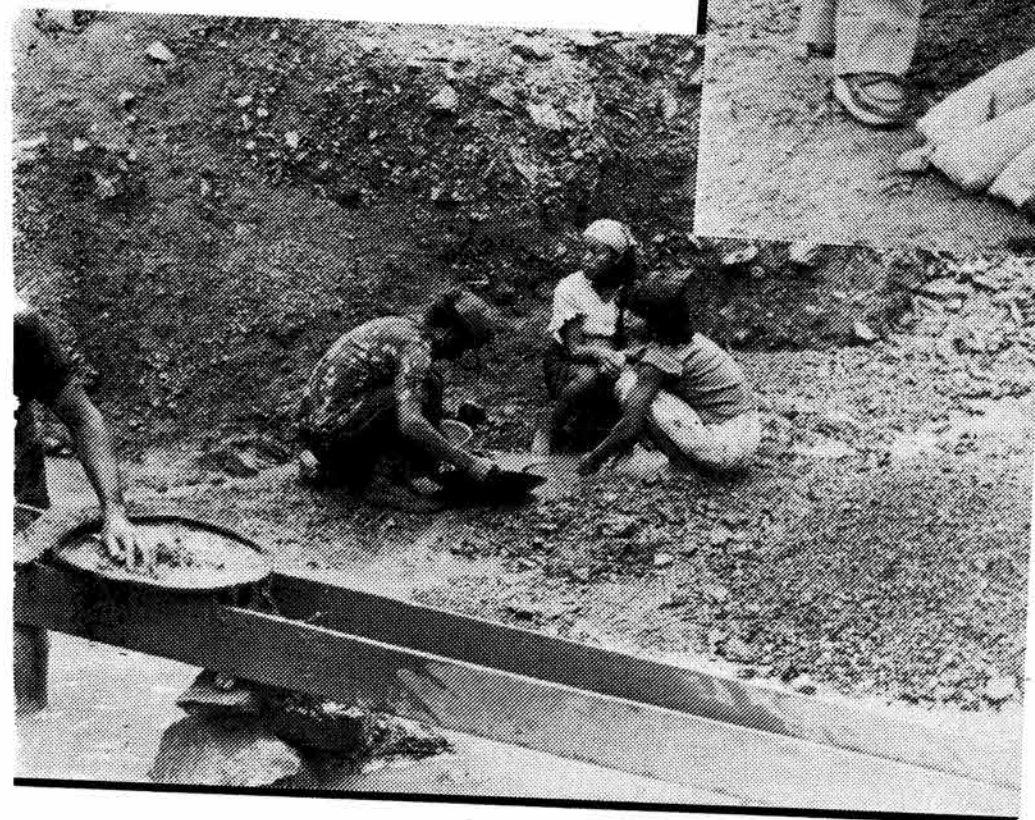
But the impulse for nationalization and for the formation of the union came from outside, from the FSLN, and not from the miners. We were told frankly that many miners did not see the need for a union when it was first formed and did not immediately begin to identify with the union even when it began to function.

The head of CONDEMINA in Siuna, Hugo Castillo, explained to us how the administration has tried to push the union forward and give it more responsibility. "When workers come to us with





## Nicaragua's miners



specific questions or problems, we try to tell them to go to the union about it, in order to make them deal with the union. In this way the miner is forced to relate to the union as his most immediate and relevant organization."

The new contract represents a further step in the organizational and political strengthening of the union. The contract was negotiated by the five separate mine unions, the Sandinista trade union federation (CST), and CONDEMINA.

### National contract

Achieving a national contract is seen as a step toward a federation of the unions in the five mines. It already represents a big victory for all miners. Workers in mines that are still operating at a loss cannot be denied benefits on that basis, now that they are covered by a national contract.

We were able to sit in on the meeting where the final text of the contract was first read to the leadership of the union at Siuna.

The contract recognizes the right of all mine workers not only to the protection of a union, but to social security and accident benefits, sanitary facilities, transportation, low-cost commissaries, free uniforms and boots, and recreational and educational facilities.

The contract does not stipulate wage levels, but since the revolution miners' wages have increased approximately 200 percent. A year and a half ago they made between 2.80 and 3.50 córdobas an hour. There have also been steps to equalize salaries. Now they make between 4.80 and 7.85. The head of CONDEMINA at Bonanza, Mario Salvatierra, told us that his North American predecessor as mine manager made \$5,500 a month plus travel and other benefits. Now at least five skilled workers make more than he does as manager.

### Health and safety

If these wages are low by U.S. standards, the legal rights Nicaraguan miners have over health and safety questions would be the envy of American miners. The union committees on health and safety work with the Ministry of Labor to draw up rules that are absolutely binding on CONDEMINA. Their authority is open-ended. If new problems are discovered, new measures go into effect immediately—the miners don't have to wait and fight for them in their next contract.

At the contract meeting we attended, Sebastián Castro, a leader of the CST from Managua, read the entire text and then took questions and discussion from the miners. After several hours, with the rain pounding on the tin roof so hard



Photos by Lorraine Thiebaud  
Clockwise from top left: Siuna mine. Hand-drawn ferry between Rosita and Puerto Cabezas. Matilde Zimmermann speaks with surface miner in Siuna. Independent pan miners search for gold. In Somoza's days they were run off company property; now they have formed their own association. Bonanza miners' union banner at May Day demonstration in Rosita.

it was difficult to hear, he began talking about May Day.

"Did you ever celebrate International Workers Day here before the revolution?" he asked.

"Never," said one miner.

"Maybe two or three of us inside the house," said another.

"Does anyone know the history of this international working-class holiday?" No one did.

### History of May Day

He then told everyone to move up close so they could hear over the rain and proceeded to give a history of working-class struggles that included the fight against Spanish colonialism, the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels and the first two Internationals, the Haymarket martyrs and the fight for the eight-hour day, and the Russian revolution. He pointed out that May Day, like International Women's Day, originated in class battles in the United States, where, after some bad years, the trade union movement was once again starting to fight.

Despite gains crystallized in the new union contract, living and working conditions of Nicaraguan miners are still deplorable. The foreign mining companies provided only minimal social services, and state institutions responsible

for health, water, electricity, garbage disposal, and road construction never existed in Las Minas.

Hugo Castillo explained to us, "Everything now falls on CONDEMINA and the new government. We must build the roads the company never did, the hospitals and houses and schools they never constructed, and cure the silicosis and tuberculosis they left us in exchange for the gold they took. The day I only have to worry about mine production seems a long way off."

### A huge task

The union and CONDEMINA agree on the goal of making the mines safe and healthy places to work. But this means huge investments, and Nicaragua is a poor country.

The mines were built in an almost "disposable" fashion by foreign companies planning to get rich and get out. Miners' health and safety was not a consideration. Miners claim that ventilation in the Bonanza mine is so bad that matches will not light for lack of oxygen.

Much of the machinery was old when it was installed in the 1930s. And as equipment gets older and breaks down, miners find their work harder and more dangerous. Jess Nelson, a miner for eighteen years, told us that a shipment of heavy machinery was on its way from the U.S. when the revolution broke out. The company sent it back without unloading it to await the results of the war. After the nationalization, the supplier was unwilling to sell parts to the new government.

The flow of repair parts for machinery has been erratic at best. We talked to one mechanic as he was reassembling a huge steam shovel. He told us how the mechanics regularly rubish through the old company parts to see what can be salvaged. Frequently they have to make their own parts.

### Skills needed

Not just material resources are in short supply. Following the war, technicians, engineers, and administrators took all the company books and geological studies and left. The few who were willing to work for the new government and stayed after November 2 quit when they found themselves rejected by the workers who would not follow orders.

None of the three directors of CONDEMINA had any previous training in mining. Salvatierra, thirty years old, told us his only training was revolutionary will and readiness to learn. "We could not run this mine without the practical technicians—Nicaraguan miners with thirty or forty years experience."

Right now more than 120 young miners have been sent to study in foreign countries like Peru and Ecuador and their return is eagerly anticipated.

In the meantime, the miners through their unions are beginning to participate in the planning process. Permanent Production Councils have been set up in each mine to work out concrete plans for implementing the 1981 economic plan. The CST, FSLN, CONDEMINA, and mine workers in various departments make up the council.

Organizational steps have also been taken to strengthen the union to make it easier for miners to participate. The union leadership consists not only of the elected officers but also of "union circles," made up of three representatives from each work area. Part of the responsibility of the union circles is to keep shift workers informed about union business. All three mines we visited operate twenty-four hours a day, three rotating shifts.

One of the people we talked to in Bonanza was CST representative Francisco Morales. Morales told us he had also been interviewed for the *Militant* by Pedro Camejo almost a year and a half ago.

At the end of our discussion, we asked Morales how the situation had changed since late 1979. "When I talked to Pedro," he told us, "we could only talk about the things the union wanted to do. But here we spend the afternoon talking about the things the union has already done."



A speak-out to save rail jobs and services was held in New York City June 24. The following talk was given by George Gavallo, local chairman of Lodge 65 of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen from Baltimore.

The group of unions that called the June 24 meeting can be reached by contacting Rail Unions to Save Jobs and Services, P.O. Box M 349 No. 79, Hoboken, New Jersey 07030. Telephone: (212) 420-9199.

Brothers, sisters. For the last few months one major question has dominated all our lives. What's the future of the railroads? What's the future of our jobs?

The Conrail and Amtrak situation is reported extensively in the press. Every politician, the President of the United States, the local mayors and aldermen have spoken at length on it. They often give differing and conflicting views on what the problem is and what the solution should be.

So I would like to take some time here tonight to explain what are the facts. What are the central issues involved. In other words, what is the heart of this railroad problem and what can we do about it.

After listening to all the rhetoric and after examining all the legislation pending before Congress and observing Conrail management policy, several things become crystal clear.

First, management does not want to use the public funds it's received to build an efficient, inexpensive transportation system. Instead, they want to form a company that can squeeze the highest return on its investment.

### Break back of labor

Second, the railroad industry is trying to break the back of the rail labor movement.

Every proposal, every program, every law pending has one or both of these objectives at heart. Getting the most profit for the smallest investment; kicking rail labor in the teeth. Now let's look at the facts and I think you'll see what I mean.

There are two major plans to reorganize Conrail. One plan is put forward by Robert Blanchette of the Federal Railroad Administration. It is backed by Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis. The plan calls for the immediate break-up of Conrail and selling it off piece by piece.

Other railroads can pick and choose the lines they want and the rest can be abandoned. Conrail's management estimates this plan could result in the abandonment of up to 8,000 route miles, half the Conrail system. Also there would be up to 60 percent reduction in the work force. That means 40,000 would be put out on the street.

The second plan, put forward by Conrail Chairman Stanley Crane calls for the government to support Conrail for another couple of years so that Conrail management can do the dirty work of cutting jobs and track. The Crane plan calls for initially abandoning at least 2,500 route miles.

### Big layoffs

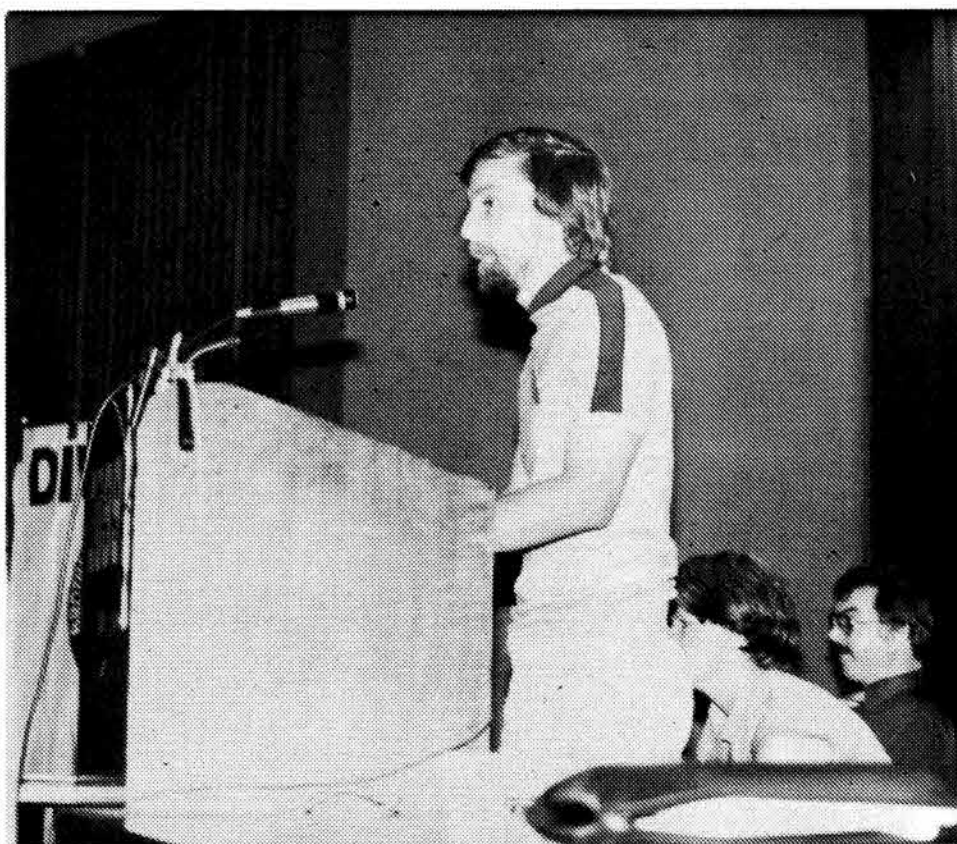
A minimum of 11,000 freight services employees would be laid off while commuter service employees would be transferred to Amtrak or regional commuter authorities like SEPTA [South-eastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority] or MTA [Metropolitan Transportation Authority]. They would face possible additional layoffs under these agencies.

Under Crane's plan, 1,400 people per month would be laid off until the goals were met. Trains and engine service employees would take the largest cut. The hardest-hit division would be Philadelphia. BRAC [the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks] would take the biggest loss.

But of course all the crafts would be heavily affected. With track abandonment there are bound to be deep cuts for Maintenance of Way forces. Shops are already being closed. The Juniata Locomotive Shop in Altoona, Pennsylvania, Collinwood in Cleveland, DeWitt in Syracuse, New York, and Beech Grove

## Speech by rail unionist

# What public should know about destruction of the railroads



George Gavallo addresses June 24 rail workers meeting.

Militant/Stu Singer

in Indianapolis are facing full or partial closing right now. There is legislation pending which in effect will enable Conrail to abandon 38 percent without FRA [Federal Railroad Administration] approval and cut a lot of signalmen's jobs at the same time.

After these jobs are cut and tracks abandoned, Conrail can still be subjected to more layoffs and abandonment by the new owners.

The choice is between Conrail being cut up and then sold and Conrail being sold and then cut up. Which of these two plans will Congress accept? Most likely they will compromise and take the worst of each.

There are two bills before Congress right now. One is House Bill HR3559; the other is Senate Bill S1100. The Senate bill gives Conrail management a year and a half to make the cuts and then turn it into a profitable railroad. If Conrail doesn't show a profit by the end of 1982 it could be broken up and sold by the secretary of transportation. If it does turn a profit at that time they will still try to sell it but as a whole company. If they can't sell it in one year's time it will be broken up anyway.

It should be noted that this so-called sale would be more like a welfare hand-out to the rail industry. Conrail's own investment banker puts the value of Conrail profits between \$500 million and \$900 million.

### Christmas present to bosses

When you consider that the old, worn out Penn Central properties were bought for twice that amount, and that

\$3.3 billion of taxpayers' money was spent to improve it, you can see that at \$900 million Conrail would be the biggest Christmas present the taxpayers ever gave the railroad industry.

So what is at the heart of all the bills before Congress is to cut back rail service, to cut back labor, and to sell a brand new, rebuilt railroad at a giveaway price.

Another question arises, why do they want to cut back rail service? Well, businessmen operate on the principle called return on investment. How much money you make compared to how much you spend. Now if you spend \$100 on your business and realize a \$20 net profit you have a 20 percent return on investment.

This by the way is pretty good. Oil companies and real estate companies make a little more than this. If you spend \$100 on your business and have a \$5 net profit you have a 5 percent return on investment.

Obviously you will want to put your money where you will make the highest return on investment. Railroads make about 5.5 percent return on investment. This is true in the best of times and on the best of railroads.

The reason for this is in the inherent nature of the industry. Railroading is a service industry. Like most service industries it is labor intensive and has high labor costs. But unlike other service industries, it also has high capital expenses. Locomotives, tracks, freight cars are all very expensive.

But just by its nature railroads will never be as profitable as oil refining, mining, or real estate.

That is why railroads would rather get out of the railroad business and into other industries.

### Selling off railroads

Penn Central tried to do this and Amtrak has announced its intentions to diversify into real estate. What is happening is that management is trying to sell off railroads and use the money in other industries.

On Conrail there are documented cases of management turning business away.

In Washington, D.C., two local oil distributors asked to be located along Conrail tracks. They ship about eighteen tank cars a week. Conrail would not have to invest a single dime since the yard tracks and sidings are already there. This is money in the bank. Conrail turned it down.

Why? They could make more money by selling off those yard tracks and sidings and investing in something else. There are incidents like these reported all over the Conrail system.

If it's not a long haul, a unit train, or a piggy-back, Conrail doesn't want it.

This way they can point to declining traffic and justify the abandonment of low-profit lines. They just want to keep the high-profit business which gives the highest return on investment.

Even though this means cutting service for thousands of small shippers and farmers.

While the railroaders are using taxpayers' money to build this money-making machine for themselves, America's transportation system will be devastated. Transportation will be more costly and less efficient.

Those shippers who are not forced out of business will have to turn to trucks and barges. Passengers will have to turn to highways and airlines. These other forms of transportation are far more costly than railroads. For thirty years—between 1945 and 1975—the federal government spent \$118 billion on transportation. Almost 70 percent of that has gone to highways. Airlines got just under 20 percent and barge lines around 10 percent.

The railroads received just under 2 percent of the handout. If it wasn't for the federal subsidy our highway system would consist of one-lane dirt roads. The airlines and highways wouldn't even exist.

When you consider that Conrail employees pay income tax of \$3.7 billion, that more than covers that \$3.3 billion that the government loaned the railroad.

Railroads are the only type of transportation that pays its own way.

But why would the Reagan administration and Congress want to divert money out of efficient railroads to less efficient forms of transportation?

Well, one reason is that the highway industry and highway lobby, the airline lobby, petroleum and gas industries all have effective lobbies in Congress. They have been very good at getting these massive subsidies out of the government for quite a few years.

### Taxpayers, consumers hurt

The other reason brings us back to the attack on labor. As we all know rail workers have fought long and hard for a decent standard of living. And we have a strong union tradition. Only a fraction of the trucking industry is unionized. Thus by attacking railroads and promoting trucks, the administration is helping to bust the labor movement. We have seen that they are doing it at great expense to the taxpayers and consumers of this country.

What we are doing here tonight is to begin to educate both the American public and our own public of these facts. Show them the truth that a cheap, efficient transportation system and a vital expanding rail network go hand in hand. America needs more trains, more traffic not less. It is in the best interest of American taxpayers and consumers to unite in solidarity with American railroad workers to promote and expand rail transportation.

Let's hope and pray that this unity and solidarity prevails.

## Message from mine workers head

The following telegram was sent to the June 24 meeting of rail workers in New York City. Unfortunately it arrived too late to be read at the meeting.

Thank you for your invitation to participate in a public meeting on June 24 in New York City. I appreciate the honor, however, it will not be possible as that is the date our striking construction workers will be voting on ratification of a contract which necessitates my pres-

ence here in Washington.

As always, the United Mine Workers of America supports our fellow union Railroad Workers and abhors the threatened cuts in jobs and wage freeze.

More than ever, those of us in the labor movement must stand together in unity against the forces that would try to erode the benefits we have fought so hard to achieve. Sam Church Jr., President United Mine Workers of America



# OCAW candidate on problems facing union

Anthony Mazzocchi, health and safety director of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, is running for union president against incumbent Robert Goss.

Mazzocchi is raising important issues, ranging from the strategy followed in the union's 1980 strike against the oil giants to the need for the unions to form their own political party.

The following are excerpts from a statement by Mazzocchi announcing his candidacy that appeared in the April 1981 issue of the 'Local 7-1 News.' Local 7-1 organizes more than 1,300 workers at the Amoco refinery in Whiting, Indiana, near Chicago.

After a great deal of discussion with rank-and-file leaders of our Union, I have decided to be a candidate for President of OCAW.

In 1979, as a candidate for President, I stated that the 1980's would be a decade of tough challenges. My opponent, Bob Goss, insisted that the 1980's would be no different than past decades.

He was wrong. Our nation and the trade union movement are at the most difficult moment in their history. Inflation and unemployment are rising. Plants are shutting down at an unprecedented rate. Politicians are stumbling over each other with proposals to weaken unions, drive wages down, and eliminate basic social programs. And the rank-and-file feel more distant from their unions than ever before.

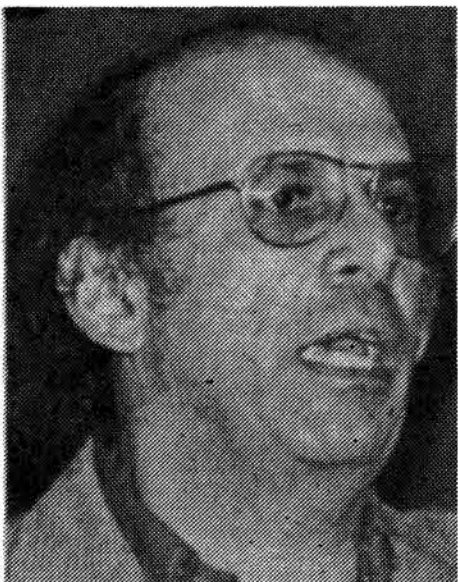
Bob Goss was elected by a slim one percent majority at our last convention. At that time, he said that his "business-as-usual" approach would serve the Union well.

He was wrong.

\* \* \*

## Collective bargaining

Fifty thousand members of our Union struck the oil industry in January 1980. For four months the strike failed to move the industry. They knew that we only had 50 percent of the refineries or-



ANTHONY MAZZOCCHI

ganized. They knew that we had only a small fraction of the production fields, pipelines and terminals organized. And they knew that our picket lines could not really stop production.

Why then did Bob Goss offer nothing more than a "picket line strategy" as a solution to this strike?

At a time when skyrocketing gas prices and oil company profits were causing outrage among the American people, Goss decided not to mobilize public opinion behind oil worker demands. The opportunity to get the support of the American public was lost. Collective bargaining strategy and leadership were lacking at this crucial point.

The strike itself was without a strategy. The failure to organize public sup-

port behind oil worker demands was inexcusable; the failure to organize public support behind the strike had tragic consequences. The strike was invisible nationally.

That our oil groups and their local unions survived this strike and won concessions from the industry is a tribute to their courage and determination. But they deserved more support, more leadership.

The oil industry knows what to expect from the current leadership. If things don't change, we can expect to see more of our oil groups pushed off the common termination date as so many were in the last round of negotiations. We can expect to see additional attempts to chisel away at our marketing and clerical groups, at start rates and craft lines.

The realities of bargaining in the 1980's demand up-to-date approaches. Larger picket lines and longer strikes are not the solution. Industry must learn that we are prepared to fully mobilize our Union, our brothers and sisters in other unions, as well as the public at large in support of our demands. And in this way, industry must again learn to respect this Union. Respect of this kind goes a long way towards avoiding strikes in the first place.

## Organizing

We are losing ground. Since the 1979 convention, we have won elections with a potential of 1,850 members. At the same time, we have lost 2,700 members by decertifications. The lack of leadership has resulted in a net loss of 850 members since Goss was elected.

Moreover, of the 1,850 workers organized since the '79 convention, only 70 were oil workers. This reflects the total lack of an organizing strategy. And it reflects unorganized workers' perception of our Union and its leadership.

There are ways to improve our organizing record. When I was Vice President in charge of organizing, we took a serious first step in involving our rank-and-file and staff in a nationwide organizing effort. I initiated Organizing Week which saw an outpouring of over 1,000 rank-and-file members who, along with staff, distributed 150,000 leaflets. There was a sense of spirit, crusading and belonging that hasn't been equalled in OCAW before or since that week.

I intend to revitalize organizing along these lines. I intend to enlist other unions to join in this effort so that the rank-and-file and staff presence will be visible to the unorganized. I deeply believe that we need to convince our people we are serious about organizing before we can successfully persuade unorganized workers to join us.

\* \* \*

The labor movement is in trouble. Many leaders have forgotten where they came from and there is disillusionment in the rank-and-file. This movement and OCAW need to be reinvigorated if we are to survive and once again become a viable force for progress.

Together we can make the decade of the '80s a decade of action in this Union and in the labor movement.

Action for a change.

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# National Picket Line



## Yaz the scab

Boston Red Sox outfielders Carl Yastremski and Dwight Evans would be scabbing on the current baseball strike if they could. Instead they're getting in some strike-breaking action down in West Virginia. Yaz and Evans are partners with some other investors in the S & K Coal Company in Clay County, West Virginia. The miners at S & K voted to join the United Mine Workers union in February. They stayed out during the UMWA strike.

Yaz and other owners hired scabs and want to fire thirty-four of the fifty UMWA members at the mine.

A striking UMWA miner was quoted in the *Charleston Gazette-Mail* June 21 as saying, "We're for the ball players because they're union men. In fact we've got a place for them on the picket line."

Yastremski has a different experience with picket lines. He is one of the few players who actually did cross picket lines in baseball disputes in the past.

## Company interpretation

Steelworkers Local 1557 at the U.S. Steel Clairton Works, the giant and filthy coke plant down the river from Pittsburgh, won an important arbitration ruling against the company in June.

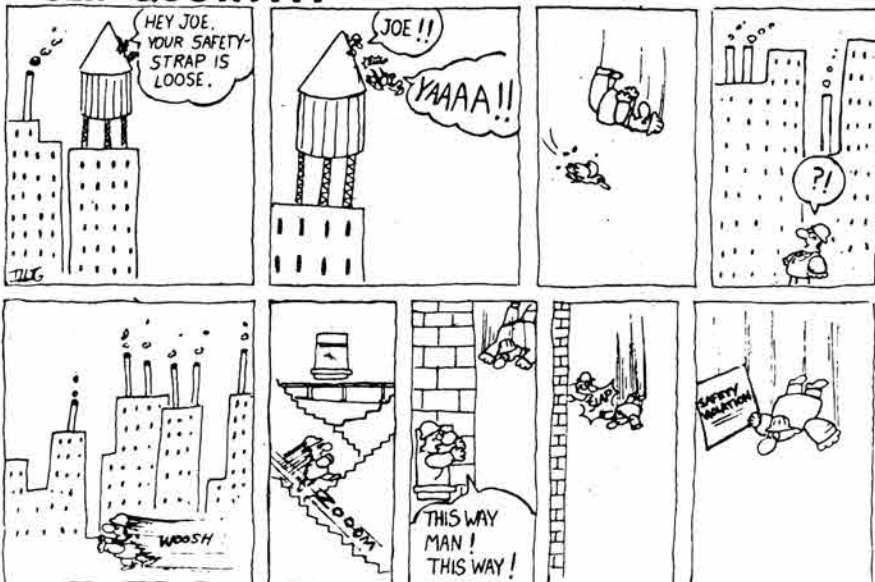
The company has had outside contractors building the ovens while bricklayers who are in the Steelworkers local are laid off. The arbitrator ordered the steelworkers to be paid back wages and to be rehired.

U.S. Steel is refusing to rehire them to work on the ovens.

Local 1557 President Charles Grese told the *Wall Street Journal* that the union wants the arbitration board to enforce the ruling.

A U.S. Steel spokesperson responded that the settlement is a "matter of interpretation."

## SLIP QUOTA ...



## ENA being renegotiated

Now that the district director elections are over in the Steelworkers, the industry and the top union brass are starting to renegotiate the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement. It was first signed in 1973 by former union president I.W. Abel. It is a monument to company collaboration.

Industry spokespersons say they want to change three things in the ENA that they don't like. 1. They think the guaranteed 3 percent a year wage hike is too high. 2. The cost-of-living allowance is inflationary. 3. There is some room within the agreement for local issue strikes by individual union locals. They don't want steelworkers thinking about strikes, much less conducting any.

Of course the industry wants to keep the part about prohibiting industry-wide strikes. They like that.

The 1974, '77 and '80 basic steel contracts were negotiated under the ENA. The members of the union who have to live under these contracts have never been allowed to vote on the ENA. They're not allowed to vote on the contract either.

United Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride said about the ENA, "Anybody who thinks the USW is going to make sacrifices out of balance with sacrifices made by everyone else is wrong."

In the context of the rest of the *Wall Street Journal* article where Dr. McBride is quoted, this sounds a little ominous. According to the big business newspaper, "The USW wouldn't settle for much less than the United Auto Workers get in their contract negotiations in 1982."

With Ford and General Motors demanding the next contract look like the defeat at Chrysler, things do not look good.

The June *Steelworker* has a picture and short article under the head, "It's 'Doctor' McBride Now." The union president was awarded an honorary doctorate degree from the University of Missouri. The citation included: "Your keen understanding of our free enterprise system and your rational and creative approach to collective bargaining have helped to foster a working rapport between labor and management."

—Stu Singer

(Vivian Sahnner is on vacation.)





World news and analysis from . . .

# INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS combined with inprecor

**On its second anniversary**

## Nicaraguan revolution keeps moving ahead

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—Nearly two years after the Sandinista victory over the Somoza dictatorship, what is the current relationship of forces between Nicaragua's capitalists and the country's workers and peasants?

This is a question much discussed here, sometimes in exactly these terms and sometimes less directly. It is also a question that undoubtedly crops up in meetings between Reagan and his advisers.

A look at the events of the last few months shows big advances in the confidence and level of organization of the working masses and increasing isolation of the employing class. The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has demonstrated that it is consciously helping both of these processes along.

### A class-divided society

Open class conflict affects every aspect of daily life here. An ongoing tug-of-war over control of the economy determines whether a worker will find rice to buy at the market.

The Catholic Church is divided between those who identify with the rich and those who stand with the poor.

A fierce ideological debate between the two classes is going on in front of the whole country in the Discussion Forum on National Problems.

The two sides have widely different approaches to the country's defense—not an abstract question at a time when Nicaragua is subject to continual armed attacks by counterrevolutionary bands.

In international affairs, the local capitalists are more and more closely tied to U.S. imperialism, while the workers look increasingly to revolutionary movements and to the workers states.

There is even a war of humor going on, as the Sandinista youth poke fun at the capitalists with irreverent skits and the satirical weekly *La Semana Comica* mercilessly lambasts the bourgeois politicians.

But to say that there is deep and open class conflict in Nicaragua is not the same as saying there is a crisis. The right-wingers and their news media talk constantly about a "crisis." One even claimed a state of near civil war existed.

Unlike Costa Rica, to say nothing of Guatemala or Chile, Nicaragua is not a country in crisis. In spite of frequent military clashes with counterrevolutionary terrorists, the day-to-day atmosphere in the country is quite calm.

Nicaragua is a place where people are busy building new roads and marketplaces, vaccinating children, planting more beans and rice, and cleaning up the capital for the July 19 festivities that will mark the second anniversary of the revolution.

### Capitalists' political power

The Nicaraguan capitalists lost political power when the FSLN-led revolution triumphed in July 1979. They have made several attempts to regain some of this power by provoking a governmental crisis and undermining the FSLN's authority.

Two capitalist figures—Violeta Chamorro and Alfonso Robelo—resigned from the five-person Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction (GRN) in April 1980. Seven months later, in November 1980, all the capitalist parties and business associations



International Workers' Day celebration in Managua, May 1, 1981

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

walked out of the Council of State (a legislative and consultative body subordinate to the Junta). In both cases, their departure made remarkably little difference, except to deepen further the political isolation of the capitalists.

In March 1981 the largest capitalist party, Robelo's Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), attempted to hold an anti-Sandinista rally in the town of Nandaime. Large and militant anti-MDN demonstrations, sometimes involving the building of barricades, broke out around the country, and the organizers decided to cancel their rally. (See *Intercontinental Press*, March 30, p. 294.)

Since this stinging defeat, the capitalists have attempted no new political initiatives.

The Council of State began its second session May 4, still without the capitalist parties, but with six new members. Forty-one of the Council's fifty-one seats are now occupied by representatives of the working class and its allies—political parties, trade unions, Sandinista mass organizations, the new association of small farmers, the army, and prorevolution Christian groups. The capitalists theoretically have ten seats, but nine are vacant because of the boycott.<sup>1</sup>

At the end of March, shortly after the cancellation of the Nandaime rally, the FSLN publicly invited all interested parties to a frank discussion of the country's problems. Sandinista leaders first met with representatives of the trade unions and of prorevolution organizations, and then with the right-wing parties, to determine the feasibility of such a dialogue.

1. The only capitalist organization currently seated in the Council of State is the minuscule Constitutional Liberal Movement (MLC), a long-dormant splinter from Somoza's Liberal Party. The MLC's single spokesperson says the organization was part of the opposition to the dictator but kept a very low profile.

Negotiations over the format and agenda of the Discussion Forum on National Problems dragged on for more than two months. Various public statements during this period give a picture of how the FSLN viewed the dialogue with the capitalists.

Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce, for example, told an unfriendly audience at a meeting of the Ibero-American Association of Chambers of Commerce on May 18, that "revolutions are inevitable in countries where injustice and exploitation reign—and they take place with the businessmen, without the businessmen, or against the businessmen."

### Step toward unity

The forum was conceived from the beginning as a dialogue between two opposing camps, and one of the positive results of the negotiations was to strengthen unity among the parties that make up the prorevolution camp.

The Sandinistas had previously brought together several parties that support the revolution and recognize the leading role of the FSLN, organizing the Revolutionary Patriotic Front (FPR).

In addition to the FSLN itself, the FPR includes the People's Social Christian Party (PPSC), the Independent Liberal Party (PLI), and the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN), which is one of two pro-Moscow Communist parties. Two other significant working-class formations are also participating in the forum alongside the FPR: the Nicaraguan Communist Party (PCN) and the People's Action Movement (MAP).

All forum sessions are broadcast live over the radio, and large segments are televised as well. Carlos Núñez used his opening statement to educate about the nature of the revolution and the state. He went over the attacks the revolutionary government has been subjected to, by enemies both outside and within the

country. The only way to understand these attacks, he noted, is to look at what the revolution has accomplished:

"The uprising of the population, arms in hand, to overthrow the hated dictatorship of Somoza, and then the people's victory, opened the door to the development of a new state and the birth of a new power. The state which came into being after this triumph is a revolutionary one. It is the negation of the past and a guarantee of the future."

Núñez described some of the fundamental characteristics of the new revolutionary power: "In the first place, an economic system in which those who used to be in power no longer have the means that they formerly used to foster social inequality, make themselves richer and richer, and exploit the working masses in every possible way."

### Mass organizations

The relationship of forces between classes is not reflected only, or even primarily, in encounters between political parties. Even more important than the forum in strengthening the hand of the workers and peasants has been the growth and proliferation of the Sandinista mass organizations during the last few months.

Nicaragua today is a country of intense political activity—union meetings, barrio gatherings, regional and national conferences, seminars, speeches, demonstrations. A round of workers assemblies to evaluate May Day was followed almost immediately by another round to prepare for a national conference of the labor movement. There are scheduled meetings and impromptu ones; meetings in factories, plazas, schools, and farmhouses.

Everywhere Nicaraguans are discussing the questions that affect their lives and making decisions they never had a right to make before.



Nothing exemplifies this explosion of popular democracy better than the development of the new farmers organization, the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG).

Many thousands of peasants have participated in meetings, discussions, rallies, seminars, and assemblies organized by the UNAG, both before and after the organization's national congress in late April.

With two seats in the Council of State, UNAG gives Nicaragua's campesinos for the first time a strong voice in national politics.

### 'Eyes and ears'

The Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs) in recent months have also begun to take on more responsibilities. The CDSs have existed since the beginning of the revolution; in fact, they developed out of the Civil Defense Committees that organized the barrios during the insurrection. But the CDSs have now been organizationally strengthened and have been playing a much more prominent role since the Nandaime events. The CDSs organized most of the protests against the planned antigovernment rally at Nandaime.

The CDSs have formed "committees of revolutionary vigilance," in conjunction with the Sandinista Police, and are an integral part of organizing the militias. In May the Managua CDSs carried out a campaign to sign up 5,000 new militia members.

The CDSs have also begun to organize the marketplaces, taking on problems like transportation difficulties, shortages, sanitary norms, and the need for child care.

### Developments in unions

All of the Sandinista mass organizations have an overwhelmingly working-class (or, in UNAG's case, small-farmer) membership. But the organizations in which the workers participate most directly are, of course, the trade unions.

The unions have not only experienced rapid numerical growth since the revolution. They are also playing increasingly active roles in the organization of the economy and in national politics.

Before the overthrow of Somoza, less than 8 percent of nonagricultural workers were members of trade unions. Now, almost all of them are. Where there used to be fifty union locals, there are now eleven times that many.

The political process that is underway in the labor movement is similar to what is happening in society as a whole: growing hegemony of the Sandinista current, increasing unity among the preroevolution forces, and deepening isolation of the right wing.

In November 1980 the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) joined with two smaller federations led by the PCN and PSN, and with the FO, the associations of health workers and teachers, and the Rural Workers Association (ATC), to form the Nicaraguan Trade-Union Coordinating Committee (CSN).<sup>2</sup>

### 'Future belongs to workers'

One of the things the capitalists hate about the new Nicaragua is the social esteem for working people. "The future belongs to the workers," said a recent headline in the FSLN daily *Barricada*.

Through television spots, political speeches, posters and banners, and in a variety of other ways, Nicaraguans are constantly reminded that workers produce the wealth of the country, that workers are the force that can move the country forward.

Through their unions, workers intervene directly in the economic and political life of Nicaragua. Over the last two years, there have been a number of

2. The only trade-union body not in the CSN is the procapitalist Confederation of Nicaraguan Workers (CTN). When the CSN was formed, the CTN represented 4.6 percent of all organized workers; as of March 1981, according to *Barricada*, the CTN had been reduced to representing 2 percent of organized workers. A CTN representative is seated alongside the delegates of big-business organizations in the Discussion Forum on National Problems.



Workers defend revolution. Here, militia members return from guard duty along Honduran border.

experiments with different forms of workers control over the production and workers participation in administrative decisions. An intense discussion is now under way at workplaces and in union meetings, drawing the lessons of these experiences and looking for ways to increase workers participation.

Unions have successfully defended the interests of their members. Marches, legal actions, petitions, and temporary takeovers of plants or offices are among the means that have been used to win reinstatement of fired workers.

The unions have also taken action against decapitalization schemes by the employers. This is not a new problem in Nicaragua. The capitalists sent an estimated \$800 million out of the country in the two years leading up to the revolutionary victory.

Since July 1979, even more capitalists have decided to get everything they can out of the country. The difference is that the workers are now beginning to have ways of dealing with this type of owner sabotage of the economy.

### Workers intervene

The current case of La Perfecta dairy is typical. In late March, workers at La Perfecta convinced the government to intervene the company after they demonstrated a history of decapitalization by the private owners: phony loans, padded salaries, a refusal to invest or to repair or replace necessary equipment, holding back on production.

The owners tried to fire 60 percent of the workforce immediately after the revolution, and the workers kept the plant open only by working for half pay for several months.

Within a month after the government stepped in and assumed temporary responsibility for administering La Perfecta, the workers had raised production to an unprecedented 22,000 gallons of milk a day and taken on a goal of producing 30,000 gallons a day. At one point when the owners were controlling the factory, only 6,000 gallons a day were produced.

The union at La Perfecta used their accomplishment to insist that the government confiscate La Perfecta. Demonstrations around this demand were organized. A series of solidarity actions were held in other workplaces to press for confiscation of La Perfecta. On June 9, representatives of fifty-five unions argued the case for confiscation of the dairy to government junta member Sergio Ramirez. A final decision has not yet been announced.

Nicaraguan workers, through their unions, intervene directly in politics and affect the government's decisions. The FSLN encourages the unions' intervention in social and political questions.

Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce told leaders of sixty-five CST union locals May 24 that the FSLN would support the just struggles of

workers even when the workers went against the government. Noting that it is impossible to hide the truth, especially from workers, Arce acknowledged that "not everything is in marvelous shape within the government apparatus, so there has to be a vigilant attitude on the part of the workers."

### Leaders visit factories

In late May, Sandinista leaders began a series of visits to the country's most important factories to find out workers' most pressing concerns and listen to their suggestions—and complaints.

Workers complained about bureaucracy in state agencies, shortages in certain consumer goods, decapitalization and arrogance on the part of private owners, deficiencies in public services, the inadequacy of proposed labor-law reforms, and conflicts between work schedules and militia training.

On May 30, hundreds of meatpackers from all over the country met with government leaders to discuss the critical situation caused by indiscriminate slaughtering of livestock and other forms of decapitalization. They demanded confiscation of some plants and conversion of others to different forms of production.

"We want to be relocated in other jobs," one worker said. "We don't want to be parasites. We want to be productive members of society because we are loyal Nicaraguans and revolutionary workers."

### A continuing battle

The Nicaraguan workers' ability to win battles with the bosses is continuing to increase. This process is not over. As a local FSLN leader told workers at a metal factory in Masaya June 20, Nicaraguans won political independence but have not yet achieved economic independence from the capitalist system.

Or, as CST leader Enis Meléndez told a June 18 rally, "It is true that we beat Somoza's National Guard, but we haven't yet beaten our main class enemy, this stubborn bourgeoisie."

One of the themes of hostile articles in the U.S. press and the capitalist media here is that Nicaraguans are disillusioned with the FSLN. To prove their point, reporters may throw in a quotation from a market woman or a taxi driver about how bad things are.

These quotes are not necessarily invented by the writers of the articles. A lot of people can be heard to complain about one or another aspect of the situation in Nicaragua. And not all of them are capitalists.

The most common complaints from working people concern inflation, which was 27 percent in 1980, and shortages of basic consumer goods.

Everywhere there are complaints about bureaucracy in state agencies, about long lines, endless paperwork, and arbitrary and counterproductive procedures. At the level of clerks, many

state employees are still doing basically the same jobs they did before the revolution, and old ways of doing things have not been completely overcome.

### 'Popular discontent'?

The revolutionary government has not been able to deliver all the material improvements that people want and expect.

These are frustrations that the reactionaries try to capitalize on. This was precisely the hope of the organizers of the abortive rally at Nandaime—to mobilize a large number of people on the basis of blaming the FSLN for economic and social problems, and in that way strike a political blow against the government.

One of the reasons this scheme failed so utterly was that most Nicaraguans who complain about this or that problem do so on the basis of wanting things to move forward faster. They may feel some frustration that the revolution has not been able to produce basic changes more quickly, but that is quite the opposite of wanting to overthrow it.

Those who are determined to turn back the Sandinista revolution know this quite well. They are not waiting for the "popular discontent" they give so much credence to in their newspapers to do the job.

Recently there has been an escalation of counterrevolutionary terror—the killing of seventeen people, many of them militia members, in two weeks, and acts of intimidation and violence against peasant families.

One of the things that has exacerbated class conflicts here is the extent to which local capitalists are viewed as being in collusion with the Somozaist armies based in Honduras and Florida, and with the U.S. government that stands behind them.

It is widely believed—and evidence has been published indicating this—that the counterrevolutionary bands operating in the mountains north of Matagalpa are supported and financed by the area's wealthy coffee growers.


The anti-Cuban, anti-Soviet campaign of the Nicaraguan capitalists is not the only area in which their politics coincide with the State Department. As tensions between the Nicaraguan government and Washington have grown, the tendency of the capitalist parties here has been to identify more and more openly with the U.S. government and to blame every conflict on the FSLN.

### Sandinista counteroffensive

The Sandinistas, meanwhile, have tried to reduce their vulnerability to attack from Washington both by mount-

*Continued on next page*

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# Nicaragua unionists pledge to deepen anticapitalist struggle

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA—Four hundred delegates gathered here July 4 and 5 for the Second Assembly of Workers Unity, called by the Nicaraguan Trade-Union Coordinating Committee (CSN).

The delegates met under a twenty-foot-high banner quoting Commander of the Revolution Luis Carrión: "The historic mission of the trade unions is not merely to win this or that improvement, but to educate tens of thousands of workers in the fundamentals of building the new society."

Even before the sessions began, the crowd was on its feet chanting and clapping. "After twenty years of struggle," they shouted over and over, "we pledge to defend our victory." (The Sandinista National Liberation Front, FSLN, was founded in July 1961.)

Unanimously approved, after two days of discussion and debate, were resolutions to undertake a vast political education campaign among Nicaraguan workers, using "the revolutionary theories of Marxism"; and to recognize the FSLN as the leadership of the Nicaraguan revolution.

The delegates also called for tougher measures against decapitalization in industry and agriculture.

They urged greater participation by the workers in the Sandinista People's Militias, and called for guaranteeing job security to workers who join the militias.

## Step toward labor unity

The CSN, founded in November 1980, represents about 95 percent of the country's organized workers. It brings together Nicaragua's three largest union federations, as well as the teachers association (ANDEN), the farmworkers union (ATC), and the union of health workers (FETSALUD). Also part of the CSN is the Workers Front (FO), one of the prorevolution political currents active in the trade unions.

Deep sentiment exists for ending needless duplication of effort in the labor movement and creating a single trade-union federation, the better to confront the serious challenges facing the workers and the revolution. The CSN represents a major step toward that goal.

In hundreds of factories and workplaces across the country, unions organized discussions and assemblies during the two months preceding the national conference. The key themes from these meetings were summarized in the proposals offered to the delegates and adopted.

Part of this preconference discussion included visits to factories by members

of the FSLN National Directorate and other Sandinista leaders. These visits gave the workers an opportunity to explain the problems they face.

At the opening session of the national assembly, Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the three-member Junta of National Reconstruction, outlined the country's difficult economic situation. He noted in particular the possible shortfall of \$100 million in foreign-exchange income this year because of low world coffee prices. He explained that this makes it impossible to raise wages further as a solution to the workers' problems. (A 20 percent wage increase is already planned for 1981.)

Ortega explained that the government would concentrate on improving social services so as to upgrade the workers' real income.

Speaking on July 4, Ortega noted that the date marked the 205th anniversary of United States independence. He explained that the American people had fought with arms in hand for eight years to rid themselves of the tyranny of British colonialism.

"We respect and salute that heroic struggle," Ortega said, "especially those

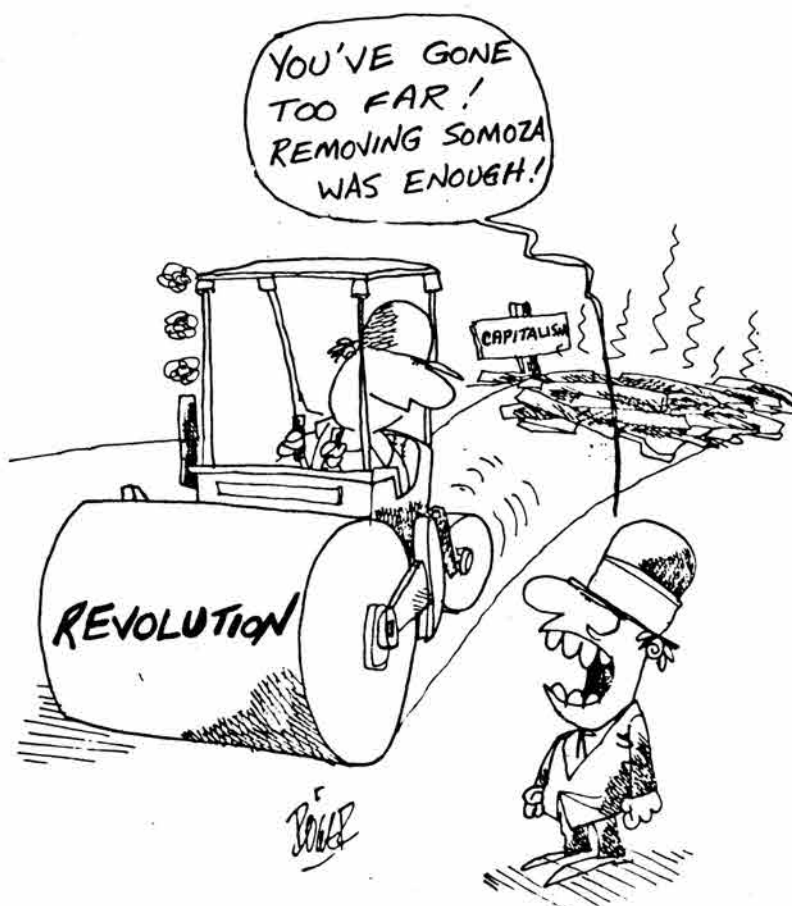
who shed their blood for American independence. They were not fighting for the United States to become to other countries what England had been to them."

## 'That past is dead'

Commander of the Revolution Víctor Tirado López, representing the FSLN National Directorate, sharply attacked the owners of private enterprises who are decapitalizing, and who claim the "economic climate" is bad for private investment.

"For them, people's power, Sandinista power, doesn't create the right climate or the proper guarantees. They would like for things to be like the past, when private enterprise had unchecked and unlimited power, like the old days with Somoza. But that past is dead and buried," Tirado declared.

The assembly was a sharp rebuff to the panic-mongering, anti-Sandinista centers of Nicaraguan society—such as the right-wing daily *La Prensa*—which have tried to convince Nicaraguan workers to blame their problems on the FSLN. The reactionaries claim such difficulties can only be solved by turning the government and the economy over to big business.



Cartoon from FSLN daily 'Barricada'

The CSN gathering was one of many marches, meetings, and rallies being held across the country during late June and early July. These demonstrations have had two common themes: A call for confiscating decapitalized properties while there is still something left to confiscate; and a call for exercising *mano dura* (an iron hand) against the counter-revolution.

For example, thousands of women marched through the city of Chinandega July 5, raising these demands and calling on women to join the militias.

Three thousand Sandinista Defense Committee (CDS) activists from Managua neighborhoods rallied the same day under a huge banner bearing just two words: *Mano Dura*.

"*Al paredon, al paredon!*" rang out again and again. ("To the wall!")

The next day, thousands of peasants marched on the offices of the Ministry of Agricultural Development in Managua. Organized by the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), the peasants demanded arms to defend themselves against the counterrevolutionary terrorists operating in the countryside, and an end to bureaucratism in the national banking system.

## July 19 'a historic date'

In León, 800 persons marched June 30 to demand the removal of two Somozaists who had wormed their way into the judicial system.

A few days later, a national congress of students called for students to join the workers and peasants in defending the revolution.

Five thousand workers and peasants marched on the Casa del Gobierno (Government House) here in the capital July 8 to demand firm action against decapitalization.

"This July 19 will be a historic date for the Nicaraguan people," junta member Sergio Ramírez told the demonstrations. "It will not only be a commemoration, but an opportunity to deepen the revolutionary process still further."

Noting that Nicaragua faced a series of grave economic problems, Ramírez said, "We think the only way forward is consolidating and deepening the revolution, with firmness and decisiveness."

Meanwhile, another 1,000 workers from the San Antonio sugar mill, the country's largest private enterprise, were marching on the Council of State to protest decapitalization by the mill's owners. The workers charged, among other things, that 7 percent of the 1980-81 sugar harvest at the mill had been lost because of the Pellas family's economic sabotage.

From Intercontinental Press

## ... anniversary

Continued from preceding page

ing a diplomatic offensive and by diversifying their economic and political relationships. They have reached out to certain Latin American countries such as Mexico, to the workers states, and to the Socialist International.

Their success in this was exemplified by the "Bread for Nicaragua" campaign. It showed that the moral authority of the revolution remains high and that solidarity with Nicaragua is a worldwide phenomenon.

One of the most bitterly resented actions the Reagan administration has taken against Nicaragua was the suspension in March of loans to buy wheat. All of the 5,000 tons of wheat consumed each month in Nicaragua had previously come from the United States, and

with no more shipments coming in supplies dwindled rapidly.

But the government had already begun its own international drive to undercut Washington. The results have been impressive. The first shipment of a 20,000-ton donation from the Soviet Union arrived May 25, and by early June the stores and markets were again well-stocked with bread.

And the Soviet contribution was only part of a total of 107,000 tons donated or promised to Nicaragua. The wheat—almost a two years' supply and nearly all of it free of charge—will also come from East Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Bulgaria, and Canada.

Like most things in Nicaragua today, foreign policy is also explained in class terms. In speeches and articles, the Sandinistas explain that the foreign policy that flows from the needs of the workers

and peasants is anti-imperialism. And they also explain why the capitalists have such a hard time standing up to the imperialists.

## Sandinism and socialism

So if the Nicaraguan revolution is not a capitalist revolution, which is clear, then what is it?

The answer most often given here is that the revolution was made by the workers and peasants, who are building a new society in the interest of the majority. Sandinista leaders generally do not use the word "socialism" to describe the revolution or the type of society that is being built.

However, references to socialism are becoming more common. CST leader Lucio Jiménez spoke in his May Day speech about "the necessity of consolidating workers power in order to build a

socialist society, the historic goal of the Nicaraguan working class."

On the birthday of Nicaraguan revolutionary hero and FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca Amador, *Barricada* featured a 1970 speech in which Fonseca outlined the FSLN's program.

"The fight for socialism and for national liberation," Fonseca said, "come together in the Sandinista People's Revolution. We identify with socialism, although we do not fail to examine critically certain socialist experiences."

"Fundamentally, socialism has fulfilled the hopes that history and humanity have placed in it. Its shortcomings have been the exception and not the rule."

"I could add that the guerrilla fighter only exists because of such a program, and that the guerrilla will never triumph unless that program triumphs."

June 29, 1981



# What Poland's workers want

## Solidarity union draft program—Part I

Over the next three weeks, the 'Militant' will be reprinting the full text of the draft program of Solidarity, Poland's independent union movement. This program was drawn up by a commission of Solidarity, discussed at a February 25 session of its National Coordinating Committee, then published in 'Solidarity Weekly,' the union's national newspaper.

It is now being discussed by the union's more than ten million members.

American workers will see many parallels between the issues taken up in this document and those that we face. There is one important difference, though, that should be kept in mind.

Poland's workers abolished capitalism over thirty years ago. Decisions on what to produce, how much, and other questions are made on the basis of an economic plan. Workers don't face the problem of individual capitalists deciding not to produce needed goods—steel, for instance—or laying off because they can't make a profit off them.

What Polish workers do face is the fact that the economic plan is not drawn up by them. It is decided by government functionaries, plant managers, and other privileged bureaucrats. This lack of democracy results in unequal distribution of goods, corruption, and mismanagement. In Poland, it has led to a generalized economic crisis.

The privileged bureaucracy that governs Poland's economy also exercises

dictatorial rule over all other aspects of Polish society. For this reason, Solidarity found the struggle for economic democracy led directly to a fight for democracy in the rest of society. The union began to act as a social movement: a movement led by the workers for the rights of farmers, poor people, and all Polish citizens who are oppressed by the government.

This experience, which is the subject of this week's installment, says a lot about where the American labor movement should be headed.

Economic struggles in this country today increasingly find their way into the political arena. A fight against the ruling rich—the mine operators, for example—often runs right up against the government they control. For many American workers, this has raised the question of what role our unions should play in society as a whole. What should labor's political program be, and what is needed to implement it?

The program outlined here is one that points toward workers' democracy in a planned economy: toward socialism. The conclusion reached in this installment remains just as true for American workers: economic and social justice will come only when working people run the government.

The translation of this document and footnotes are by 'Intercontinental Press.'

—Steve Bride

### I. Basic Values

Our union was formed barely half a year ago as a result of the struggle of the workers, supported by the whole country. Today we are a powerful social force, encompassing millions of members. Thanks to this, all working people in Poland can at last advance their common aims with dignity and effectiveness.

We were born out of the protest against injustice, humiliation, and abuse. We are an independent and self-governing union of working people of all regions and occupations. We defend the rights, dignity, and interests of all workers.

We want to peacefully shape the life of our country in accordance with patriotic ideals, social justice, and democratic rights. As a trade union, we do not aim to replace the government in performing its tasks, but we do want to represent the interests of working people in relation to the state. We will thus defend the rights of the individual, the citizen, and the worker. At the same time, we do not shirk our responsibility for the destiny of our people and country.

1. The best national traditions, the ethical principles of Christianity, the political banner of democracy, and the social thought of socialism—those are the four main sources of our inspiration.

We feel a deep attachment to the entire legacy of Polish culture, which is rooted in European culture, with a strong tie to Catholicism, but also with links to quite varied religious and philosophical traditions. We feel a very close bond with the generations of Poles who have struggled for national liberation and social justice. They have left us a tradition of open-mindedness and brotherhood, of civic responsibility for the Polish Republic and of support for equality before the law. Therefore, we have room for everyone, regardless of philosophy, nationality, or political conviction.

2. The idea that working people should join together means that we rate very highly the values that grow out of collective action. These include solidarity—after which we have named our union—comradeship, the capacity for sacrifice, and the willingness to contribute for the benefit of the union and for the broader interests of society as well. Finally, one of the values must be the idea of brotherhood among working people in a common front against the exploiters, regardless of the banners and slogans under which their exploitation is masked.

3. Our basic task—the defense of working people—is based on the principle of observing social justice. We shall strive to have this principle recognized as the basis for all state activities. We want it to become the foundation of all solutions in the domains of social policy and the organization of collective life.

To us, social justice is based on the in-

herent integrity of the individual, the dignity of the worker and his labor. We want the principle of the dignity of the individual to permeate the entire life of our union and to be the basic building stone of a new society.

From the principles of social justice and the dignity of the individual, it follows that all people are basically equal. We shall therefore press for the realization of egalitarianism in society.

We recognize the principle that wages depend on the quantity and quality of labor, as well as the difficulty and hazards of the job ("to each according to their work"), and we strive to correct unjustified disproportions in this regard. However, there is another principle that must have priority over this one—the provision of the "social minimum." This means not only the satisfaction of the elementary needs for food, clothing, and shelter, but also the satisfaction of all those social and cultural requirements that enable the individual to live a satisfying life and to develop as a person.

At the same time that we fight for a fair wage, we call on each other to be honest on the job, to maintain high work ethics, reliability, and good work. Poor work—the production of defective goods or the familiar shoddy items that no one will buy—degrades the dignity of the workers and harms society.

From the principle of equality it follows that full democracy must be as-

sured in public life. Only under a genuinely democratic system will we be able to fight effectively for our interests as workers and as a union. Only under such a system can the principle of authentic participation by the working people in the political and social life of the country to be realized. Therefore, we will press for expansion of the forms of social participation in public decision-making and in control over the activities of the authorities.

4. Our activity as a union requires that the civil rights embodied in the constitution of the Polish People's Republic be strictly observed: the right to express one's own opinions, freedom of speech and the press, the right to accurate information, the right of assembly, and the right to free association. We will defend people facing repression for exercising these rights, recognizing that repression is a violation of law and order. For the same reasons, we will strive for the removal of all restrictions on freedom of association and the restrictions connected with censorship, especially those restrictions that have nothing to do with the higher interests of the public, but that result from manipulations aimed at defending the momentary interests of the ruling circles.

5. Our union recalls the traditions of the Polish workers movement, reviving those aspects of that legacy that strengthen us with the ideals of social justice,

democracy, freedom, and independence. We enrich this legacy with the memory of the Poznan workers' demonstrations in 1956 and the bloody sacrifices of the workers on the Baltic coast in 1970 and of the workers of Radom and Ursus in 1976.<sup>1</sup>

May Day plays a special symbolic role. We must imbue this holiday with a new content and a new form, so that it becomes our holiday, the holiday of working people, and not the holiday of the state employer. And thus it must become a holiday without a division between the podium and the march; it must become a festive gathering of working people in a spirit of solidarity and equality.

6. We recognize that national values are a precious and living part of our collective consciousness and that Polish patriotism is an indispensable basis for

*Continued on next page*

1. In June 1956, a demonstration by striking steelworkers in the city of Poznan, in western Poland, grew into a mass mobilization involving much of the population; it was put down by the military and the police. In 1970, workers in Gdansk, Szczecin, and other Baltic Coast cities struck in response to higher food prices; hundreds of workers were killed by the police. In 1976, again in response to higher food prices, workers at the Ursus tractor factory outside Warsaw, in the city of Radom, and in other parts of the country again walked off their jobs and staged demonstrations.



Center: Solidarity leader Lech Walesa





# Mexican socialists win five-year ballot fight

By Fred Murphy

The Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International, has won a major victory against the government and secured ballot rights for the 1982 elections.

On June 11, Mexico's Federal Electoral Commission ruled that the PRT had met all of the government's legal requirements for "provisional registration" as a political party. This means that the PRT will be able to present candidates in the 1982 presidential and congressional elections. Parties that receive 1.5 percent of the votes in a general election are entitled to permanent registration.

"Registration of the PRT is a genuine victory for the party and for all the forces that mobilized in support of its rights," said an editorial in the June 15 issue of the PRT's weekly *Bandera Socialista*. "There can be no doubt about it—the government did not 'bestow' registration on the PRT. It was wrenched from the government by the power of an intense campaign of mobilizations; propaganda in the streets, workplaces, schools, and communications media; united actions with other organizations; and activities by the party. These demonstrated unquestionably that the PRT would not give the government the slightest pretext to deny the registration, even under the current antidemocratic conditions laid down in the Federal Law on Political Organizations and Electoral Processes."

The law in question was promulgated by the López Portillo government in 1977. Ever since then, the PRT had been fighting for legalization and ballot rights.

López Portillo had wanted to open a safety valve for discontent among workers, peasants, and students, and channel it into parliamentary activity.



Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, Mexico's best-known human rights activist. PRT has proposed her as presidential candidate in 1982.

The PRT collected the signatures of 65,000 supporters, as demanded by the new law, and presented its request for legalization to the Federal Electoral Commission in 1978.

The commission granted legalization and ballot rights to the Communist Party and several other groups at that time, but it refused to certify the PRT. It did, however, recognize the PRT's legality as a "political association." The commission indicated that the question of ballot rights could be reconsidered if the PRT carried out activity for one year as a "political association."

From then until earlier this year, the government stalled by simply refusing to reconvene the electoral commission. So, beginning in early March, the PRT and other groups seeking legalization began campaigning to force the regime to reopen the registration process.

After several demonstrations and other protest actions, the government convened the commission on March 31. The PRT and at least six other parties submitted the required documentation and pressed their demands before the commission.

The high point of the PRT's campaign

was an April 5 rally in Mexico City attended by some 1,400 members and supporters. The rally also launched the PRT's proposal that Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, the leader of the National Front Against Repression (FNCR) and Mexico's most noted human-rights fighter, be the presidential candidate of the entire working-class and popular movement in 1982. The PRT announced it would present Ibarra de Piedra as its presidential candidate if it gained ballot status.

In subsequent weeks, the PRT and Ibarra de Piedra were the target of death threats from a so-called National Patriotic Anticommunist Front. This outfit was widely believed to be linked to the government's repressive apparatus.

Similar threats against the PRT were made in 1978 when the party was beginning its campaign for legalization. But at no time has the PRT backed off from vigorously demanding its rights under the law. Its intransigence paid off with the June 11 victory.

The electoral commission chose to grant ballot rights to only one other party besides the PRT, a bourgeois grouping that calls itself the Social Democratic Party (PSD). The government apparently hoped to sow resentment among other leftist organizations by granting ballot status to some and denying it to others.

"The decision to reject the other requests is a violation of the democratic rights of those organizations to exist legally and enjoy electoral status," the *Bandera Socialista* editorial declared. "The PRT protests this and will bring it up in its first appearance before the Federal Electoral Commission as a registered party. The PRT also opposes the fact that the commission's decisions are not subject to appeal, and it pledges to keep fighting for the registration of all parties."

## ...Solidarity union draft program

Continued from preceding page

unity and social sacrifice for the sake of the country. We note that national values are the main bonds that hold together our society today, and that in the last analysis they are the guarantee of our national independence and sovereignty. The social protest strikes of last summer, which led to the birth of our union, were also directed against the attempt to expunge national values from our public consciousness.

7. Our union is an organization encompassing many outlooks, open to people of all faiths, as well as those of no faiths. But the immense majority of our members—like the majority of our country's citizens—were brought up as Christians. Christian inspiration was one of the main ideological values included in our program. The cross that hangs next to the Polish eagle on the walls of many union offices reminds our members of the origins of their morality and instills in them a belief in the justness of our cause. We want to maintain this source of inspiration, but that in no way means we will abandon the secular character of our organization.

### II. Political Sources of Crisis

Together, we must all overcome the economic crisis that threatens us with catastrophe. But we will not be able to do that if we do not expose and eliminate its social and political causes. The core of this crisis lies in the disappearance of democratic institutions and, related to that, the abyss that exists between the people and the government in the system of public administration that has existed up to now. Also contributing to this crisis have been the incorrect concepts and decisions relating to agriculture (the aim of eliminating individual peasant ownership), the preference for industry as the core of production to the detriment of consumer goods,

and the government take-over of the cooperatives and the small private businesses.

1. The central feature of this system is the absence of mechanisms for democratic decision-making, and the absence of any responsibility for decisions or changes made by people in administrative positions. Decisions affecting all of society are made by party and administrative organs not subject to any social control. These decisions are not preceded by free discussion, during which alternative ways to solve problems can be brought to light. There is no room for independent expert opinion, and no consideration of essential information on the state of the country and the economy. Thus society is excluded from the process of making decisions. They are made by one or another member of the bureaucracy.

2. Bureaucratic methods of government make it impossible to correct errors. It is often not even possible to warn about the catastrophic results of incorrect decisions. It is impossible to do this because of all the censorship and the laws on state, economic, and official secrets. But it is also impossible because of the entire system, which tends to obstruct every effort to elaborate alternative programs, every independent opinion or analysis. These obstacles are applied not only to questions of political and social importance, but also to economic and purely technical questions. This results in major losses, costing the country hundreds of billions of zlotys.

3. Within the bureaucratic system of government and economic management, there have been formed a close class of rulers not subject to control by those they rule. People in the apparatus of power make decisions more with an eye to their own personal interests, material privileges, and careers than to the

interests of society. Incorrect decisions on investment (such as the construction of Huta Katowice) and the squandering of foreign loans were often the result of the interaction between mutually reinforcing or contending groups within the ruling apparatus, acting in their own interests.

In the years 1976-79, bureaucratic management made it increasingly difficult to take steps to avert the outbreak of a crisis. As a rule, the bureaucratic apparatus was also opposed to all changes or reforms that could have shaken its position, wealth, or influence.

4. As a result of all this, there was no opportunity in Poland for socioeconomic reform to save us from the crisis. The ex-

isting political system was incapable, or simply not strong enough, to correct itself. It was only through a grave economic crisis, the explosion of social protest, and the formation of Solidarity that the road toward reform and renewal was opened up.

From this experience comes an important conclusion: that economic reform in Poland cannot succeed and cannot bring the expected economic and social results unless it is accompanied by a deepgoing reform in the system of government functioning—a reform that would eliminate the causes of the crisis inherent in the present social and political system and provide guarantees that the old system would not return.

(Next week: economic crisis and reform)

## Cuban news agency on Solidarity Program

When the Solidarity program was first made public, the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina took note of it in an April 15 dispatch from Warsaw. 'Intercontinental Press' translated the following from an article in the April 16 issue of the Havana daily 'Granma,' publication of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

WARSAW, April 15 (PL)—The parallel union "Solidarity" has declared that it will refrain from presenting social demands in 1981 if the government complies with three basic points.

This statement is contained in the union's program, which has been

made public in this capital. The newspaper *Trybuna Ludu* published a version of the program today.

The union puts forward the following as basic points that must be met if it is to refrain from presenting new demands:

- The principles of the government's economic policy must be agreed to by the union;
- The government must commit itself to a program of reforms that can guarantee harmonious economic development in the future; and
- The government's economic policy must truly conform to the principle of protecting the average income level of inhabitants, putting priority on groups that receive the social minimum.



# The Black Party and the fight for freedom

By Derrick Adams

LOS ANGELES—Rev. Ben Chavis, a national spokesperson of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), toured the Los Angeles area May 1-3. This was the first membership drive of the L.A. NBIPP.

Chavis gained national prominence as one of the Wilmington Ten. Railroaded to prison by racist authorities in North Carolina, their release was finally won by major protests.

Chavis spoke here to more than 650 people at high schools, colleges, and public meetings. In radio interviews alone, he reached thousands of Blacks in the area.

A membership rally of the NBIPP May 2 was attended by 125 people. It was chaired by Emily Gibson of the local Atlanta child murders action committee. In addition to Chavis, the meeting heard Councilman Mel Mason of Seaside, California. Mason is a member of the national party organizing committee of the NBIPP.

The following are excerpts from Mason's speech and Chavis's.

## Mel Mason

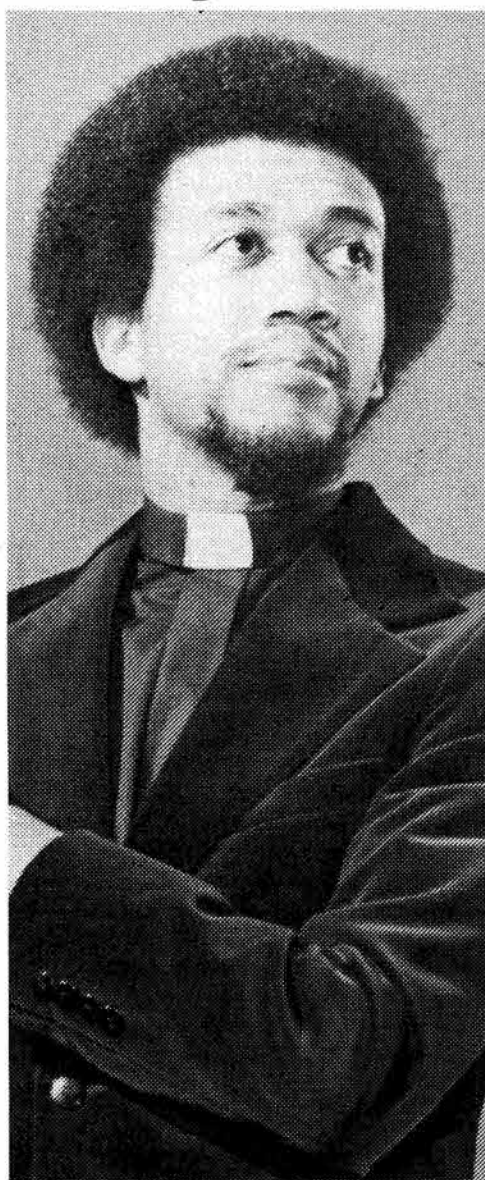
When I was young, I experienced the U.S. Air Force. Since then, I've dedicated my life to the struggle of Black people. The U.S. Air Force removed forever my rose-colored glasses, and taught me that freedom, justice, and equality will not come, especially after 400 years of robbery, murder, and slavery.

There was a time that we felt that if we waited long enough that change would surely come. Here we live in the most brutal, racist society in the world. And we've been giving it more time.

Freedom doesn't come as a result of a racist system slowly developing a love for its victims, and a need to repent for its crimes. It's never happened on earth at any time. And it's not going to happen here. Freedom is brought about through struggle, and that is why Black people here have got to commit themselves to the truth of history and build the NBIPP.

In the fifties, we found that people in white robes came to lynch us. In the seventies and eighties, we find people in black robes lynch us in the Supreme Court. The exploitative nature of America has not changed. Soon Black people in this country will recognize the true nature of this American system, which is not to provide us with decent jobs, housing, education, and social equality.

The mobilizations of the sixties forced concessions from the ruling rich; the Democratic and Republican parties became equal opportunity membership recruiters, opening up to literally thousands of Black politicians. They wanted it to appear that participation in these



Left, Rev. Ben Chavis; right, Mel Mason.



two standard-bearers of racism was the solution to the problem. In my opinion, that's like going to Jack the Ripper to be treated for a sore throat.

Here you have a Black mayor in L.A. who was recently re-elected as a result of a campaign which was financed primarily by rich whites. And after he won, he made the statement, "I think it is clear I have a mandate to carry out my program."

What program? What mandate? When you take into account that more Blacks and non-whites have been murdered by police under this man than any white racist mayor, than any mayor in the history of L.A.

Surveys have shown conclusively—even white surveys—that any contact between a citizen of Los Angeles and a policeman is more likely to result in the death of a citizen than in any other city on earth.

We know that when we have our Black leaders telling us to give Reagan a chance before we pass judgment on his administration, we know it's time for the NBIPP.

In Atlanta, a Black mayor, a Black city council, a Black public safety director, and a so-called Black task force have all engaged in a conscious effort to cover up the murders; and even more, slander the mothers of the murdered children in an attempt to blame the victims.

What we need in this country is a new Black leadership. The NBIPP is developing that kind of leadership.

A very good example of Black leadership can be found in the Caribbean isle of Grenada, an English-speaking Black revolutionary country that two years ago overthrew its former dictator Eric Gairy while he was at a UFO convention.

The leadership in Grenada has a stake in the revolutions in Nicaragua and El Salvador, and in the freedom struggles in Angola, Namibia, and Zambia.

So if Black people in Grenada can overcome 300 years of slavery and dictatorship and build their own nation, then surely Black people in this jungle called the United States can build the Nation-

al Black Independent Political Party. My party is your party. Join the NBIPP.

## Ben Chavis:

We realize Black people will never have power in L.A., U.S.A., until Black people organize for political empowerment. The NBIPP is committed to help in the liberation of Black people. The Democratic and Republican parties do not serve the interests of Black liberation. In fact, they serve the interests of Black oppression.

We have seized the historic necessity to declare political independence from the two-party system. We have channeled our rage and anger into something constructive, and a powerful mechanism. So much of the anger that we Black Americans feel has been internalized. So many of us turn on each other instead of capitalism, the real enemy. Thus, in 1981 we have become, we are, a divided people.

I am angry that 28 young Black lives have been taken away from us in Atlanta. They say that it takes a crisis to bring us together. We've been in a crisis for 400 years. It was a crisis for us when they stole us from Africa and put us on slave ships and brought us here.

The history of the world has never known the brutality, the enslavement, the sheer inhumanity, that has been visited upon Black people in America. It has been unparalleled in the world. Just experiencing oppression does not necessarily translate into a struggle of liberation. If that were so, we would be one of the most revolutionary peoples in the world—based just on how we have been treated here.

We're committed to building the NBIPP. This party must be mass-based, community-based from the bottom up, not from the top down. For its success, you and I must become involved.

The future and destiny of our people is not in the hands of Ronnie Reagan—the destiny of Black people is in the hands of Black people.

We issue you a call to help us build a strong chapter of the NBIPP in Los Angeles—to help us turn back the tide of political repression that we face; to help us turn the anger that all of us feel into construction that has the ability to liberate our people, that has the ability to provide justice for our people.

That can only happen when you look at our people in a world context—the international struggle—because you cannot talk about the murders of our children in Atlanta without talking about the murders of our children in Soweto, South Africa. Our children are being murdered in Namibia. Our children are being murdered in the Caribbean as this government attempts to destabilize the Caribbean.

No longer will we be silent, no longer will we be spectators to Black oppression.

## Eric Sell: socialist and antiwar activist

By Margaret Jayko

Eric Sell, a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, died in Carlsbad, California, on June 12.

Sell, twenty-seven years old, had been a member of the YSA and SWP from 1968 until the mid-1970s.

He joined the YSA in Detroit in 1968 when he was fifteen years old, and later joined the SWP.

He was a student at Cass Technical High School, and active in building the Student Mobilization Committee Against the War in Vietnam.

Sell left Detroit for Austin, Texas, in 1969.

He enrolled in Austin High School, where he was subjected to FBI harassment. His principal told him that the FBI had been at the school to inquire

about his activity against the Vietnam War.

After graduating from high school, Eric enrolled at the University of Texas at Austin, where he helped organize an effective team of YSAers to participate in campus political life.

From Austin, Eric moved to Houston to be the YSA full-time regional organizer. He traveled around the Southwest, meeting with YSA members and recruiting new people to the socialist movement.

In early 1972 he was an SWP candidate for Austin school board. He and two other SWP candidates were ruled off the ballot for refusing to sign a "loyalty" oath.

Despite his youth, Eric was well-versed in socialist ideas.

As a high school student in Detroit, he used to attend every class and forum sponsored by the YSA and SWP. By the time he got to Austin, he was giving classes on socialism.

In 1972, Eric, his brother Barry, his mother Evelyn, and Kathy Stallworth were in a serious car accident. Eric was in a coma for many weeks which left him with severe health problems. He needed medical care and medication for the rest of his life. The exact cause of his death has not yet been determined.

Following the 1972 accident, Eric moved to Los Angeles. He eventually resigned from the SWP and YSA, because he felt that his health problems made it impossible to be a member. But he continued to actively support the socialist movement.

He moved to San Diego in the late

1970s, and worked with the SWP and YSA in building solidarity with the Salvadoran revolution.

He was active in Students for Peace at the University of California in San Diego, and the Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

John Naubert, the SWP organizer in San Diego, told the *Militant*, "He spent a lot of time discussing and debating the ideas of the SWP with others who considered themselves socialists. And when he would meet anyone who seemed interested in our ideas, he would steer them to our bookstore."

"When he was working, he would make regular financial contributions to the party."

"Despite his personal problems, Eric always maintained his commitment to revolutionary socialism."





**No rights, no chief**—Secretary of State Haig is considering eliminating the job of chief of the bureau of human rights. Meanwhile, Nestle's man, Ernest Lefever, who the Senate balked at approving for the job, has been hired by the State Department as a consultant on terrorism, counterterrorism, and nuclear proliferation. All of which, we presume, he's good at.

**No chastity belts?**—The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee unanimously approved a resolution cosponsored by Edward (Chappaquiddick) Kennedy to reduce teen pregnancy by promoting "self-discipline."

**Housing tip**—A nice one-family house in midtown Manhattan. A distinguished former owner. Dick ("I'm no crook") Nixon bought it in '79 for \$750,000. He then moved to a \$1 million suburban pad. So the town house is now up for sale. Check it out. \$2.9 million.

**Can tell the grandkids**—If the price tag is too high on the Nixon home, con-

sider a visit to the Nixon Memorabilia Museum, right near the old San Clemente home. For only a dollar, you can see pictures of Dick with Mao, Brezhnev, and John Wayne. Or authenticated tags from Pat's luggage. But hurry. It's about to fold for lack of patrons.

**Holy \$ee**—The International Management Group, which promotes celebrities, is organizing the souvenir market for the pope's visit to England. A logo has been trademarked for Papal Visits Ltd. "When the pope visited Ireland," a spokesperson explained, "Everybody made money except the church. Now the church feels the promotion should be done in a controlled way and it should benefit."

**The nuke in your future**—When planned in the 1960s, five nuclear power plants in Washington state were touted as the cheapest way to power the Northwest. Now, with construction still incomplete and uncertain on all five plants, the projected cost has spiraled from \$6.6 billion in 1970 to a current



\$23.9 billion. The *New York Times* sees it as the industry's "biggest headache."

**Safeguarding the throne**—To assure necessary privacy to corporate



chiefs, keys to executive toilets are being eliminated. One designer explained, "No one likes to be buttonholed by one of his executives on the way to the bathroom."

## Union Talk

# A miner killed . . . his boss was in a hurry

The following column is by Nancy Makler, a member of United Mine Workers Local 1702.

Three days before the 1981 Bituminous Coal Wage Agreement was signed, a roof bolter helper was killed in a roof fall at a nonunion mine in Maidsville, West Virginia.

MAIDSVILLE, W.Va.—The rumors started up as soon as Sam Church announced the new contract offer.

Most of the little nonunion dogholes around here had given up trying to run coal sometime in April. The scab operators had sent their workers home, inviting them to return when the United Mine Workers got a contract.

But the bosses at Laurita Trucking and Excavating didn't wait that long. People in the neighborhood said they heard the belts running by June 2. And on June 4, Duke Larew got covered up. He died like most coal miners, because his boss got in a hurry.

The union had been keeping an eye on Maidsville

throughout April and May. Nothing doing.

But this week two things were different. First the operators were hoping we'd be so busy falling all over ourselves to get back to work that we'd lose interest in them. And then there was the problem at Ft. Martin.

Ft. Martin is just upriver from Maidsville. It generates most of the electric power for this area. Miners usually don't think too well of it. Local newspapers have reported that it burns nonunion Kentucky coal.

Ft. Martin's problem this week was that they'd long since thrown most of their stockpile on the fire under the boiler. They needed to replace some of the coal they normally get from local union mines.

And that's why Duke Larew's boss was in a hurry. He had gotten the Ft. Martin contract. I can almost hear him, even though I wasn't there. "Gotta get it, boys."

They say that in union mines too. The difference is that you don't have to pay attention to them.

We got to Duke's mine almost a day late. Since Tuesday, some union people had been trying to organize a picket to shut the Maidsville mines back down again. It took us 'til Friday afternoon shift to get a few people out to the Laurita mines we heard were working.

We meandered down the long hollow road, full of gullies and craters because nobody wants to spend the money to put a real roadbed in. There were ash heaps and coal and slag dumped all over.

Just as we got to the portal, there was a downpour, and the road became a river. The place seemed pretty quiet. Of the four or five vehicles we saw coming out, two were from the Department of Labor.

We didn't know why 'til we got home. That's when we heard about Duke on the radio. The Morgantown *Dominion-Post* hasn't covered the story of his accident yet, except for the obituary.

Maybe people getting killed in nonunion mines isn't news. That's why we need the union.

# What's Going On

## CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

**VIETNAM VETERANS SPEAK ABOUT HUNGER STRIKE PROTEST.** A panel of veterans will explain the effects of Agent Orange, the abysmal health care doled out to veterans, and why they are protesting in Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. Fri., July 17, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St., near San Diego City College. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

## INDIANA GARY

**SUPPORT THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY LAWSUIT AGAINST THE FBI.** Benefit barbeque. Sat., July 25, 3 p.m. 3780 Rhode Island. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

## INDIANAPOLIS

**HOW CAN WE STOP REAGAN'S WAR AGAINST THE POOR?** A panel discussion. Fri., July 24, 7:30 p.m. 4850 North College. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

## MICHIGAN DETROIT

**NICARAGUA: TWO YEARS LATER.** Speaker: Jim Zelinski, Michigan Interchurch Committee for Central

American Human Rights. Sat., July 18, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-3522.

## MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

**RADICAL LABOR TRADITIONS ON THE IRON RANGE.** Speaker: Michael Karni, coeditor of *For the Common Good—Finnish Immigration and the Radical Response to Industrial America*. Fri., July 24, 7:30 p.m. 1012 Second Ave. South, Virginia. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

## PENNSYLVANIA HARRISBURG

**POLAND: EYEWITNESS REPORT FROM U.S. COAL MINER.** Speaker: DeAnn Rathbun, visited Poland in April, coal miner and Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh. Sat., July 18, 7 p.m. Friends Meeting House, 6th and Herr. Donation: \$1. Social to follow. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (717) 236-6334.

## PITTSBURGH

**AN EVENING TO DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS.** A benefit for the Political Rights Defense Fund. Film: *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, a documentary on James Kutcher, a McCarthy-era witch-hunt victim who fought back and won. Speakers: Philip Foner, author and labor historian; Howard Petrick, producer of film.

Fri., July 24, 7:30 p.m. David Lawrence Hall, Room 120, University of Pittsburgh. Ausp: Central America Mobilization Coalition; New American Movement; Tho-

mas Merton Center; Socialist Workers Party; Young Socialist Alliance; Communist Workers Party. For more information call (412) 488-7755.

# Celebrate Cuban revolution

## ILLINOIS CHICAGO

**SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA. CELEBRATE JULY 26 AND PROTEST REAGAN'S BAN ON CUBAN PERIODICALS TO U.S.** Slides and speakers from solidarity and protest movement, live broadcasts from Radio Havana. Party after rally. Fri., July 24, 7 p.m. 434 So. Wabash. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Chicago Gary District, Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

## MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

**COME CELEBRATE 22 YEARS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION.** Speakers: José G. Pérez, editor, *Perspectiva Mundial*; Tiffany Patterson, National Black Independent Political Party; Julio Quan, Guatemalan professor, Fulbright Scholar. Sat., July 25, 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. 6 p.m. wine and cheese reception; 7 p.m. program; 8:45 p.m. disco. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

## RHODE ISLAND PROVIDENCE

**CUBA: EYEWITNESS REPORT.** Slides and forum. Speaker: Mark Schneider, member of Socialist Workers Party and Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Local 1089, recently returned from Cuba. Thurs., July 23, 7:30 p.m. St. Michael's Rectory, first floor, 239 Oxford St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (401) 726-3657.

## TEXAS HOUSTON

**A TRIBUTE TO THE CUBAN REVOLUTION.** An evening of Cuban food, slides, speakers, and music. Program: "Cuba Yesterday and Today"; "Cuba's Inspiration to Nicaragua, Grenada, and El Salvador"; and "The Role of the U.S. Government and How We Can Defend the Cuban Revolution." Slides from Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua. Sat., July 25, Dinner 6:30 p.m., \$3 a plate. Program: 7:30 p.m., \$1.50 donation. 6333 Gulf Freeway, Griggs Exit. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 924-4056.



# Letters



## Photo with a message

I think the accompanying picture makes a graphic illustration of the brutality of the British occupiers of Northern Ireland.

It shows Maura McDonnell, whose son Joseph just died on hunger strike, and Meurig Parri. They're displaying a rubber bullet used by the British Army.  
*Douglas Clark, Morgantown, West Virginia*

## Baseball strike

Some co-workers and I were discussing the baseball strike last night.

Person number one sided with the players: "I don't blame

million, and owners like the Kauffmans [Royals] couldn't compete."

Number one: "Aw, the Kauffmans have plenty of money. They could pay if they wanted to. They're just cheap when it comes to the players."

I said, "It sounds like in any case the bottom line is money, not the game of baseball, and not the fans."

Number one: "Money, that's it exactly."

Number two: "What they should do is set a limit on players' salaries."

The discussion continued all day.

Another worker said, "I don't understand the issues in the strike, but I do think that anyone should be able to use the stadium who wants to, in the meantime."

Several comparisons and contrasts were made between ourselves as auto workers and the baseball players.

Number one said, "If Ford offered to pay you twenty dollars an hour, you'd take that in a minute over GM's ten dollars."

I explained what I knew of the Cuban system, where baseball players are ordinary workers who are compensated at their regular rate for time spent playing baseball, and all the games are free. "You just walk in and sit down." Number one and number two thought that sounded more reasonable than doing it all for money.

Another worker highlighted the differences between auto workers and baseball players by joking about going in for free agency himself. "I think I should be able to get a better deal with some team besides the GM team."

*Marty Pettit  
Kansas City, Missouri*

## Rich survive heat wave

The Center for Disease Control issued a report June 19 on the 1980 heat wave. Here is one of its conclusions:

"Low socioeconomic status and race other than white were characteristics also associated with increased rate of heatstroke."

Solution to the heat wave: spend more time in air-conditioned places. (Like a lobby inside a bank.)

*John Rabbets  
Cullman, Alabama*

## No unemployment either?

D. Michael Broome, who makes his living promoting "America and free enterprise," proclaimed the "failure of communism" in his commencement address to the County College of Morris, New Jersey. He also declared that "racism and sexism have been virtually erased in America."

Perhaps this explains why a picture accompanying a *Newark Star-Ledger* article on this event is captioned, "Graduates enjoy a laugh during commencement exercises."

*Steve Patt  
Gillette, New Jersey*

## Conspiracy of silence

While attending one of the sessions of the socialists' trial of the FBI down in Foley Square, two thoughts kept running through my mind. One, the conspiracy of silence on the part of the capitalist media; and two, why are there empty seats in the spectator sections of the courtroom?

Over the past few months, the media was filled with the trials of Jean Harris, the Abscam trials, and the Margiotta trial. Invariably these trials have been front-page news. But they pale in comparison with the trial of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance vs. the Government.

In historic importance, this trial can be said to be the most important trial of the century, perhaps exceeding in importance the trial of the eighteen socialist and Teamster leaders in Minneapolis. For this trial marks the first time that not only the ideas of Marxism are on trial, but where the government is the defendant and where, in effect, the government must demonstrate that it has the right to trample on the Bill of Rights in the name of national security.

One would think that a trial of such monumental importance would be front-page news in all the media. For does not the masthead of the *New York Times* read, "All the news that's fit to print"? But alas, taking just New York City as an example, the *Times* has seen fit to print only two

articles in the two-and-a-half-month-old trial, while the *Daily News* and *New York Post* have seen fit to print nothing at all. Nobody ever again will have to prove a conspiracy of silence on the part of the capitalist media.

*Bernard Stanton  
New York, New York*

## Wants tax article

I think a fairly extensive, educational article on Reagan's proposed tax cuts would be welcomed by American workers who are understandably confused on the question.

At the same time that they hope for a tax break to help their dwindling pay checks, American workers suspect that somewhere in there there's got to be a catch, and that workers as usual will get screwed.

How about an article that would explain in *concrete* why the proposal is no good for workers and what the Socialist Workers Party's position is on taxes?

Thanks.  
*Daniela Dixon  
New York, New York*

## Transit boycott

The increase in the New York City transit fare is an outrage! What is needed is a massive boycott of the transit system to demand better service and no fare. Such a boycott would bring the city to a grinding halt because of massive traffic jams.

In order to achieve such a goal, union and community organizations would have to organize alternative forms of transportation. An effective boycott would show New Yorkers that City Hall, the state, the banks, and the bosses can be beaten. We just need to bring Montgomery to New York City.

*Jonathan D. Pollock  
New York, New York*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

**CALIFORNIA:** Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 44 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

**FLORIDA:** Gainesville: YSA, c/o Don Mackle, 1208 S.W. First Ave. Zip: 32601. Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 1301 W. Green, Room 284. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

**INDIANA:** Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-

6149.

**IOWA:** Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613.

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01004. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Tel: (313) 663-7068. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Cen-

tral Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

**NEW YORK:** Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494.

**New York, Brooklyn:** SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. **New York, Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003.

Tel: (212) 260-6400. **New York, City-wide:** SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. **Harrisburg:** SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 3255. Zip: 17105. **Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. **State College:** YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, 52 Earle St., Central Falls. Zip: 02863.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. **Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. **San Antonio:** SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

**UTAH:** Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. **Baltimore-Washington District:** 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

**WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332.

**Seattle:** SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Charleston: SWP, YSA, Box 3761. Zip: 25337. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.



# THE MILITANT

## Protests oppose fruit fly spraying Government rains poison on California residents

By Judy Stranahan  
and George Johnson

SAN JOSE—Outrage has erupted throughout Santa Clara and neighboring counties over state and federal government spraying of large parts of the area with Malathion, a carcinogenic and toxic insecticide.

The government contends the aerial spraying is necessary to combat infestation by larvae of the Mediterranean fruit fly, which have been found in fruit in several parts of the area.

There are many reasons for outrage over the spraying:

- Dangers to life and health from the poison;
- No hearings have been held to go into these dangers;
- All decisions concerning spraying have been made totally by executive decision. Public opinion has been completely ignored.
- It is widely known that agribusiness monopolies, many owned by the giant energy trusts that also sell Malathion, are behind the rush to spray.

### Widespread protests

The decision to spray by helicopter was made by leaders of both the big business parties, the Democrats and Republicans. But public opposition and mistrust are so widespread that California Governor Jerry Brown, a Democrat, is trying to maintain that his hands were tied and that Republican President Ronald Reagan is responsible.

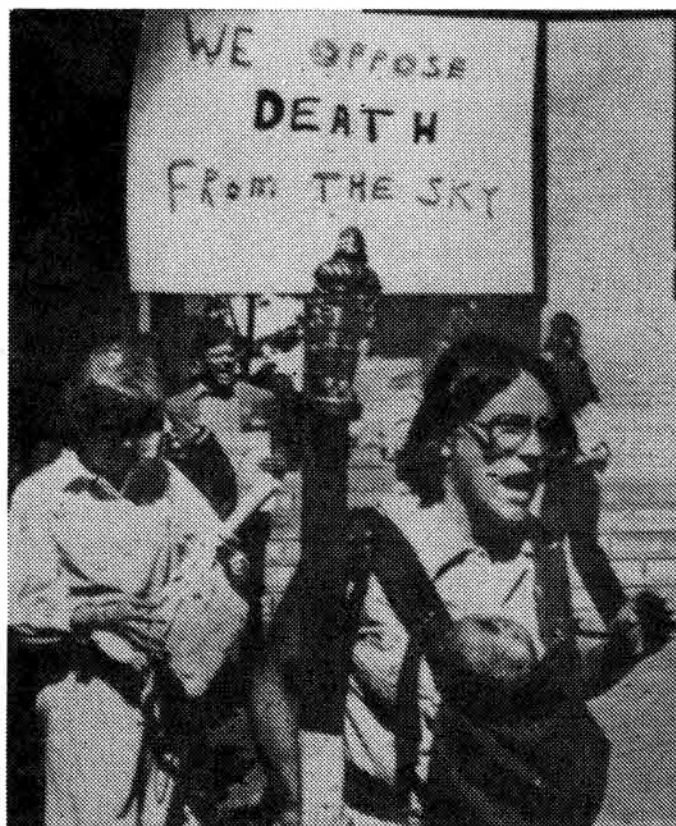
The Reagan administration earlier refused to let the helicopters use Moffett Field, reportedly because Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger "didn't want people storming" the Navy air station.

Since then, the whereabouts of both the Malathion and the helicopter has been a closely-guarded secret.

A citizen's patrol is driving through northern Santa Clara County looking for trucks carrying the spray. Equipped with CB radios, they plan to lay down in front of the trucks.

Citizens have vowed that every attempt to spray aerially will be met by opposition ranging from protests at public hearings to civil disobedience.

Coordinators of the spraying project have reported receiving letters, some from Vietnam veterans. One letter vowed "not to be sprayed with Mala-



Left, protests against aerial spraying. Right, workers stripping fruit trees in possibly infested area. Some of these workers have already reported health problems from stripping sprayed trees.

thion at home like you got us with Agent Orange in 'Nam."

Impromptu demonstrations have been held and more are expected. Mistrust of the government is evident at the protests. Placards call the sprayings "Jerry Brown's Love Canal" and "Another Three Mile Island," and say "Don't use me as a guinea pig."

Up till now, no union has taken a position against the spraying, although a number of members of the United Farmworkers Union have spoken against it. Farmworkers, of course, face severe risks from the poison.

### Dangers of Malathion

A warning on a can of Malathion, made by Ortho (a division of Chevron), indicates some of the dangers:

"Harmful if swallowed. Do not breathe vapor or spray mist. Avoid contact with skin. . . . Avoid contamination of feed or foodstuffs. . . . Keep children and animals away from treated areas until these areas are dry. . . . This product will kill fish. Keep out of any body of

water."

And there are other indications that the spraying of Malathion is not as safe as the media and government officials have claimed.

Local officials have cautioned residents not to breathe the spray, and not to go outdoors during spraying. If you have to drive, they say, roll up car windows, "don't use air conditioning, and close all air vents."

Shelters outside of spray areas have been set up by local governments and the Red Cross to handle evacuations.

Some ground spraying of Malathion has already taken place, along with mandatory stripping of fruit from trees and potentially infested areas. Some workers who have been stripping have reported stomach cramps and nausea, as have residents with pulmonary difficulties.

Dr. Allen McGrath, who heads a group of physicians opposed to aerial spraying, said research "demonstrates that Malathion produces neurotoxicity, cancer, birth defects, genetic changes, and a host of other problems."

McGrath added that claims that the pesticide is relatively safe for "the average, healthy adult . . . have virtually no relevance whatsoever in reference to a widespread and indiscriminate aerial application over a general population."

### Small farmers

Governor Brown, after posturing against aerial spraying, ordered it after the Reagan administration threatened to quarantine produce from the entire state—not just the fly-infested area.

Alternatives to aerial spraying exist, but were never seriously considered or carried out.

Consequently, many small farmers face ruin unless spraying occurs. The government turned up the pressure on these farmers a week ago, when it closed down commercial fruit and vegetable stands, which are the biggest buyers of produce from small farmers here.

In addition, no compensation is to be paid to farmers, or to tens of thousands of workers—many of them old and retired on inadequate pensions—who depend on their gardens for food.

## New Orleans cops indicted for racist beatings

By Rashaad Ali

NEW ORLEANS—A federal grand jury handed down indictments July 9 against seven white cops here for beating and intimidating Blacks last November. But no charges were filed against the cops responsible for murdering four Black people in the same series of incidents.

The seven cops were charged with conspiracy to violate civil rights. They were also charged with a number of misdemeanors.

The seven-page indictment graphically describes the standard operating procedures of the New Orleans Police Department.

Last November a cop was killed. Police then terrorized the Black community in retaliation. The indictment reveals that cops pulled up to a Black residential area and ordered: "OK, if you niggers don't live here, you're coming with us."

They picked up Clarence Greene that way. They drove him to the police station, where they kicked and beat him.

Two other victims of police procedures were tied to a chair and beaten across the head with a large book. Plastic bags were tied over their heads and they were driven to a secluded area, where they were beaten again and threatened with

a shotgun.

The interrogations lasted up to eighteen hours.

By these methods the cops forced Robert Davis and Johnny Brownlee into saying that they had seen the killing of the cop. Davis and Brownlee were forced to finger Reginald Miles and James Billie.

With this, the cops got a warrant and killed Miles, Billie, and also Sherri Singleton in a massacre November 13.

Davis and Brownlee later recanted their statements.

A few days earlier, the cops also murdered a fourth man, Raymond Ferdi-

nand, a police informer, at the same time. A woman friend of Ferdinand was beaten as he was killed in the police station.

The civil right indictments are concessions to the anger in the Black community over these murders and torture by the cops. But the indictments do not go far enough to satisfy the demand for justice in New Orleans.

The indictments are viewed in the Black community as a first step. Plans have been made for activities to take place around July 26 to demand that the mayor and the district attorney bring murder charges against the killer cops.