

March 27 protests will answer Reagan's Salvador war plans



Nearly 1,000 demonstrators in Albuquerque greeted President Reagan with chants of "U.S. out of El Salvador," as he addressed March 2 Republican Party fundraiser. See story, page 5.

Militant/Araceli Martinez

Thousands set to converge on Washington

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

The Reagan administration's decision to give the green light to CIA "covert action" against Nicaragua underscores the need to redouble efforts for the March 27 national march on Washington against U.S. intervention in El Salvador and the rest of Central America and the Caribbean.

In a March 8 interview with the *Washington Post*, Nicaraguan government leader Sergio Ramírez explained, "The people of the United States have become the principal element to stop any aggression against us or intervention in Central America." If that were not the case, he said, "we think people like [Secretary of State Alexander] Haig and [UN Ambassador Jeane] Kirkpatrick would have long ago invaded us."

The March 27 Coalition office in Washington reports that buses, car caravans, and vans are already being organized for the demonstration from New York, Michigan, New Jersey, Illinois, North Carolina, Minnesota, Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, Ohio, Rhode Island, Nebraska, Tennessee, Florida, and Georgia.

The New York March 27 Coalition office reports that already over 100 buses have been reserved. In addition, activists are expected to participate in the Washington march from the upstate New York cities of Syracuse, Binghamton, and Ithaca.

The Midwest region of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) reports that the response to March 27 has been "amazing." Buses are reserved in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Gary, Dayton, Kansas City, Indianapolis, Bloomington, Toledo, and many others.

The Midwest office also reported that there has been a dramatic rise in requests for the film, *El Salvador: Another Vietnam*. The office's copies of the film have been booked solid for every day this month.

Boston CISPES says that twenty-five buses have been initially reserved. A number of these will be organized from the North Shore of the state, in order to bring a contingent from the International Union of Electrical Workers, which represents workers in the General Electric plants in that area.

A regional demonstration in coordination with the Washington march has been organized for Dallas.

In addition, Phoenix and Tucson, Arizona, groups are planning local activities on March 27.

Seattle groups are planning a march and a rally, and organizations in Los Angeles have called for an all-night vigil. Activists in the San Francisco Bay Area will be organizing a mass picket at the Oakland Alameda Naval Center, where antiwar and religious figures will also hold a nonviolent protest aimed at blocking the entrance to the center.

Additional endorsers for the March 27
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U.S. plots Nicaragua intervention

BY HARRY RING

MARCH 11 — In a monumental display of hypocrisy, the Reagan administration has trumpeted lurid charges of a "dangerous" military buildup by Nicaragua. The charges come at the very moment of new revelations that Washington is organizing an undeclared war against Nicaragua.

The "exposure" of legitimate Nicaraguan defense preparations signals a dangerous new attempt to drag this country into a Central American war.

It's part of a propaganda barrage aimed at reversing the massive opposition of the American people to intervention in El Salvador.

The alleged Nicaraguan "menace" to Central America — not to speak of the preposterous idea of a "threat" to the United States — is pure fraud. But Washington's aggression against Nicaragua is real and already under way.

The March 10 *Washington Post* confirmed that Reagan has authorized a covert plan of military operations inside Nicaragua.

The initial phase of the plan involves CIA funding and organization of a "paramilitary" force of 500 Latin American mercenaries, operating from Honduras, to conduct raids into neighboring Nicaragua.

"As part of this plan," the *Post* reported, "the commandos eventually would attempt to destroy vital Nicaraguan targets, such as power plants and bridges."

Under this plan, Cuba would also be targeted for military aggression directly by the CIA.

Secret National Security Council documents, the *Post* reported, said the CIA in some cases might "take unilateral paramilitary action — possibly using U.S. personnel — against special Cuban targets."

No mention was made of already known plans to "destabilize" revolutionary Grenada.

The administration is trying to squirm around the *Washington Post* revelation that Reagan authorized a secret strike force against Nicaragua. Unidentified "secret officials" claimed the report was untrue but confirmed Argentina and Venezuela are assembling such a mercenary force, assertedly without U.S. dollars. They also admitted Washington is secretly funneling millions of dollars to "moderate" opponents

of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. The operation is being conducted by the CIA, which determines who the "moderates" are.

The plan for Nicaragua is an escalating one. The *Post* said the initial 500-member military unit "would be supplemented by another Latin-American commando force of up to 1,000 men — some of whom are currently undergoing

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Israeli forces set to launch another invasion of Lebanon

BY DAVID FRANKEL

The Middle East is on the brink of a new war. Israeli forces along that country's northern border with Lebanon and Syria have been mobilized for the past three months. The Zionist regime is just waiting for a pretext to unleash its army.

On March 1 Egyptian Ambassador to the United States Ashraf Ghorbal cut short discussions in Egypt and rushed back to Washington with an urgent message for President Reagan. The Egyptians asked Reagan to rein in Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

But U.S. policymakers are pretending that there is not much they can do. As Hedrick Smith put it in an article in the March 5 *New York Times*, officials in Washington "are increasingly fearful that a sizable Israeli assault on southern Lebanon has become virtually inevitable."

One U.S. official told Smith that "it's no longer a question of whether Israel will attack, but only when."

Another remarked, "The Israelis will never find a better moment. If they could bloody the P.L.O. [Palestine Liberation Organization] now and Syrian forces, too, they could win themselves

several years of peace with the Arabs."

For Israel to launch a new war against its Arab neighbors is not, of course, the way to attain peace in the region. But even the briefest look at the Israeli regime's actions over the past year shows clearly the direction it is driving in.

- In April 1981 Begin took advantage of an outbreak of fighting between Syrian forces in Lebanon and Lebanese ultrarightists to send Israeli warplanes into the battle. Two Syrian helicopters were shot down by the Israeli planes, and when the Syrians moved anti-aircraft missiles into the area to protect their forces, Begin threatened war. The Israeli regime continues to threaten military action against the Syrian missile emplacements.

- In June 1981 Israeli planes streaked into Iraq and bombed an almost-completed nuclear reactor in Baghdad.

- The following month Begin ordered his air force to bomb Beirut. Hundreds of people were killed in the carnage, as 500-pound bombs crashed into densely populated residential neighborhoods.

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Israel set for invasion of Lebanon

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Each of these actions was carried out with U.S.-supplied warplanes.

• In December, Begin carried out another provocation with the annexation of the Golan Heights. This piece of Syrian territory has been in Israeli hands since the June 1967 war. The decision to formally annex it can only be interpreted as a deliberate slap in the face to the Syrians in line with the previous attempts to provoke a war.

Why Begin wants war

What lies behind the drive toward war by the Israeli rulers is a society in deep crisis. The capitalist economic crisis has led to the stagnation of productive activity in Israel, deep cuts in social services, an inflation rate of 130 percent, and growing unemployment.

Although similar symptoms can be seen in all the imperialist countries, the pressures on Israel are especially sharp. The Israeli economy is far weaker than those of countries like Britain, Canada, or Sweden. At the same time, Israel bears a far greater military burden than any other imperialist country, relative to the size of its economy, because of the ongoing conflict with the Palestinians and its other Arab neighbors.

The Israeli rulers hope to solve their economic crisis through war — by expanding into new territories in Lebanon and by subjugating the surrounding Arab countries and forcing them to open up their markets to Israeli products.

In addition to the general economic pressures behind Israel's war policy, there are also immediate political considerations. Most important of these is the fact that the Israelis are scheduled to complete the last part of their withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula on April 25.

Camp David: green light for war

From the point of view of the Israeli rulers, there were always two sides to the Camp David deal with Egypt. Peace on the southern front with Egypt — the most powerful Arab country — was intended to free Israeli forces for moves against the Palestinian liberation struggle, Lebanon, and Syria. Begin did not even wait for a formal agreement before launching the March 1978 invasion of Lebanon. His attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor was launched three days after an Egyptian-Israeli summit meeting.

But the Israelis have utterly failed to achieve their basic objectives. The PLO is recognized by more governments than recognize the Zionist state, which has been unable to break out of its political

isolation by forcing more Arab governments to join in the Camp David framework.

The long-held Israeli desire to annex southern Lebanon has not been accomplished either. And Begin has failed in his efforts to topple the regime of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, which has refused to knuckle under to Israeli demands.

Final withdrawal from the Sinai on April 25 will leave the Israelis with less leverage than ever on the Egyptian government. Begin hopes to force the crisis to a head before then. In the process, he has begun leaning on Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak as well as on the Palestinians, Lebanese, and Syrians.

Mubarak, who was scheduled to visit Israel later in March, expressed worry that his trip might be followed up by an Israeli invasion of Lebanon. He also rejected the idea of coming to Jerusalem, which is not recognized as the capital of Israel by most of the countries in the world — including even the United States.

In attempting to take his distance from some of the more outrageous actions of the Israeli regime, Mubarak is responding to massive pressure within Egypt and in the Arab world as a whole.

But that is precisely what Begin is worried about, and U.S. policymakers feel the same way.

An editorial in the March 3 *New York Times* declared, "Somewhere along the trail beaten by Anwar Sadat, President Mubarak seems to have lost his way. He needs a swift reminder from Washington that the path to peace, as well as the return of Sinai, leads through Jerusalem."

Speaking of Mubarak's desire not to visit Jerusalem, the *Times* warned: "Even to request the detour is provocative."

What the imperialists are demanding is that Mubarak burn his bridges. In return for Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai, Mubarak, like Sadat, must prove his willingness to stand still for whatever crimes the Zionist regime decides to commit in other areas. His chance may come quite soon.

Reagan gives the go-ahead

For U.S. officials to say that there is nothing they can do to stop an Israeli invasion of Lebanon — and this only days after Mubarak's appeal to Reagan — amounts to a virtual blank check for Begin.

Washington foots the bill for about one-third of the Israeli national budget. There is plenty it could do to stop an Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The catch is

that the U.S. rulers share Begin's objectives — above all, the crushing of the Palestinian national liberation movement, and the overthrow of any Arab regime that tries to stand up to imperialism.

Thus, there was no objection from the State Department or the White House when Israel's new ambassador to the United States, Moshe Arens, warned February 25 that other nations were "pushing Israel into a corner" and that it would have "no other choice but a preemptive strike."

Arens predicted that "some provocative action" by PLO forces would surely result in military retaliation by Israel. "You might almost say it's a matter of time," he said.

Talk about Israel being pushed into a corner, however, is becoming less and less convincing to working people around the world. Armed with nuclear weapons and the most advanced U.S. warplanes and tanks, bombing apartment houses in Beirut, grabbing Arab land in the West Bank and the Golan Heights, threatening Syria and anybody else that gets in its way — Israel does not present a very attractive image.

Working people within Israel itself have begun to protest Begin's attempts to provoke war. When Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon tried to use the interception of three Palestinian guer-

rillas in the West Bank as a pretext for intervention in Lebanon at the end of January, the government was forced by protests from the population in the north to back off.

The protests from the northern towns were especially significant since they are populated mainly by Sephardic Jews of Arabic descent. These were the working-class voters who gave Begin his victory in the election last June.

"Can Israel really risk a military operation which would bring suffering to the inhabitants of Upper Galilee if this goes against the wishes of a substantial section of this northern population?" asked Dan Margalit in the February 4 issue of the Tel Aviv daily *Ha'aretz*.

Meir Oren wrote in the February 5 issue of *Davar*, another Israeli daily: "I doubt whether there is any precedent for the appeal made by the northern public figures this week, not to regard a military incident in the east as a pretext for ending the ceasefire in their region."

The war plans of Israel's imperialist rulers are a threat to the whole world. But they especially threaten the Arab peoples and — as more and more Israeli workers are beginning to realize — the people of Israel itself. It is necessary to sound the alarm against the Zionist regime's moves toward war.

From Intercontinental Press

March 27 actions to answer Reagan

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action include American Friends Service Committee, War Resisters League, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Also, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, U.S. Peace Council, SANE, United States Student Senate, Association of Haitian Workers, Palestine Congress of North America, and Committee for a Democratic Palestine. Individual endorsers include Ossie Davis, Ramsey Clark, Bella Abzug, and Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Among initial labor endorsements are Robert Lopez, international representative of the United Auto Workers union; Rosemary Trump, international vice-president of the Service Employees union; the Philadelphia Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; Gary Kapanowski, president of Local 1723, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); and District

Councils 47 and 29 of AFSCME.

The demonstration will begin at Malcolm X Park in Washington with an 11 a.m. rally. From there, a march will be organized through Black and Latino communities, ending up at Lafayette Park in front of the White House.

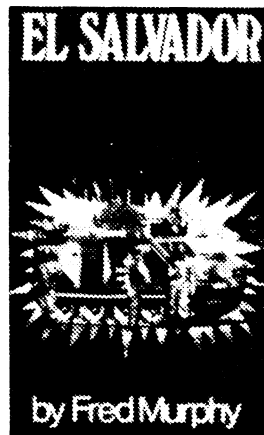
Confirmed speakers for the rally include Rev. Ben Chavis, a leader of the National Black Independent Political Party; a representative from the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; Peggy Healey, a Maryknoll sister recently returned from Nicaragua; and Dr. Helen Rodríguez of the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse.

The March 27 Coalition office in Washington is urging that local groups call if they need buttons, leaflets, or posters. The office also needs to know how many buses will be coming from each area and when they will arrive, so that logistics for the day's event can be carefully planned.

Contact the March 27 Coalition, P.O. Box 53391, Temple Heights Station, Washington, D.C. 20009. Telephone: (202) 822-9712.

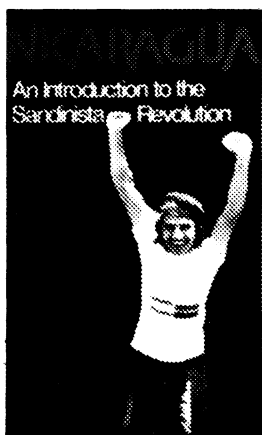
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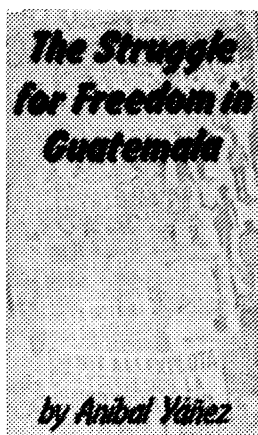
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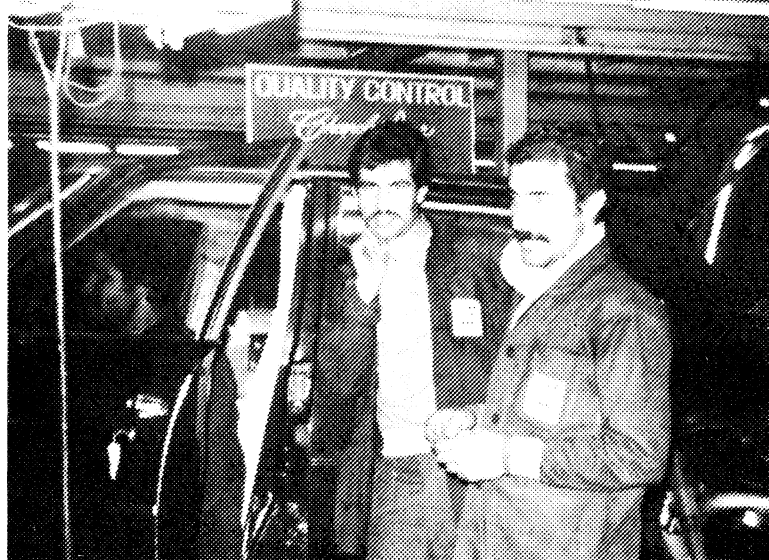
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Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Iranian workers are determined to defend their revolution.

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Washington has launched a major effort to aid counterrevolutionary groups trying to overthrow the regime of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in Iran. Some of the details of this plan were made public in an article by Leslie Gelb in the March 7 issue of the *New York Times*.

Gelb explained, "The covert actions reportedly include financing two paramilitary units composed largely of Iranian exiles in eastern Turkey adjacent to Iran, providing several million dollars a year to Iranian exile groups in the hope of getting them to work together politically, and establishing a radio station to broadcast anti-Government information."

This effort is "reportedly run by the Central Intelligence Agency," Gelb wrote, adding that the U.S. Senate and House intelligence committees were briefed on this undercover operation by the Reagan administration. The American people, however, were not.

Gelb explained that "officials in the Reagan Administration said the operations were necessary to counter what they contended were far more extensive covert actions by the Soviet Union. . . ." This is the same basic justification Washington is using to drag U.S. working people into war in El Salvador.

But Gelb later got to the real reasons for this gross violation of the Iranian people's right to self-determination.

"Concern in the Reagan Administration and in parts of Western Europe about the Khomeini Government is mounting," he explained. "This stems both from the evidence of growing Soviet-Iranian ties and from the threat that Iran's Islamic fundamentalist revolution will spread to countries important to the United States, such as Saudi Arabia."

Gelb's report is based on information from "Western intelligence officials and other sources" who insist that "no efforts were being made to overthrow or destabilize the Islamic fundamentalist Government." But Gelb's facts contradict these denials.

Gelb described the paramilitary groups backed by Washington.

"The larger of the two paramilitary units in eastern Turkey has 6,000 to 8,000 men, mostly Iranian exiles but also Kurds, under the command of former Rear Adm. Ahmad Madani."

Madani, in addition to being the commander in chief of the Iranian Navy under the shah, was governor of Khuzestan province after the monarchy was overthrown, where he directed the bloody suppression of strikes and other protests by the Arab workers in 1979.

Gelb described the other U.S.-backed terrorist group: "The second unit, described by the sources as no more than about 2,000 men, is commanded by Gen. Bahram Aryana, the chief of staff of the Iranian Army under the Shah.

CIA is channeling aid to counterrevolutionaries fighting Iran gov't

This unit may be part of an organization of former monarchist military officers known as Azadegan, which General Aryana also leads."

Azadegan took responsibility last August for the hijacking of an Iranian gunboat which the hijackers said would be used as a "fighting unit" to overthrow Khomeini.

The hijacking, which was foiled, occurred in the midst of terror bombings in Iran against government officials. Some of these attacks were carried out by the Mujahedeen, a petty-bourgeois organization also bent on overturning the Khomeini regime. But Iranians believe monarchist forces are also involved in these reactionary assaults inside the country.

Gelb continues, "Agency [CIA] support for the two units was said to run to millions of dollars, but no reliable figure could be obtained. Some of the sources maintained that the United States was also providing the units with arms, and the sources had documentary evidence to back this up."

One explanation given by the CIA and other administration officials for their support to these groups was that "a purpose of the units was to have some force able to enter Iran in a civil war or domestic upheaval to protect and bolster centrist forces." Perhaps like the "centrist" murderous military junta that the U.S. government is supporting in the Salvadoran civil war.

According to Gelb, "Another part of the covert program has been the establishment of a radio station to broadcast anti-Soviet and anti-Khomeini information. Regular features include reports on long food lines, pockets of opposition and small uprisings against the clergy and revolutionary guards, reports of torture and killings by the Government and charges that Iranian Communists and other agents of the Soviet Union are gaining control of Iran. . . ."

"The C.I.A. is also reportedly financing Iranian exile groups said to be situated principally in France and Egypt," said Gelb. "Western intelligence sources said that the support had been available to groups on the left up to but not including Mr. Bani-Sadr [former Iranian president] and to groups on the right up to but not including the monarchist factions."

British business weekly *8 Days*, on the other hand, reported in its January 23 issue that "US sources say Washington, Baghdad, and Riyadh would all like to see Abol Hassan Bani Sadr restored to power in Tehran, and US officials have had substantial contact with the former Iranian president and his entourage in Paris."

Washington has made no secret of its deepening concern over the potential of the Iranian revolution to spread throughout the Middle East, especially as Iranian soldiers continue to make military advances against the invasion by the Iraqi government.

Nor is support to paramilitary operations the only feature of the U.S. destabilization plan. Washington's continuing campaign to block trade with Iran and its propaganda efforts in the United States against the revolution are also part of the drive.

It all bears an unmistakable resemblance to the agency's admitted role in previous destabilization campaigns, such as helping overturn the Guatemalan government in 1954 and the Chilean government in 1973, not to mention the twenty-three-year campaign against the government of Cuba.

N.Y. meeting builds June 12 action

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

NEW YORK — On March 5, nearly 500 people participated in a forum on disarmament sponsored by WBAI-FM radio together with the Doctoral Program of the City University of New York. Thousands more heard the meeting, which was broadcast on more than thirty stations nationwide.

The forum, chaired by Cora Weiss from the Riverside Disarmament Center, included Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general; Michio Kaku, professor of physics at MIT; Vladimir Shustov, deputy Soviet ambassador to the United Nations; Norma Becker, chairwoman of the War Resisters League; Duane Epps, director of International Affairs of the Division of Church and Society of the National Council of Churches; and Roman Bador from the Nuclear-Free Pacific Movement.

Ramsey Clark opened up the panel by calling on the United States to be the first nation to unilaterally disarm. Michio Kaku described in vivid detail the consequences in death and destruction of a nuclear war.

Norma Becker, who works on the staff of the New York Disarmament Committee, urged the audience to "organize like we have never done before" against the nuclear threat.

"We can subordinate all our differences and unite and organize a movement that will relentlessly strive to abolish nuclear weapons, stop the arms race, and fund human needs," she said.

"Already, a coalition of peace, religious, labor, Black, Hispanic, women's, student, and community groups are cur-

rently planning a massive demonstration in New York City, scheduled for June 12, in support of the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament. We are hoping that this will see an outpouring of humanity that the world has never seen before."

The final speaker in the program was Roman Bador, a native of Belau, an island in Micronesia. He has toured Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and Hawaii to win support for the fight to stop U.S., French, and Japanese testing of nuclear weapons in the Pacific.

He explained, "Our people are being used as guinea pigs in nuclear tests. The U.S. government as far back as 1945 . . . has used the people of Micronesia as guinea pigs in over seventy atomic and hydrogen bomb tests. . . ."

"One thing which we do not understand in the Pacific is why the Americans and the Japanese turned our islands into a battlefield during the Second World War — a war which was not our war, but a war in which our people died.

"We have lived in the Pacific for centuries. Long before the government of the United States was established, we lived in the Pacific. . . . We have never been at war with one another. The people of Hawaii are our neighbors. The people of Guam, Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji are our neighbors, and we have never been at war with one another."

Many meetings have taken place or are being scheduled as part of the effort to publicize the June 12 march.

The Afro-American Coordinating Committee for the June 12 action, composed of leading Black groups such as

the National Black Independent Political Party and the National Black United Front, was set up at a meeting that took place in February in Harlem, attended by an estimated 100 people.

The committee has had an additional meeting and is planning to organize a contingent in the June 12 march.

On February 24, eighty people attended a meeting of the June 12 Disarmament Campaign in New York to discuss further planning activities.

Upcoming meetings in New York include one on March 20 at P.S. 41 on W. 11th Street near Sixth Avenue, and a March 28 panel featuring Dr. Benjamin Spock and Bella Abzug at St. Gregory's Church at 144 W. 90th Street.

BY ELAINE THOURNIR

DENVER — The second annual National Freeze Campaign Conference, held here February 19-21, voted to support the June 12 disarmament rally at the UN in New York.

More than 700 people attended the Friday evening session, which heard keynote speeches from Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Leslie Nulty, assistant to William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists; Philip Everts of the Dutch Inter-Church Peace Council; and local politicians.

Lowery emphasized that the rise in the U.S. military budget comes at a time when attacks on Blacks and all working people are on the increase.

Bahram Atai released from Iranian prison

A significant victory was scored in Iran on March 3 when revolutionary fighter Bahram Atai was released from Evin Prison in Tehran.

A leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), Atai is a former worker at the Iran National automobile factory. He fought at the front against the Iraqi invasion, but was fired from his job at Iran National after his return from the front.

He was arrested on December 11 while distributing leaflets at the Friday prayer meeting, calling for the reinstatement of himself and other fired workers. He was briefly released and then arrested again the next day. No charges against him were filed.

A campaign for his release was carried out, involving those who support and defend the revolution from imperialist attack.

Washington plots secret war on Nicaragua

Continued from Page 1

training by Argentine military officials."

The CIA requested an initial \$19 million for this illegal, undeclared war. But that's just seed money. The cloak-and-dagger outfit emphasizes that "the program should not be confined to that funding level."

But Reagan and his associates are not unconcerned about the American taxpayer or even the life and limb of Nicaraguans.

The *Post* reported that officials familiar with the program "stressed that the decision to focus on economic targets was based on a desire to disrupt the Nicaraguan arms supply line to El Salvador in a manner that is relatively inexpensive and least threatening to the civilian population."

A "high-level" official advised, "If you blow up a dam, you cause a lot of trouble, but you're not killing people."

Isn't that touching?

Given the fact that Nicaragua is fully aware of the projected war against it — not to speak of the aggressions already committed — is it any wonder that the Sandinista government there is readying its military defenses? Wouldn't it be folly to do otherwise?

The production staged for the press at the State Department March 9 tried to parlay Nicaragua's defense preparations into a sinister "menace" of planned aggression. This was aimed at inflaming U.S. public opinion and narrowing the administration's credibility gulf.

Admiral Robert Inman, deputy CIA director, and John Hughes of the Defense Intelligence Agency worked hard to exaggerate the scope of the Nicaraguan buildup and the extent of Cuban and Soviet military aid. (They didn't mention the \$15.8 million in military equipment sold to Nicaragua by France.)

Russian 'chin-bars'

Pointing to aerial photos of what were said to be Nicaraguan garrisons and training camps, Hughes grimly asserted: "There's the Soviet . . . physical training area . . . with chin-bars and other types of equipment to exercise the forces, and a running track."

To underscore the "aggressive" nature of Nicaraguan preparations, Hughes added, "Notice again the heavy security characterizing these installations and antiaircraft artillery protection."

Pretty devious, these Russian-Cuban-influenced Nicaraguans. They go so far as to protect their military installations.

But the real problem the Inman-Hughes show was trying to deal with was suggested by Inman when he declared he was "concerned" and "angry" because the public is allegedly not getting straight dope on the Nicaraguan military buildup.



"PARAMilitary operation in Central America' — I like it! Sounds much NICER than plain 'Military.'"

He complained that "public servants" are "standardly greeted with, 'How can we believe you, unless you show us all the detailed evidence?'"

Quite a compliment to their reputation for truthfulness.

It was to counter that skepticism, Inman explained, that the blowups shown the media were declassified. But, queried about how any of this proved that Nicaragua was an arms conduit to the Salvadoran rebels, Inman replied that that "information" was still classified.

However, he assured, further briefings this week would include one to members of Congress on the Nicaragua-El Salvador "connection."

The *New York Times* devoted nearly four pages to this first press briefing. But it was moved to note, "It seems evident from the briefing today that the Nicaraguan forces are being expanded. But it has not yet been shown that there is a direct relationship between the expansion and the guerrilla war in El Salvador."

The *Times* did suggest what lay behind the briefing when it commented:

"Admiral Inman did not go so far as to say that the danger to the United States was similar to the threat posed by the Cuban missile crisis. . . . But there clearly was an effort to recreate some of the same atmosphere that existed in the tense days of October 1962."

And the *Washington Post* observed, "Except for the photographs, collected by unspecified aerial reconnaissance methods, the briefing was largely a reiteration of information that the administration previously made public."

The paper added:

"What set yesterday's briefing apart from previous administration attempts to make its case about communist penetration of Central America was the almost theatrical flair with which it was staged. Administration officials also made clear it was only the opening salvo in a major effort to influence public opinion and counter the mounting opposition in Congress and elsewhere to President Reagan's backing of the military-civilian government in El Salvador and his hostility to Nicaragua."

Meanwhile, the Nicaraguan government held a news conference in Managua March 9, the same day as the Washington slide show. The Nicaraguans rebutted the charges in advance.

Sergio Ramirez Mercado, a member of the government, freely conceded Nicaragua was improving its defenses, but insisted that this was all that was involved — defense.

Ramirez asked: "When Mr. Haig is saying every day that they are going to bomb us and attack us and blockade us, how can they then turn around and ask us not to defend ourselves?"

Rejecting the allegation that Nicaragua constituted a threat to other Central American nations, Ramirez noted that his country has sought nonaggression pacts with all the countries of the region.

Responding to the U.S. charge that Nicaragua is arming the Salvadoran rebels, Ramirez challenged Washington to produce evidence.

Spy ships

With Washington now asserting that the Nicaraguans are sending arms to El Salvador by way of the Gulf of Fonseca, Ramirez said, "I think the warships that the United States has stationed in the Gulf of Fonseca have all the information to say whether or not we are shipping arms through it. Why don't they say what they found?"

Ramirez voiced the opinion that the United States was escalating its threats against Nicaragua because the slated military-sponsored elections in El Salvador will prove a failure.

Asked if the Sandinista leadership had asked the Salvadoran rebels to relieve the pressure on them by not "sabotaging the elections," Ramirez replied that the Sandinistas have "no right" to do this.

And the U.S. government was warned by Commander Bayardo Arce of Nicaragua's National Directorate what would happen if it tried to topple the revolutionary government.

Arce reiterated to reporters March 9 that Nicaragua wanted to avoid a confrontation with Washington.

But, he added, any major U.S. move against Nicaragua would evoke a powerful response throughout the region.

Arce declared: "The people of Costa Rica, of Honduras, of Panama, and of the region feel that the Nicaraguan revolution is their revolution. They would respond to attempts to smash the Nicaraguan revolution."

The Reagan threat is not a distant one. On March 3, the State Department revealed it had moved to obtain the use of air bases in Colombia and Honduras.

Moreover, the acts of war against Nicaragua that the *Washington Post* says are now being projected have been under way for some time.

Since last November, former members of Somoza's national guard have been conducting attacks across the

Honduran border. By late January, attacks by the counterrevolutionary terrorists had left sixty Nicaraguans dead, including fifteen civilians.

In one border village, in December, they stole some 30 tons of badly needed rice, as well as kidnapping and murdering two people.

Dynamite squad

And, in a preview of what the CIA-organized commandos will try to accomplish, a commando squad of fifteen attached to a counterrevolutionary exile group was captured with 300 sticks of dynamite and plans to blow up Nicaragua's only oil refinery and its nationalized cement factory.

In reporting the Reagan-approved CIA plan for excursions into Nicaragua, the *Washington Post* explained:

"According to administration officials, the covert plan is part of a broader program through which the administration hopes to achieve long-term stability in Central America."

The kind of "stability" Washington wants can only be achieved by guns, bombs, and napalm.

The people of Central America are fighting for genuine stability. They want national liberation, an end to dictators in the service of imperialism, and an end to hunger and disease.

Washington, to the contrary, works to stabilize the status quo; to save the dictatorships in El Salvador, Guatemala, and elsewhere in the region; and to roll back, if it can, the anticapitalist revolutions in Nicaragua, Grenada, and Cuba.

There is a very real connection between El Salvador and Nicaragua. The Salvadoran freedom fighters don't need Nicaraguan guns. The inspiration of the Nicaraguan revolution is enough.

And Commander Arce of Nicaragua was not engaging in threats when he stated the certainty that a U.S. attack on his country would bring conflict to the entire region. The same goes for a U.S. invasion of El Salvador. Such a move would spark the entire people of Central America and the Caribbean. For the U.S. intervention forces it would be an even bloodier morass than Vietnam.

The people of the United States have no stake in such an enterprise. We must do everything in our power to prevent it.

U.S. set to resume aid to Guatemalan regime

In response to the growing strength of left-wing guerrillas in Guatemala, the Reagan administration has asked Congress to appropriate funds for military aid to that country. Aid to the Guatemalan military regime was suspended in 1977 because of public outcries over its gross human rights violations.

In a February 27 interview in the *Washington Post*, Secretary of State Alexander Haig charged that Guatemala is "clearly the next target" of communist insurgency in Central America, and he stated that it "soon will be a parallel case to El Salvador."

Haig's rhetoric regarding Guatemala is, in fact, virtually a carbon copy of his statements on El Salvador. He claims, in the interview, that the insurgency in Guatemala is supported from outside the country, with arms for the rebels coming in this case through southern Mexico and other routes. As in the case of El Salvador, Haig presents no evidence for this claim.

Haig also stated that he hoped that the March 6 elections in Guatemala would make it possible to build a consensus in Congress and among the American public for restoring military aid to the Guatemalan regime.

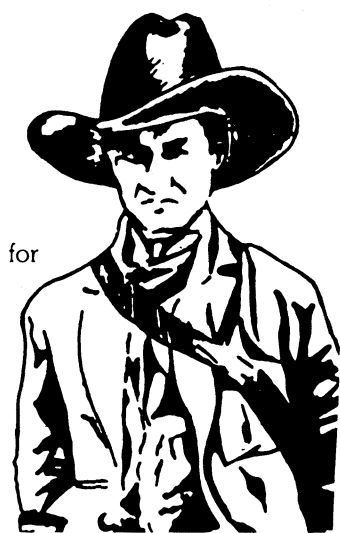
As the *Militant* went to press, evidence was mounting of a massive election fraud in Guatemala to favor the dictatorship's handpicked candidate, General Anibal Guevara.

Nicaragua: An introduction to the Sandinista Revolution

By Arnold Weissberg, Managua correspondent for 'Intercontinental Press,' 48 pp., \$95.

The Struggle for Freedom in Guatemala

By Anibal Yañez, 32 pp., \$75.



Also Available:

El Salvador: Why the U.S. government hides the truth

By Fred Murphy, 32 pp., \$95.

Grenada: Revolution in the Caribbean

By Sam Manuel and Andrew Pulley 36 pp., \$95.

The Grenada Revolution at Work

By W. Richard Jacobs, Grenada's Ambassador to Cuba

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New Jersey NOW backs March 27 Salvador action

On February 27 the New Jersey State Board of the National Organization for Women (NOW) passed the following resolution endorsing the March 27 demonstration in Washington, D.C., against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

"Whereas NOW-N.J. opposes military and economic aid to the repressive government of El Salvador and pledges to participate actively with local peace groups to distribute information of the violations of human rights in El Salvador and the danger of war if the U.S. government continues to support the present government in El Salvador,

"Therefore be it resolved that NOW-N.J. endorse the March 27, 1982, national demonstration to protest U.S. aid to the Salvadoran junta, U.S. intervention in the civil war, and the deportation of Salvadoran refugees.

"Be it further resolved that NOW-N.J. participate in the

building of this demonstration by providing information about it to the chapters and encouraging members to attend the march in Washington, D.C."

Albuquerque anti-Reagan rally draws unionists

Bobby Spiegler from Albuquerque reports that nearly 1,000 demonstrators chanted, "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador" outside the Albuquerque Convention Center on March 2 as President Reagan addressed a Republican Party fundraiser. The protest was organized by the Coalition United Against Reaganism, a group composed of labor, student, anti-war, and women's organizations.

The major theme of the protest was against U.S. involvement in El Salvador. Many are fed up with Reagan's cutting of social services while increasing military aid to the ruling junta. The New Mexico State AFL-CIO carried a banner which read, "No aid to the Salvadoran junta: Jobs with peace."

Also participating was a large contingent of members from the air traffic controllers union, PATCO. Alan Zvolanek, an attorney representing the union, told reporters, "The Reagan administration should be treated with more distrust than Nixon's. He's lying to the public when he says the airways are safe."

Other protestors included members of the Coalition for Human Rights in Latin America, NAACP, National Organization for Women, and antinuclear organizations. The University of New Mexico Students for Survival led a feeder march from the campus to the convention center.

The demonstration was covered by all three major TV stations and the daily newspapers.

Los Angeles protesters hit Reagan on war

Hal Allen reports that more than 250 demonstrators gathered at the Dorothy Chandler Pavillion in Los Angeles March

3 as President Reagan slipped into town for an address.

The protest, which was built on less than two days' notice, was especially directed against the administration's plans to increase American intervention in the war in El Salvador.

Prominent among the demonstrators were members of Local 660 of the Service Employees International Union, which represents many government workers here.

Local 660 official David Besbris, who spoke at the rally, noted growing labor opposition to Reagan.

Other rally speakers included Alex Young of the National Black Independent Political Party and Arturo Sosa of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

Dock workers lend a hand to Nicaragua

The following article appeared in the February 5 *Dispatcher*, newspaper of the International Longshoremen's

and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

"Long Beach — Twenty-six ILWU members from Locals 13, 26, 33, 63, and 94 donated their labor January 5 to load a vessel bound for Nicaragua with lumber to build 100 homes.

"The dockers put in a full six-hour shift loading pallets of lumber on board the 446-foot Tropical Sea. The owner of the vessel is shipping the lumber without charge. About 40 members of the Eureka-based Gospel Outreach Church will use the materials to build a housing project in the war-torn city of Managua.

"The church purchased the lumber for \$31,000, which was donated by its members and the members of other religious organizations. 'It was quite an effort lining up the shipment,' said Church spokesman Don Rodenfels, 'but the longshoremen were great. They seemed to be real eager to help out and work with us.'"

The article went on to list the names of the longshoremen who had donated their labor.

— NELSON GONZÁLEZ

Freedom fighters in Guatemala unite

The four main organizations engaged in armed struggle against the dictatorship of Gen. Romeo Lucas García in Guatemala announced on February 8 that they have formed a coalition. The name of the new organization is the Guatemala National Revolutionary Union (URNG). It is made up of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EPG), the Organization of the People in Arms (ORPA), the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), and the Leadership Nucleus of the Guatemalan Labor Party (PGT).

We have are reprinting below major excerpts from the final section of the URNG's founding document, entitled "Principal Points for the Program of the Revolutionary, Patriotic, Popular, and Democratic Government. Translation by *Intercontinental Press*.

I. The revolution will put a complete end to repression against the people, and will guarantee to its citizens life and peace, which are the supreme human rights.

The revolution will put an end to repression against the people and will eliminate once and for all the political regime that has asserted its right to murder its opponents in order to keep itself in power. Since 1954, the government of the big, wealthy, and repressive exploiters has deprived tens of thousands of Guatemalans of their lives for political reasons. For the revolution, that bloodshed represents a commitment to freedom, peace, and respect for life.

II. The revolution will lay the basis for solving the fundamental needs of the great majority of the people, putting an end to the economic and political domination of the big, wealthy, and repressive foreigners and Guatemalans who rule the country.

The principal cause of our people's poverty is the economic and political domination of the big, wealthy, and repressive foreigners and Guatemalans who rule our country. The revolution will put an end to that domination and will guarantee that the product of the labor of all will benefit those who produce the wealth through their creative efforts.

The property of the big wealthy repressive ones will pass into the hands of the revolutionary government, which will ensure that this wealth is utilized to solve the needs of the working people.

The revolution will assure the implementation of a true agrarian reform, distributing land to those who work it in an individual, cooperative, or collective way.

The revolution will guarantee the existence of small and medium agrarian holdings, and will distribute to those who work it the land now held by the top military chiefs and by the corrupt, avaricious, and repressive officials and businessmen. The revolution will guarantee small and medium commercial property, and will encourage the creation and development of the national industry that Guatemala needs in order to progress.

The revolution will guarantee effective control over prices so as to benefit the great majority, and will guarantee by law adequate wages for all rural and urban workers. Power in the hands of the people will be the basis for solving the big problems of health care, housing, and illiteracy that the immense majority of the Guatemalan people suffer.

III. The revolution will guarantee equality between Indians and ladinos, putting an end to cultural oppression and discrimination.*

Domination by those with great wealth is the principal cause of the cultural oppression and discrimination that Guatemala's Indian population suffers. To put an end to cultural oppression and discrimination, it is first necessary that the Indian population, as a fundamental part of the Guatemalan people, participate in political power.

Participation by the Indian population in political power, together with the ladino population, will enable us to solve the big necessities of land, jobs, wages, health care, housing, and general welfare that the Indian population now confronts. Meeting these needs is the first condition for achieving equality between the Indian and ladino populations.

The second condition for guaranteeing such equality is respecting Indian culture and recognizing the Indian population's right to maintain its identity. Development of a culture that regains and integrates our people's historical roots is one of the principle objectives of the revolution. Indians and ladinos in power will freely determine the future character of Guatemala.

*Ladino is the term used in Guatemala for those of Spanish or mixed descent.



Guatemalan troops search bus.

IV. The revolution will guarantee the creation of a new society in which all the patriotic, democratic, and popular sectors will be represented in the government.

The revolution will guarantee the creation of a new society in which all the patriotic, democratic, and popular sectors will be represented in the government. The revolution will respect the right of the people to elect their local, municipal, and national authorities. All citizens who are able and willing to contribute their labor, knowledge or capital to the task of lifting Guatemala out of poverty, backwardness, and dependence will have a place in the new society. The patriotic businessmen who are willing to contribute in achieving this great goal will enjoy full guarantees, on the sole condition that they respect the interests of working people.

The revolution will guarantee freedom of political association, freedom of expression, and freedom of religious belief to enable all citizens to contribute to the building of the new society. The revolution will judge severely all the recalcitrant repressive enemies, and the clique of top military chiefs and their accomplices, who are the ones who have organized and carried out the repression against the people. The revolution will be flexible in judging those who have received orders to repress the people, and will take into account those who have refused to carry out such orders.

The revolution will put an end to forcible and discriminatory recruitment for military service. In the new revolutionary people's army that the people of Guatemala will build in order to guarantee their security and the defense of the country, there will be a place for all those patriotic officers and soldiers who have not stained their hands with the blood of the people.

In the new society women will enjoy

equal rights with men, insofar as they share with men the equal and even greater responsibilities of parenthood. Children and the elderly will enjoy the protection they merit owing to the contributions they will make or have made to the production of social wealth.

The revolution recognizes Christians as one of the pillars of the new society, inasmuch as their beliefs and faith have been put at the service of the freedom of all Guatemalans.

V. The revolution will guarantee a policy of nonalignment and international cooperation, which the poor countries need in order to develop in today's world, on the basis of the self-determination of peoples.

Nonalignment toward the great powers and international cooperation are a necessity in today's complex and interdependent world. Foreign investment is necessary for poor countries, and must be carried out on the basis of respect for the national sovereignty of each country, taking into account the needs of the poor and a reasonable rate of profit for capital investments of other countries. Political stability in each country is indispensable for this. Without political stability there can be no international cooperation. International cooperation is possible despite the ideology or political character of a regime, so long as the self-determination of each people is respected.

Build the revolutionary unity of the entire people of Guatemala!

Develop revolutionary people's war! Down with the repressive, discriminatory, oppressive, and exploitative regime!

Take power and install a democratic, popular, patriotic, revolutionary government!

With iron will, our people will die before accepting slavery!

How government spy network operates in war industries



Militant

Tenneco shipyard in Newport News, Virginia, during 1979 strike for union recognition. Company fired dozens of workers who initiated Steelworkers union organizing drive at Tenneco, and cops arrested hundreds more during victorious strike. Now, company and government have launched new campaign to victimize shipyard workers for their political views and union activities.

BY JOHN STUDER

The Reagan administration and the country's major employers have launched a campaign to cripple the labor movement.

To silence opposition to their drive toward war and their takeaway offensive at home, the rulers have unleashed government spies in plants covered by military contracts to go after the political rights of trade unionists.

Over the past year, firings and victimizations of union activists have multiplied.

In December 1980 and January 1981,

automatically comes under the "Industrial Personnel Security Clearance Program" of the Department of Defense. This program gives the employers and their government a weapon and an apparatus in this new offensive against the rights of workers. The program also gives the government and employers the power to deny "security clearances" — and jobs — to any worker whose union or political activity they don't like.

This program turns the Defense Investigative Service (DIS) loose as a political spy agency to police the labor

mental rights that working people have. And they are challenging the power of the union movement to defend those rights.

That is why the battles that are now shaping up across the country, as victims of "security clearance" harassment begin to fight back, are crucial for the entire labor movement.

What is a 'security risk'?

Few union members know much about the government's 'Industrial Security Program.' Most have never heard of it. All they know is that for some jobs they have to fill out lengthy forms providing a lot of personal and private information to the government and the bosses.

Other workers have learned that, for some unexplained reason, the government has refused to grant them "security clearances." In many cases, this forces them to look for a new job, and to worry about what black mark the political police have entered into their files.

Others are suddenly asked to file new clearance forms after having spent years on the job. They may never hear about the clearance application again. But after a DIS investigation they are fired for being late too often, or for alleged "falsifications" on the pre-employment applications they filed years before, or on some other pretext. They lose their job and often cannot cite the skills they attained on new applications, for fear that revealing the fact they were fired will bar them from other jobs.

Ten million affected

What few people know is that today more than 10 million workers and their families are subject to "security" screening. Most of them are workers in private industry, whose employers have military contracts.

In Columbus, Ohio, DIS maintains a huge computer in its Defense Industrial Security Clearance Office (DISCO). This computer contains information on the personal history, union activity, and political views and affiliations of literally millions of American workers. The information comes from investigations carried out by DIS, by employers' private eyes, by cops, by the FBI, and by other federal political police.

If your plant has Pentagon contracts — and you participate in union meetings or have marched in defense of Black rights or against U.S. military intervention in El Salvador — there is a good chance your name is in the computer. Similarly, if you have attended meetings of socialist or antinuclear groups — even if it was a decade ago — or if you have subscribed to left-wing publications, or if someone in your family has done these things, there is a good chance you are a "security risk."

The Lockheed firings

Lockheed-Georgia began a "national loyalty" investigation of IAM members the day after a company stool-pigeon reported to management on a meeting of IAM Lodge 709.

The fink reported that some union members had distributed a leaflet. The leaflet commented on the discussion at the recent IAM convention on the need to form an independent labor party, based on the unions. It also urged unionists to vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidates in the upcoming elections.

Once the investigation was under way, Lockheed's plant security office collected information from its network of company spies, as well as from DIS, the cops, and the FBI.

Lockheed's security officer, Robert Lang, compiled a hit list of union members who were suspected of being

"subversive." He was looking for unionists with strong opinions about how to stop company attacks.

Lang developed a "pattern" of workers whose political affiliations and views were to be investigated. This pattern included:

- Any workers from California;
- Any workers holding a college degree;
- Any workers whose contact in case of emergency is a person whose name indicates "alien ancestry."

Armed with this profile, Lang began shadowing machinists outside the plant. He investigated the private lives, union activities, and political associations of dozens of workers.

'National loyalty'

Lang pinpointed people he suspected of not being loyal to the government of the United States. In his mind, anyone who is a member of the Socialist Workers Party is guilty of a "company violation of national loyalty."

The workers Lang singled out did not need security clearances for the jobs they were doing. But that didn't keep Lockheed from investigating them on the grounds that they might "compromise" a Lockheed military project.

Over a period of a month, Lockheed acted on the results of the investigation. They fired Lang's list of "security risks." But they used an old trick. They combed their records to find an excuse to fire them, hiding their months-long investigation and the real reasons for the victimizations.

Fifteen machinists fingered by this investigation were accused of having lied on their job applications. Using this pretext, Lockheed fired them. Many had worked in the plant for months with excellent job evaluations.

McDonnell Douglas firings

In September 1981, DIS began investigating three machinists at McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis. "Information has come to our attention which may have a bearing on your continued eligibility for the contractor-granted Confidential security clearance which you now possess," a DIS letter told the three.

Company agents gave Jody Curran, Barry David, and Harris Freeman three weeks to fill out five-page-long forms detailing every apartment they had lived in, every job they had held, an explanation for every period of unemployment they had suffered, and the name of every organization they had ever belonged to since they were eighteen years old. The three were the only workers out of 35,000 in the McDonnell



ASSAULT ON LABOR'S POLITICAL RIGHTS—I

Lockheed-Georgia fired fifteen members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 709. In November and December 1981, McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis fired three members of IAM Lodge 837B. In January 1982, Tenneco Shipyards in Newport News, Virginia, fired a member of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8888. Government agencies were complicit in all of these firings.

Similar victimizations are taking place at General Dynamics in San Diego, and in Groton, Connecticut; another Lockheed plant in Sunnyvale, California; General Electric in Lynn, Massachusetts; and Bendix in Kansas City, Missouri.

These victimizations reveal a pattern. The government has launched a campaign to intervene in those unions representing workers in plants covered by Pentagon contracts. These military contracts open up the unions to the government's antilabor spies. Moreover, Washington is well aware that tens of thousands of workers in these plants are opposed to the draft and to U.S. intervention in Central America. It is determined to intimidate these workers and their unions as part of getting ready to go to war.

Any plant with Pentagon contracts

movement. DIS sets up shop in the plant and collaborates with the company personnel office, the FBI, and other government agencies, to finger union militants and get them fired.

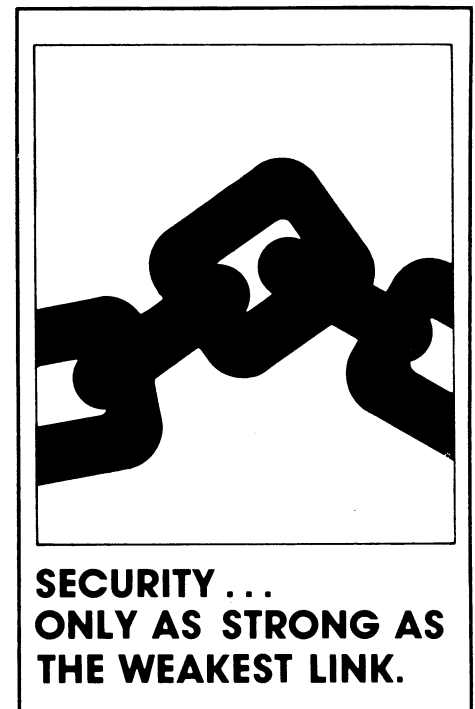
Target is unions as a whole

Their target is not just a few union members who belong to groups that the government considers "subversive." Rather, their purpose is to drive back labor unions as a whole.

These victimizations chill union democracy. Workers who know there are company and government spies in their plants and at their meetings, and that they could become the target of harassment if they speak out about attacks on wages and working conditions, can be intimidated from participating in their unions.

If the precedent is set that government spies can snoop on the unions and victimize activists in plants with Pentagon contracts, it will be extended to every industry.

The employers want to establish their right to control what groups union members can join, what magazines they can subscribe to, what ideas they can express, and who they can associate with. They are challenging the most funda-



From cover of "security" pamphlet issued to workers at Vought Corporation, a major defense contractor.



12 OCT 1981

Mr. Harris M. Freeman
7254 Dartmouth
St. Louis, Missouri 63130

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is in response to your letter of 1 October 1981 in which you requested the reason for which you were requested to prepare and submit a DD Form 48, Personnel Security Questionnaire (PSQ), and Fingerprint Card.

Information has come to our attention which may have a bearing upon your continued eligibility for the contractor-granted Confidential security clearance which you now possess. When such information is received, Department of Defense Regulation 5220.22-R, para. 2-320b requires that we initiate an investigation in order to validate and resolve any issues addressed by this information. In order to request this investigation, the forms which we have asked you to complete are required.

We are not at liberty (due to Exemption (K) (5) of the Privacy Act of 1974) to discuss the details of the information which we have received, but should the results of the investigation indicate that administrative action concerning your security clearance is necessary, you will be apprised of the specific reasoning for such action and, of course, be given full due process to refute any allegations made.

Douglas plant asked to fill out the forms.

What these three machinists had in common was their commitment to strengthening their union, and their political affiliations.

Under the Freedom of Information Act, they demanded that DIS explain the reason for the investigation. They received some DIS files in response.

The first half of the page of the DIS document initiating the investigation is blanked out. This includes the "Subject" of the document, and all of the first reason for launching the investigation.

The second reason given in the document is "subjects were observed at IAM Union meetings held at the IAM Union Hall, wearing T shirts proclaiming the Socialist Workers Party."

The third reason is that "it was brought to the attention of [deleted] that all three subjects may have recently visited Cuba."

The fourth reason is because "Joanne CURRAN appeared on local TV station KTVI" at "1800 hours" and stated that "a lawsuit filed by the Socialist Workers Party against the Federal Government got under way today in New York." This refers to the \$70 million lawsuit filed against the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies to end their forty years of spying and disruption against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The government went after these three unionists, and anyone else their investigation associated with them, with a vengeance. They discovered that Jim Garrison, another machinist, lived at the same address as Barry David. On the last day of his probation, in spite of the fact that he had the highest rating of everyone in his class, they fired Garrison. They refused to tell him the reason why.

Then McDonnell Douglas used the same excuse as Lockheed, supposed "falsifications" on their job applications, to fire Barry David and Harris Freeman. The company had had their applications on file for almost two years, but only investigated them when DIS began prying into their union activity and political views.

Jody Curran is still working. She is still being investigated by DIS.

Tenneco victimizations

It took the United Steelworkers years to organize the Tenneco shipyards in Newport News, Virginia. The company and the cops used every resource at their command to keep the union out. Over 300 steelworkers were arrested for crimes such as spitting on the sidewalk, or "littering" when they put out a cigarette, as they walked the picket line in the strike that finally won recognition for Steelworkers Local 8888 in 1979. Dozens of workers had been victimized and fired inside the shipyard before the strike because they were among the initial supporters of the union.

In 1981, Tenneco and DIS singled out some more unionists for victimization. Under the guise of a "security" investigation, DIS scoured the political history of Eli Green. Green has worked in the shipyard for three years. He is a staunch unionist and a member of the National Black Independent Political Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance. This investigation is still going on.

In January 1982 they fired a steelworker, David Keil. Keil was a member of the committee that organized Local 8888's participation in the historic September 19, 1981, Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington, D.C., against Reagan's cutbacks. He is a member of the SWP.



Militant/K.C. Ellis

Top: copy of letter sent to McDonnell Douglas employee Harris Freeman, informing him of Defense Department investigation. Bottom, from left: Barry David, Jody Curran, and Harris Freeman. All are members of Machinists' union and of Socialist Workers Party. David and Freeman have been fired by McDonnell Douglas; Curran is still under investigation.

Keil's "security" clearance also was under investigation by DIS. Just like the machinists at McDonnell Douglas and Lockheed, he was fired by Tenneco for alleged "falsifications" on his job application. Tenneco claimed it had just gotten around to checking out his references, even though he had been working in the shipyard for fifteen months.

The real reason for the firing was revealed in a written statement given to Keil by a co-worker. It describes the co-worker's interrogation by a Mr. Roberts, one of the in-plant DIS agents at Tenneco.

The statement says: "First Mr. Roberts showed me his badge and said that it gave him the right to ask me the ques-

tions he was going to ask. He asked what political groups or organizations Mr. Keil belonged to, what his beliefs were on political matters. He asked me what Mr. Keil's thoughts were about nuclear energy. He also wanted to know what meetings and rallies that I knew Mr. Keil had attended."

One day later, David Keil was suspended and given notice of his "termination hearing." The next week he was fired.

Just like the machinists at Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas, David Keil was fired for his union activities and his pro-labor and socialist political views.

But you don't have to be a socialist to fall victim to the DIS-company connection.

Lockheed goes after workers in San Jose

BY STEVE IVERSON

SUNNYVALE, Calif. — Two socialist workers are threatened with loss of their jobs at Lockheed's giant aerospace complex here.

Tom Tomasko, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of San Jose, and Young Socialist Alliance member Lenice Metcalf help to produce the heat-resistant tiles that line the underside of the space shuttle.

Since they were hired in February 1980, both have held the low-level security clearances Lockheed requires of its production workers. The two socialists were singled out from the plant's 17,000 workers in July 1980 for review of their clearances.

They were told to fill out security questionnaires that required the total reconstruction of their lives: every address, every job, every school; names, addresses, and birthdates of mother, father, sisters, and brothers; and all organizational ties, other than political, religious, or union-related.

They were asked to submit to "interviews" with the Defense Industrial Se-

curity Clearance Office (DISCO).

Workers who lose security clearances are placed on administrative leave prior to termination.

It became obvious to Tomasko and Metcalf that Lockheed and DISCO were not interested in any "secrets" about ceramic tiles, but were concerned with the ideas and opinions that Metcalf and Tomasko hold and express in conversations with other Lockheed workers.

On October 6, 1981, DISCO (in violation of its own written rules) sent Tomasko a list of questions on his political beliefs and opinions.

Tomasko was asked whether he is a member of the SWP; why he joined; how he thinks socialism will come about here; whether he has written for the *Militant*; and whether he has broken any laws distributing the *Militant*.

He was also asked if he would be willing to participate in U.S. military interventions anywhere he was sent; and whether he sees any conflict between his socialist views and opposition to war and his working on products that help build the U.S. war machine.

In April 1979, Peter Fisher, a shipfitter in the giant Electric Boat (EB) shipyard where the Trident nuclear submarine is built, participated in a rally in Groton, Connecticut. The *Hartford Advocate* reported that "Fisher spoke out about the insanity of the arms race, . . . the notorious productivity problems at EB, the health and safety risks to EB workers, and the absence of non-defense jobs in the Groton area."

Shortly afterward, DIS informed Fisher that he was under investigation. He was grilled for over ten hours by the Pentagon investigators. They forced him to undergo psychiatric evaluation, allegedly to uncover "whether Fisher's political activism was somehow psychotic." In September 1980, DIS revoked Fisher's security clearance.

Only after waging a two-year fight with the company and with DIS was he able to win the right to keep his job.

The threat to the unions

What conclusions can we draw from this trail of spying and victimizations?

First, DIS and the companies have spies in our unions.

Second, they collaborate to gather information, finger militants, and find ways to harass and fire them.

Third, they are stepping up this effort dramatically. Over the last year their primary victims have been unionists with socialist political views. But their ultimate aim is to cripple the ability of the union movement as a whole to discuss Reagan's offensive and map out a course of action to halt it.

Fourth, this drive has nothing to do with so-called "national security." Its aim is to firmly establish an antilabor political police force in the plants, mines, and mills of this country. These cops screen the workforce and the unions to keep out anyone who speaks out against anything from company speedup to nuclear weapons to El Salvador.

The ultimate goal of this drive is to cripple our unions. The deadly serious character of this drive was driven home by Reagan's brutal union-busting attack against the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization.

A national defense campaign by the labor movement and all defenders of political rights is needed to fight this drive. This is the only way to stop the victimizations of union activists. And it is the only way to defend our unions from further attacks.

He was asked why he omitted his political affiliations from the security questionnaire, which tells a worker not to include them!

Tomasko and Metcalf decided, in consultation with their attorney, not to submit to this political inquisition until DISCO tells them:

- Who — and under what legal authority — ordered the clearances reviewed?
- What is the purpose of the investigation?
- What information is sought?
- What relevance does this have to their employment?

DISCO has not replied to these questions, which it received last October. Thus, the reviews of the clearances are in limbo.

It is clear that the livelihood of these two workers is in jeopardy simply because of their beliefs and opinions, and that the company and the government want to force them out of the plant. That would be a big blow to the rights of all workers at Lockheed.

Women fight expulsion move in S.F. NOW

Debate sharpens over direction for equal rights struggle

SAN FRANCISCO — The government's drive against the rights and living standards of women and all working people has touched off intense debates and discussions among supporters of women's rights over how best to defend and advance the cause of women's equality.

It's this controversy that is at the root of the struggle over political perspectives and democracy that is taking place in this city's chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

A section of the San Francisco NOW leadership is trying to purge from the chapter a whole layer of feminist activists who have resisted the conservative policies and bureaucratic methods of the majority of the chapter's board of directors.

Three of San Francisco NOW's most active members — Carol Seligman, Kathy Setian, and Sylvia Weinstein (all members of the board) — have been charged with "unauthorized" and "disruptive" activities. They face possible expulsion. Seligman, the elected editor of the chapter's newsletter, has already been removed from that post by a majority of the board.

The charges against the three refer to events that took place as far back as a year ago, and which reflect the political issues in dispute.

Women and the draft

For example, one of the charges against Seligman is that she supposedly "disrupted" a chapter meeting last June by introducing a motion to oppose the draft and draft registration for men and women. The chapter adopted the motion, against the objections of board members who supported national NOW's position that if men are drafted, women should be also.

Another charge against Weinstein concerns her introduction of a motion at a chapter meeting, urging state and national NOW to sponsor a national conference and demonstration in defense of abortion rights. She is charged with doing this without the "approval" of the other chairwoman of the abortion rights committee.

Most of the charges, however, relate to the recent International Women's Day march held on March 6 (see news story below).

Minority opposes march

A section of the chapter leadership opposed having NOW organize its traditional "Day in the Park for Women's Rights" rally to commemorate International Women's Day.

And when a NOW member proposed having a march along with the "Day in the Park" rally, the same board members opposed the march as well. However, the chapter decided to hold the rally — and later the march — and to build them as big as possible.

The majority of the board argued that a march would take energy and resources away from NOW's lobbying effort for the Equal Rights Amendment. When they couldn't convince the membership of their point of view, the board majority pointed to a slight uncertainty in the wording of the motion for the march, and claimed the chapter had not really voted to have a march.

The board majority then proceeded to bring charges against three board members who were actively building the march.

At the February meeting of San Francisco NOW, opponents of the march mobilized a large number of women from other Northern California NOW chapters to attend. These women joined the San Francisco chapter on their way into the meeting, then voted that the march was unauthorized and that the pro-march board members should be brought up on charges.

By swamping the chapter in this fashion, the right of San Francisco NOW members to control their chapter was effectively destroyed.

At the meeting, some twenty NOW members associated themselves with a statement that said: "We, the undersigned, are all building the 'March' to the 'Day in the Park for Women's Rights' that was voted for at the January S.F. NOW general membership meeting."

"We believe that if Carol Seligman, Kathy Setian and Sylvia Weinstein can be charged for attempting to carry out the membership's vote . . . then we too ask to be so charged."

The statement protested the fact that the woman who made the motion for the march was also charged with disruption and threatened with having her membership revoked. Women who spoke against the charges during the February meeting were subjected to verbal intimidation, and one woman was repeatedly photographed as she spoke.

Caucus for democracy in NOW

Many activists in the chapter have joined together in a "Caucus for Democracy in NOW." The caucus is trying to prevent the expulsions by mobilizing support from NOW members.

A caucus leaflet, which was distributed to NOW members at the Day in the Park for Women's Rights, said: "The strength of our organization lies in our membership with all its diversity. We need a chapter where democratic discussion and participation by the membership is encouraged, not where a handful of board members call all the shots. Witch-hunting and suppression of democracy play into the hands of the enemies of women's rights. If this purge of feminist activists is successful it will have devastating implications for the future of the women's movement everywhere."

Striking nurses lead S.F. women's march

BY ANN MENASCHE

SAN FRANCISCO — An estimated 2,000 women's rights supporters from a broad range of feminist, union, and peace groups marched through the center of San Francisco March 6 in a spirited show of support for women's rights.

They joined another 5,000 already gathered for the seventh annual Day in the Park for Women's Rights rally, in commemoration of International Women's Day.

In addition to contingents from almost every feminist and abortion rights organization in San Francisco, there was significant participation by organized labor in the march.

Leading the march as honorary grand marshals were twenty-five striking nurses from San Jose. The nurses are on strike for equal pay for work of comparable value with male job categories.

Behind the nurses was a blue and white Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) banner. Bill Sweney, president of PATCO Local 503 in Fremont, said that he was marching "to support the women in their struggle who supported us in our struggle."

Bob Miller, past chair of Local 1730A of the United Transportation Union, carried a banner proclaiming, "UTU Local 1730 supports Women's Day."

"It's not just a matter of women's rights," he explained. "It's a matter of everyone's rights."

Also represented were American Federation of Teachers Local 1528, Office and Professional Employees locals 29

A central aspect of the board's attacks is a slander campaign.

Sylvia Weinstein is a well-known member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The charges against the three have been accompanied by behind-the-scenes red-baiting accusations that socialists are attempting to "take over the chapter."

This is not new. In fact, several board members resigned last summer because of political disagreements with what the chapter was doing. But they told the big-business newspapers in the Bay Area that they were leaving because the chapter was allegedly being "manipulated" by the SWP.

This sort of slander campaign is aimed at intimidating all NOW members from speaking out against the charges and discussing their ideas on what NOW should be doing to defend women's rights. These threatened expulsions are aimed at all militant feminists who disagree with the current course of the NOW leadership, and who want NOW to be an arena where a democratic discussion and debate can take place on strategy for the women's movement.

This was made clear in the March 1982 issue of the chapter newsletter. Chapter president Cherie James declared that NOW's purpose is "working for change within the system," to bring women into the "mainstream" of American society.

She explained, "Those who wish to change the system itself have goals which are not primarily feminist and should work on those goals in their own way . . . but not within our organization."

The NOW leadership defines "working within the system" as lobbying and supporting Democrats and Republicans who claim to support women's rights. But these same politicians vote down the ERA and abortion rights, and vote for cutbacks, Reagan's military budget, and aid to the military

dictatorship in El Salvador — none of which are supported by the "mainstream" of the American people.

Relying on these politicians means, in practice, that the women's movement must tailor its demands to what these so-called "friends" find acceptable.

Fed up with Democrats

The experience of this fight has raised many questions in the minds of NOW members about the course of national NOW and the San Francisco board majority.

They see that, in the face of the most severe attacks on women's rights since the modern feminist movement began, the national NOW leadership has projected a course of closer collaboration with the two capitalist parties that are responsible for these blows.

This has meant subordinating the program of women's equality, and helping the administration's war drive by supporting the draft and registration for women. Militants in the San Francisco NOW chapter are fed up with Democrats who ask for support and then vote against women. They want to reach out to the real allies of women — the unions, the Black and Latino communities, the antiwar youth, the senior citizens under the gun of cutbacks. They want to build ties for action and solidarity with these sectors.

As it has become more and more clear that their strategy is failing the test of reality, the board majority has turned to suppressing the membership rather than openly debating whether their strategy is correct.

If they are successful, it will be another setback for the entire women's movement.

Letters protesting the threatened expulsions can be sent to: San Francisco NOW, P.O. Box 1267, San Francisco, California 94101.

and 3, Department Store Employees Local 1100, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

The march was both internationalist and antiwar. One favorite chant was "ERA, not the war, U.S. out of El Salvador."

The U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society carried a banner stating, "Follow Grenada's lead — full legal status for women; pass the ERA."

The banner referred to the fact that the revolutionary Caribbean island of Grenada has already passed an Equal Rights Amendment.

The marchers were greeted enthusiastically as they passed through a section of San Francisco's Black community. People gave the clenched fist

from windows and drivers beeped their horns.

Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California, attended the march and rally with his supporters. The Black city councilman from Seaside, California, is the only gubernatorial candidate who staunchly supports women's rights.

The rally was addressed by Midge Costanza, former White House aid; Deirdre English, editor of *Mother Jones* magazine; Arlene McAdam of the Coalition to Defend Abortion Rights; Pat Jackson of Service Employees International Union Local 400; Ginny Foat, coordinator of California NOW; and others.

Patricia Serpa, a representative from the El Salvador Association of Women, told the crowd, "together we can really stop the aid to El Salvador."

Imperialism vs. the Iranian Revolution: Which side for working people?

By Janice Lynn & David Frankel



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Georgia officials push 'anticrime' drive

Wayne Williams trial used to fuel attack on democratic rights

BY LEA BOCKMAN
AND MACEO DIXON

ATLANTA — Georgia officials are on a major pro-death penalty and "anticrime" campaign that threatens Blacks and all working people in this state.

In his State of the State address, Governor George Busbee predicted there would be an execution in Georgia this year. State law permits use of the death penalty, but there has been no execution since 1964. The state legislature is currently considering a bill to further limit inmates' right to appeal the death penalty, and another measure that would deny parole for certain convictions.

In Atlanta, Mayor Young has demanded more taxes from working people to hire more police, supposedly to stop "crime in the streets." One of his first acts in office was to begin a crack-down on "criminal elements" in downtown Atlanta — a campaign directed at Black youth.

The capitalist media here has been trying to whip up a hysteria about crime. Recent court cases involving brutal murders of whites have received unprecedented publicity.

This stands in contrast to the reaction of the press and police when a wave of murders of Black children began here in 1979. For more than a year there was silence in the media and no action by the cops. The death toll reached twenty-eight Black youths and provoked nationwide protests against the failure of the government to stop the slayings.

But last fall, when two white women were beaten, robbed, and raped here, and one died, a massive police and media campaign was launched immediately to solve the crime. Within five days, \$50,000 in reward money was raised.

Three Black men were arrested and convicted for the crime. The prosecution, judge, and media pushed — unsuccessfully — for the death penalty. They pressed to such an extent that when one juror refused to vote for the death penalty, the judge tried to bring charges against him for perjury. The juror was Black.

On January 4, a white woman bus driver was stabbed to death. Again the story became front-page news. A Black youth was arrested the very next day.

In contrast, the recent lynching of a Black GI in nearby Social Circle, Georgia, has been buried in the papers. Officials have taken no action to find the killers, arguing the case may be a "suicide."

'Anticrime' smokescreen

"Anticrime" campaigns have always been a cover by the government to attack the democratic rights of Blacks and other workers. Because of its association with racism, the term "law and order" has been replaced by "anticrime." But the capitalist politicians never talk about the real criminals — killer cops, landlords, the owners of unsafe mines, mills, and factories, or the Democratic and Republican politicians themselves, who send American youth to kill and die in other countries.

The drive for the death penalty and "against crime" is totally class-biased. No rich person has ever been sent to the chair — only workers, and mainly Blacks.

It's in this context that the recent trial of Wayne Williams took place. Williams, twenty-three and Black, was arrested and charged with killing Nathaniel Cater and Jimmy Ray Payne, two of the twenty-eight Black youths murdered here. Williams was convicted February 27 and sentenced to two consecutive life terms. He will appeal.

Creating a pro-death penalty, "anti-

crime" atmosphere was one of the goals the government and media hoped to accomplish through his trial. An important target of this campaign was the Black population itself.

But there is uncertainty in the Black community about the trial. Questions persist about the role of the local and federal government because of the racist way the murders were handled by officials from the beginning. Opinions vary on Williams' innocence or guilt, but many have doubts about the fairness of his trial.

The trial was unusual in terms of the motions the judge permitted to the prosecution and denied to the defense.

On January 25, Judge Clarence Cooper ruled in favor of allowing the prosecution to introduce volumes of evidence on ten of the slain youths Williams was not charged with killing. The judge said this was done only for "the limited purpose of showing plan, scheme pattern, bent of mind, and identity."

Georgia is one of only two states that allow this kind of evidence to be presented. It is rarely even allowed in Georgia cases.

Once this motion was granted, two of the five weeks of the prosecution's case revolved around these ten killings. None of this evidence linked Williams to the two youths he was charged with killing.

Contrast this to motions rejected by

Judge Cooper. One week before the trial began in December, Williams' attorneys requested access to the files of the police investigation of the killings. This was refused.

During the trial itself, the judge refused to allow defense lawyers to question Police Commissioner Lee Brown on whether or not other young Blacks have been found murdered since Williams' arrest.

Government officials shielded

Lastly, the judge rejected a motion to subpoena top state and local officials who had met shortly before Williams' arrest. Those to be subpoenaed were Governor Busbee, former Mayor Maynard Jackson, State Attorney General Arthur Bolton, Georgia Bureau of Investigation Director Phillip Peters, former Acting U.S. Attorney Dorothy Kirkley, and FBI officials.

These officials met in June at the governor's mansion two days before Williams was arrested. It has been reported that the child murders and Wayne Williams were discussed, and a phone call made to the White House.

Judge Cooper ruled that there was "no basis" for compelling these officials to testify about their meeting.

In so ruling, the judge maintained the tight government secrecy that surrounded the investigation of the



Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young calls for tax raise to pay for more cops.

murders from the beginning. The failure of the cops to even arrest a suspect for two years, and their inability to explain why they couldn't solve the murders, fueled many charges of a cover-up and a racist refusal to protect Black lives.

No one has been arrested for the remaining twenty-six murders. Officials act as if the case is closed.

But many here believe the full truth has yet to come out.

Buffalo students fight for place to meet

BY RAY PARSONS

BUFFALO — The democratic right of college students to organize is under attack at the State University of New York at Buffalo (UB). Squire Hall, the university's student union and focus of political activity, especially during the Vietnam War, was closed February 27 amid a highly spirited protest.

Well over 400 students, faculty, and staff participated in the rally to protest the UB administration's decision to close Squire and turn it over to the dental school.

UB, one of the country's largest universities with almost 27,000 students, is divided into two campuses: the old Main Street Campus, site of Squire Hall, and the huge Amherst Campus (AC), under construction since 1968. The relocation of most departments to the new facility will transform the Main Street Campus into a primarily graduate level health sciences center. The new Amherst Campus is generally regarded by both faculty and students as nonconducive to student organization and solidarity, especially to political organization.

The facility is located about ten miles from Buffalo's center, effectively isolating the campus from the city. Most classes are held along the "Spine," a half-mile-long complex of buildings designed with "riot control" in mind. The dormitories on the new campus lack any areas where a large number of students can independently organize to exchange ideas and discuss issues.

The UB administration's rationale for Squire's closing is to provide the university's dental school with badly needed space. The assertion that the dental school will lose accreditation unless more space is immediately found is proven a lie by the American Dental Association's accreditation report itself, which allows until 1989 for UB dental school expansion. Moreover, ample space is available on the Main Street Campus, vacated by the departmental relocations.

Despite the plans to move all undergraduate studies to AC, construction of a student union building there is a low priority. Only recently the \$5 million finally allocated for an AC student union

building in an upcoming construction fund-bond issue was, by "accounting error," dropped from the bond proposal. When this "error" was discovered, university President Ketter assured students that the necessary corrections would be made.

The immediate struggle is to keep Squire Union open, if not permanently, until an adequate replacement is constructed on the new campus. The closure of Squire coincides with the replacement of Ketter with a new university

Congress hears case for King Day

BY OSBORNE HART

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A jammed Capitol Hill hearing room set the stage as civil rights leaders, labor officials, and others testified before a Congressional subcommittee on legislation constituting a holiday in memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., here February 23.

Legislation establishing January 25 — birthday of the slain Black civil rights leader — as a national holiday was introduced after King's assassination in 1968. For the past fourteen years the proposal has been resubmitted by Black Representative John Conyers.

Among those speaking were Coretta Scott King, King's widow; Stevie Wonder, Black entertainer who has brought national attention to the King holiday idea; and William Lucy, international secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees and president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Noting that the holiday has "special significance for AFSCME" and Black workers, Lucy remarked, "An often forgotten fact is Dr. King's recognition of the labor movement in eradicating the injustices in society." King was assassinated while supporting striking sanitation workers of AFSCME Local 1733 in Memphis, Tennessee.

Since then, AFSCME is one of several international unions that has honored King and fought for the inclusion of January 15 as a paid holiday in contracts.

Citing the 1965 Voting Rights Act, Lucy added that King's leadership was

directly responsible for the many civil rights gains that are currently under attack.

United Auto Workers District 65, on behalf of its 30,000 members, also presented a prepared statement supporting the King holiday.

Linking the oppression of Hispanics and Blacks, Arnoldo Torres, executive director of the League of United Latin American Citizens, said "We [Hispanics] lit our candles from Dr. King's torch as we intensified the war against discrimination in education, housing, employment and political access."

The four-hour hearing also received statements from racist opponents of the King bill.

Georgia Representative Larry McDonald — who has opposed the King bill since its inception — drew boos and hisses from the predominantly Black audience.

McDonald slandered King, quoted from scurrilous FBI COINTELPRO documents, and called the King holiday "a racist concept." He stated his opposition to "special holidays for Blacks, Orientals, and Hispanics."

Members of the D.C. chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party attended the hearing and distributed a leaflet supporting the holiday to the more than 150 people there. D.C. NBIPP plans to submit a statement to the subcommittee at a later date.

The subcommittee will conduct hearings in several cities during the course of 1982 — including Atlanta, New York, and Detroit.

The grim reality after the 'golden exile'

What happens to Cubans who come to the U.S.

Activists and academic figures from the United States and Cuba were brought together last November in Havana for a "Seminar on the Situation of the Black, Chicano, Cuban, Indian, and Puerto Rican Communities in the United States." This week, the *Militant* is publishing one of the papers prepared for that gathering.

The paper deals with the plight of Cubans in the United States, which was a topic of major interest at the Havana conference. The facts the authors present point to what conference participants called a "sudden proletarianization" of Cuban Americans; to a shattering of the illusions the latter carried with them to the shores of this country.

As one Cuban-American at the conference put it, "The 'golden exile,' as we well know it, is a myth." Despite the petty-bourgeois "values and aspirations that the Cubans brought with them," she said, "today, in their great majority, they constitute one more minority in the United States, facing the consequences of an economy in crisis."

BY JUAN VALDÉS PAZ
AND RAFAEL HERNÁNDEZ

The main aim of this paper is to offer a characterization of the social structure of the Cuban population living in the United States, on the basis of its socioeconomic configuration.

To this end, various significant socioeconomic aspects (educational level, occupational distribution, income) are analyzed, with the aim of showing to what extent the transition from Cuban society to that of the United States has produced an impact on the original socioeconomic characteristics of the immigrant population; and how the reinsertion of said population into the U.S. social structure is mediated by a two-fold condition — belonging to a class and, at the same time, to a Latin ethno-cultural category.

It is clearly understood that the analysis of the social structure of a segment of the population — of foreign origin, in this case — within the framework of a given social formation calls for ample and complex examination. Suffice it to recall that Marxist-Leninist sociology defines civil society as a system of human social interaction within historically established social forms; and that from this interaction social relations are derived. These encompass class, national, group, sociopsychological, and individual relations. Thus, the analysis of social structure comprises the whole of these relations within the economic structure.

It goes without saying that such an integral analysis is beyond the scope of the present paper. It is nonetheless true that economic interaction, as a specific mediation within these social forms, plays a major role. Thus, as was stated above, our efforts will be aimed at analyzing the aforementioned socioeconomic variables, inasmuch as they contribute to the characterization of the social structure. In this manner we seek to substantiate a hypothesis on this structure, so as to make progress in the examination of the Cuban population in the United States.

In order to delimit the environs of this problem, reference must be made mainly to the context of the host U.S. society

in general, and in particular to the sector of the population of Latin American origin, in which the Cuban subsector is historically, socially, and culturally inserted. On the other hand, due to the fact that this group has an immigration basis, the traits it evidences can be traced back to its place of origin, the Cuban society, which constitutes another obligatory system of reference.

The sources available for this study are census and immigration statistics issued by the U.S. administration, and some research works which deal with partial aspects of this topic, carried out in the United States. Field studies, as well as the presentation of statistics, are not yet sufficient for an in-depth treatment of this problem.

According to its importance, and the copious sources and analyses devoted to it in particular, the Miami (Dade County) colony will be characterized separately.

Educational level

To conclude this aspect, we must stress the prevailing middle-class origin of the Cuban population living in the United States and in the Dade County colony, as may be inferred from its high educational level. This level has been enhanced due to a policy of privileged assistance, thus increasing the group's opportunities in the labor market and favoring its social advancement. The advantages derived from this condition tend to strengthen the social status of the group and its descendants.

Occupational distribution

As a conclusion in this regard, it must be noted that the high occupational rate of the Cuban population in the United States goes hand in hand with a high unemployment rate. Attention must also be given to the fact that this population is predominantly employed in the manufacturing industry, trade, and direct occupational categories. Although the occupational distribution seems more favorable than in the case of other Latin groups, it is nevertheless overrepresented as to direct workers when compared to the U.S. society as a whole. In spite of the fact that on the basis of current data no general conclusions may be reached, the Dade County colony constitutes a sample of the diversity of labor markets open to the Cuban labor force, in keeping with its skill and concentration.

Income

Special emphasis should be placed on the characteristics of the income distribution among the Cuban population in the United States. Though remarkably higher than that of other Latin American groups, mainly Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, it is far lower than the mean income of the whole of the United States' population, even more so if compared with its white sector. The trends in two decades substantiate this appraisal.

The income distribution of the Cuban population shows marked economic stratification, its relative situation resting on its sociocultural background, the immigration advantages received, and a greater participation of Cuban women in the workforce.

The case of the Dade County population shows the position of inferiority the largest Cuban colony occupies in re-

gards to the whole of the population of the United States, as well as the drop of the mean income experienced by immigrant groups of higher level in Cuba.

All the above proves that the situation, distribution, and trends of the income of the Cuban population are quite different from those of the U.S. society and other Latin American communities. It evidences the unequal extent to which the various Cuban groups benefit from consumption opportunities.

Social Structure

In 1970, 70 percent of all Cubans living in the United States had arrived in that country via the intense immigration process which took place since the early 1960s. In the mid-1970s, this group constituted the majority of the population of Cuban origin in the United States, grouped in various Cuban colonies. From all the above, it may be stated that this Cuban immigration, in its new capacity of immigrant minority in the United States, has undergone a profound transformation as to its condition and social structure. The available data does not make a detailed analysis of these changes feasible; but it is, nevertheless, sufficient to demonstrate, without secondary distinctions regarding each stage and immigrant contingents, that emigration to the United States society for the group as a whole has meant a loss of what some scholars have termed "human capital," as well as a catastrophic fall in its social status.

The loss of human resources was previously seen in the relative aging of the population, and by the loss of labor skill and experience brought about by occupational changes and unemployment. Let us now examine the loss of social status.

Social status may be defined as the station the members of a society occupy within a given class structure, much like the stratification derived from income distribution or access to social consumption.

The first condition for the loss of social status in the immigrant population is the income drop in comparison with its relative position within Cuban society. Thus, higher income groups in Cuba experienced greater losses. More than half of the total population receive incomes lower than the U.S. national mean income, and more than one-sixth earn wages officially considered below poverty income. Consequently, the participation of the Cuban population in social consumption is clearly lower than that of the remaining social groups, with the exception of other Latin American groups, and much lower than the one corresponding to the preeminent position most of this population occupied within the Cuban society where it originated. Furthermore, the family consumption level it has attained may be kept up due to women's mass participation in the workforce.

The other condition for the loss of status is the declassing of the immigrants from the changes in occupational status, and their consequent insertion into the existing relations of production. As was said before, more than four-fifths of the population of Cuban origin over fourteen years of age is employed, and half of it has found jobs in material production. On analyzing their various occupations, it emerged that almost 60 percent



April 1980 brought latest emigration community. Right: October 1979 demons in Miami showed a majority under 1

are employed as direct workers in production and/or services. When comparing their present occupations with the ones they fulfilled in Cuba, some authors found that the rate of direct workers in Cuba was 29.3 percent, whereas in the United States it was 82.6 percent — three-times higher. From these, blue-collar workers went from 12.5 percent in Cuba to 73.8 percent in the United States; that is to say, the rate increased five-fold.

This sudden proletarianization of the immigrant labor force has implied not merely a loss of status by the majority of the immigrants, but also their transformation into members of the classes directly exploited within U.S. society.

Another remarkable status transformation is the one undergone by immigrant women, who, as we have already expressed, have attained a rate of incorporation into the workforce of over 55 percent. This is much higher than the rates of other immigrant communities and of the global female population, and even larger than the occupational rate of white American women. This new situation has been brought about by the very loss of economic status by Cuban men.

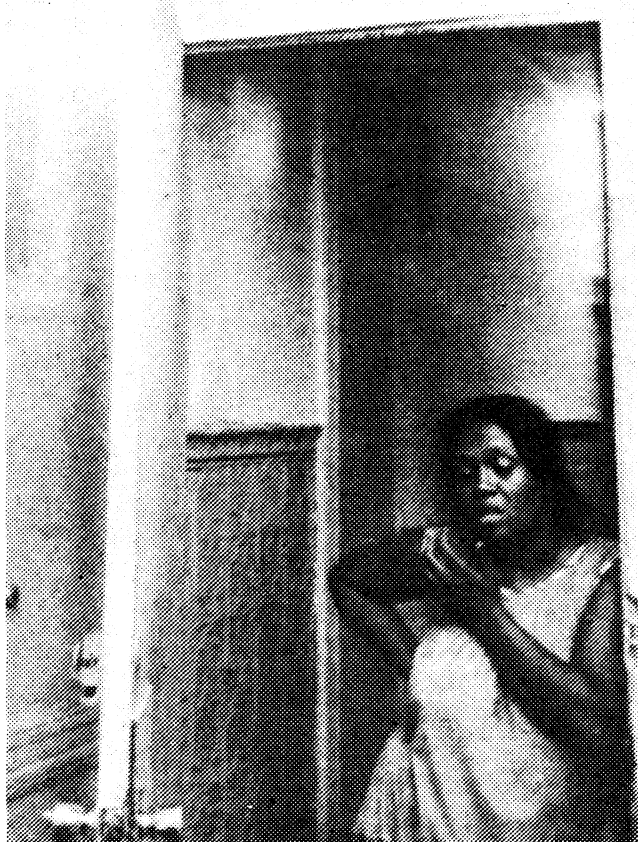
But if one wished to have an idea of the impact this transformation exerted on the immigrant family, one could analyze the sample examined by Rogg, composed of 189 immigrant wives, three fourths of whom had been housewives in Cuba and only 4 percent of whom had been blue-collar workers. At present in the United States, a little over one-fourth remain housewives and more than half have become proletarianized.

Table 1
Occupational distribution of women in Cuba and now in the U.S.A.

Occupation	% Cuba	% U.S.A
Housewife	76	37
Professional	8	3
Craftsman	8	4
Laborer	4	53

Some particular situations, such as those of professionals and technicians, show an even sharper decrease in occupational status. As it can be seen from the sample in Table 1, only 9 percent of these remain employed in similar jobs.

Other studies have elicited that even in cases where professional occupations have remained the same, or where there is some relationship with their former occupation, there has nonetheless been a loss in occupational status. Some skills have presented greater obstacles than others, due mainly to labor-market and language limitations, professional re-



Village Voice

Militant/Lou Howort

f Cubans to this country. They were looking for economic prosperity. What they found is indicated by photo at center, taken in Union City, New Jersey, Cuban com-
 ation welcoming Fidel Castro to the United Nations. One myth still strong in U.S. is that Cuban community here is a right-wing monolith. In fact, a 1976 poll of Cubans
 age of forty favored establishing diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Cuba.

strictions, and legal status in the United States.

Table 2
 Professional occupations in Cuba
 and in the United States

Professional occupation in Cuba	% similarly employed in U.S.A.
Engineers and architects	Over 90
Physicians	Over 96
Nurses	94
Optometrists	69
Teachers	54
Pharmacists	49
Veterinarians	50
Lawyers	23
Pilots	28

In regards to the new Cuban-American entrepreneurs — businessmen and employers — they represent nearly one-fifth of those similarly occupied in Cuba, those in Dade County and in Indianapolis being the more numerous. Some of the cases analyzed have shown that 38 percent of the scanty number of entrepreneurs had never had this type of job before in Cuba and only 36 percent had been similarly occupied. These results suggest that the number of those who had formerly been entrepreneurs in Cuba but whose status had decreased once in the United States is larger than the overall amount of those doing that kind of job. Other studies show that most of these "businessmen" arrived during the first four years after the triumph of the revolution and employ an average of twenty workers, 95 percent of whom are Cubans.

From the above analysis, it may be concluded that the situation of the Cuban immigrant population in the United States evidences a sharp loss of social status when compared to its original social station. This loss becomes evident in terms of both U.S. patterns and prerevolutionary Cuban patterns. Now then, if we draw a distinction between the so-called historical immigration (before 1959), the so-called new immigration (after 1959) within the Cuban population, and its descendants in the United States, we shall see that each group has been subjected to different processes of insertion into U.S. society; and that it is the second group that best exemplifies the generalized loss of social status evidenced in all the population.

In seeking to determine the present class structure of the Cuban population in the United States, we must resort to the analysis of the actual conditions in which the various groups live, regardless of their proximity to their social origins in Cuba or the various forms of

consciousness they may adopt. To this end, owing to the lack of direct information to determine their class structure, we shall mainly rely on the occupational distribution of the Cuban population and the social relations implied by the nature of the various occupations and employments. The class structure we attempt to describe will resemble a cross-section of the class structure of the U.S. society in which the Cuban immigrants are inscribed.

The existence of employers and laborers among the Cubans themselves, and of relations of exploitation between them, must be envisaged as a particular instance of the sole class structure in which both participate, although as part of ethnic fractions and local substructures.

As was stated in the beginning, the hierarchical arrangement of classes and strata within this structure that we shall present is derived from the actual relations corresponding to each in the socioeconomic structure. These relations determine not just position in regards to personal property and consumption, but relative political and social participation as well.

Lastly, we shall proceed on the assumption that economically dependent persons enjoy social and class status equal to those individuals whose occupation we take as a point of reference.

On the basis of these criteria, we shall consider the Cuban population in the United States as a component of the following social classes and strata:

High and middle bourgeoisie

This group comprises certain large entrepreneurs and a more numerous though still relatively small group of middle entrepreneurs, devoted mainly to manufacture, trade, and services.

This group emerged fundamentally from among the Cuban immigration between 1960-62. Most of them were not entrepreneurs in Cuba but rather high officials in branches and agencies of major U.S. firms, or else individuals who had become rich more-or-less illegally and were able to take their fortunes into exile with them.

Economically developed enterprises in the United States have started out either with their original capital or on the basis of personal credit for services rendered.

They are generally small manufacturing, trade, and service activities. These activities have been developed on the basis of the so-called enclave economics — that is, subsidiary activities of large firms based on the exploitation of the Cuban labor force — as well as on an ethnically preferential market.

As a whole, this group constitutes un-

der 1 percent of the economically active force of the Cuban population, and comprises around 25,000 Cubans, an increasingly less important stratum in terms of its relative weight.

Petty bourgeoisie

It comprises small tradesmen, service units and workshop owners, craftsmen, dealers, minor stockholders, etc. It is the broadest group of Cuban entrepreneurs, partly originated from an experienced and professionally skilled immigration or from its descendants in the United States.

More so than the previous group, these enterprises live off the exploitation of a poorly skilled and ill-adapted Cuban labor force. Its activity is mostly dependent on the Cuban and Latin American urban market. It represents approximately 18 percent of the employed labor force and 8 percent of the total population.

Middle strata

This group comprises various sectors — such as professionals, technicians, managers, officials, etc. — who do not possess capital and whose income is mainly derived from more-or-less high salaries. Primarily, it becomes integrated into the immigrant skilled labor force and its descendants in the United States. It differs from its corresponding groups in prerevolutionary Cuban society in regards to the low rate of self-employed workers — under 10 percent, compared with 40 percent professionals and 17 percent technicians in Cuba — which indicates a greater dependence on capital and a sharp loss of autonomy.

This stratum represents approximately 21 percent of the employed labor force and 7.6 percent of the total population.

Laborers

This class constitutes a relatively more homogeneous group. It comprises all direct laborers and wage-earners who do not possess the means of production and who work in material production and services.

This group emerges from the immigration of direct laborers — workers, peasants and craftsmen — and in the contingents of declassed indirect laborers, as well as women and their descendants in the United States.

This group, in which the manufacturing proletariat and service laborers predominate, has a volume of 48 percent of the employed labor force and 23 percent of the total population. The group, as such, tends to increase its percentage of the whole of the population, inasmuch as the rate of direct workers increases

within the immigrant contingents and the conditions for socioeconomic adaptation to U.S. society become increasingly difficult.

Other wage-earners

This group encompasses white-collar workers and the like, all wage-earners whose origin is found principally in the immigration of this sector and the declassed indirect workers, as well as women and their descendants in the United States. It has a high participation in the employed labor force (14.4 percent and 9 percent of the Cuban population). The trend in this group is toward a decrease in its participation, in the same proportion as occupational demand becomes marginal.

Lumpen

This group comprises declassed strata of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat — lumpen-bourgeoisie and lumpen-proletariat — whose social activities and economic relations take place outside the existing legality. As such, this group comes from lumpen groups of one or the other kind who form part of the immigration, and from lumpen generated by the declassing process brought about by the immigrational act and/or the incorporation into U.S. society.

In the first instance, economic and political lumpen suddenly declassed by the revolutionary process had a significant weight. In the second instance, it is links with organized crime — gambling, drugs, prostitution, etc. — as well as political gangsterism fostered and directed by the CIA in the midst of the Cuban population.

In spite of the fact that all lumpen participate in illegal activities related to the sphere of circulation, lumpen-bourgeoisie do so as capital owners or capital associates, whereas lumpen-proletariat are concerned with directly criminal actions, their income being linked with salaries or rewards.

Although it is not possible to delimit, from a statistical point of view, the weight this social group has in the population as a whole, it is considerable. This is due to the original characteristics of a significant portion of the population, as well as to the spur its politically oriented activities receive from U.S. official institutions.

To summarize, the characteristics of the social structure of the Cuban population in the United States distinctly show an accelerated internal differentiation preserved and/or developed in its insertion into U.S. society, as a result of family income distribution, occupational structure, and general conditions for social advancement, such as qualifica-

Continued on next page

Rail crisis: who suffers and who profits

BY MARY NELL BOCKMAN

LINCOLN, Neb. — Layoffs on the Burlington Northern Railroad are approaching 25 percent of the 3,000 workers in the Lincoln area. BN officials have blamed the cutbacks in jobs and services on the recession and on farmers in Nebraska who are waiting to sell their grain until they can get a decent price for it. The only solution, claims the BN, is to wait for the economy to improve and to make further cuts in services.

Members of five different rail unions told a different story at a Militant Labor Forum here on February 6. The rail workers, appearing on a panel discussing the "Crisis of American Railroads: How We Can Save Jobs and Services," pointed to management as the cause of inefficiency and waste on the railroad.

Paul Swanson, chairperson of the Brotherhood of Maintenance and Way Employees Lodge 1320, explained that it was not the major railroad stockholders who suffer in a recession. The wealthy owners of the BN, through favorable tax laws, stand to make money from the demise of the railroad.

Swanson pointed out that all the cuts in services are aimed at the small rail shipper — primarily farmers — and at passenger service, areas that are not considered profitable for the railroads. "American railroads are being run into the ground by poor management," said Swanson. "Rail unions must join together on a national level to stop this and save our jobs." Swanson told the audience that the only real solution was to get the government into the hands of the people.

The layoffs on the railroad have reversed many of the gains that women have made in breaking into non-traditional crafts. Dee Roark, chairperson of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers Lodge 736, talked about her own experience in fighting the Burlington Northern to get women hired.

"Job assignments were not based on a woman's ability to do the job," Roark said. "There were no locker facilities. My shop superintendent told me that women were a 'mere distraction.' But we

are starting to turn around the attitudes of our co-workers. It's women on the railroad who are bringing the changes."

Roark said she had to take a hard look at her union as the movement for equality developed among women on the BN. As rank-and-file participation in the union grew, initial opposition to the demands of women workers was turned around. Roark was elected local chairperson.

Other speakers on the panel echoed the importance of getting the unions to lead the fight against the cutbacks. Mike Carper, chairperson of the Lincoln Coalition of Rail Crafts (LCRC), talked about the need for united action by all the rail unions.

Carper said the coalition was formed because of new threats to jobs on the BN last summer. Today the LCRC is also working to stop the proposed shipment of spent nuclear fuel rods by rail.

Dick Roberts, a member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 1227 in California and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, pointed to the need for the rail unions to reach out to the community for support. "The key is for the unions to fight in everyone's interests. We should follow the lead of our brothers and sisters abroad and nationalize the railroads."

Roberts said that in order to save jobs and services and run the railroads in the interests of the people, the unions have to form their own political party. "The railroad owners have two parties, the Democrats and Republicans. We need one that represents rail workers and all working people; a party that can bring together workers and farmers to fight for what we need."

The panel was moderated by Ken Jelinek, a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and of the Lincoln Young Socialist Alliance. A lively discussion followed the panelists' presentation, as the fifty people present took up such issues as the attitudes of rail workers, nuclear transportation, and Reagan's budget proposals. The forum was covered by the local television station and the *Lincoln Journal*.



Militant/Jeff Hamill

Rail union participants in Nebraska forum pointed to private ownership and bad management as major reasons why "American railroads are being run into the ground."

Grim reality for Cubans who come to the U.S.

Continued from previous page
tion, integration, and others.

This differentiation is based on the relations of production prevailing within the population, which determine the wage-earning quality of 80 percent of its members, and the proletarian condition of almost half of the employed population. This situation objectively determines the dependent and exploited nature of the majority of the Cuban population in the United States and the prevalence of relations of direct exploitation between Cuban workers and Cuban-American bourgeoisies. It should be noted that the incipient Cuban-American bourgeoisie has developed on the basis of the almost exclusive utilization of the Cuban or family labor force.

On contrasting this social structure of the Cuban population — or better yet, substructure — with the class structure of the U.S. society, the following traits stand out:

- A smaller participation on the part of the high and middle bourgeoisie in the total population, less than half the U.S. rate;
- A smaller weight of the petty bourgeoisie, mainly among salesmen;
- The similarity of the middle strata as to their weight;
- The larger proportion of laborers

within the class structure twice as blue-collar workers, slightly more service laborers, and quite fewer agricultural workers;

- A similar proportion of white-collar workers and workers employed in more-or-less related activities;
- A third part works at home;
- A high lumpen rate.

Lastly, in contrast to the dynamics that the class structure of the U.S. society evidences, the Cuban population shows a more accelerated increase of laborers than in the rest of the groups.

Conclusions

All that has been expressed above may be summarized by stressing the fact that the Cuban population in the United States, fundamentally its first and second generation, underwent a general loss of human resources and social status as a result of exile and its insertion into U.S. society.

This catastrophic drop in status is evident in its loss of its original condition — properties, income level, occupation, etc. — and in the nature of its socioeconomic adaptation to the host society.

As a consequence, the class situation of most of the Cuban population in the United States showed declassing in regards to its origins, and a transformation of most of its participants into direct workers.

The new class structure of the Cuban population — or better yet, its participation in the class structure of U.S. society — discloses the sharp differentiation reproduced in its midst and the prevalence of exploitative relations among Cubans and between the Cuban population and the host society. The fact that the Cuban population participates in the U.S. society mainly as members of the exploited classes and strata should be underlined.

In this context, the social, political and economic expectations of the immigration will never be attained in the new society, where it cannot form part of the leading elite, its high entrepreneurial bourgeoisie, and its professional privileges. Thus the immigration lives on the hopes of a lost society to which there is no return, for a future full of uncertainty, under its doubly exploited condition as a dispossessed group and as a part of the Latin American population in the United States.

Rail giants leave farm town to die

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

Rapelje, Montana, is a small farming town. For many years wheat farmers in the surrounding area would deliver their wheat to the Rapelje Grain Company for storage. It would then be shipped to market by railroad.

In the state of Montana the Burlington Northern railroad has a virtual monopoly over the movement of grain. This gives it an almost life or death power over small farming communities like Rapelje.

The Burlington Northern has decided to execute a death sentence on Rapelje. It is asking the Interstate Commerce Commission for permission to abandon 750 miles of track in Montana, including the Rapelje spur.

In reality the Burlington Northern has already closed the line down. In 1979 there were 222 carloads of freight that moved on the Rapelje branch line. In 1980 the railroad moved only eighty-eight carloads. Since April 1981 it has moved none.

Rapelje is dying. "I'm still in business, but my volume is way down because I can't move the wheat as fast as I used to with the railroad," notes Bud Marsh who runs the Rapelje Grain Company.

Already facing high interest rates and depressed markets, the farmers around Rapelje now have the problem of skyrocketing transportation costs. "It's going to get to the point where we're just going to have to quit growing grain," observed wheat farmer Bob Wilson.

The fate of Rapelje, like many other

farming towns, is the result of the drive by Burlington Northern and other railroad monopolies to maximize their profits. Unit trains that ship a single commodity and service a few large grain terminals are being introduced. In addition to ruining farmers and whole communities, this is costing thousands of railroad workers their jobs.

But this is of no concern to the directors of the Burlington Northern railroad who are interested only in enriching themselves and the stockholders.

American Railroads: the case for nationalization by Dick Roberts

Railroads are a public necessity. They are essential to millions of commuters: Hundreds of factories receive vital supplies and ship finished products by rail. But service is being cut, and equipment and roadbeds are deteriorating at an alarming rate. Why are the railroads dying?

This book explains the crisis in rail today by examining the history and economics of the industry: Who owns the railroads? What are their interests? How do they operate?

What have rail workers accomplished in past struggles? How can they defend their jobs and improve their conditions today? And how can the railroads be reorganized to meet the needs of the majority they serve—the farmers, small businesses, and workers?

An important reference for people who want to understand the decline of a vital utility. 109 pp. \$2.95 paper, \$10 cloth. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 (include \$.75 postage).

In the new Grenada, the whole country goes to school

Education not just for rich anymore

BY PAT KANE

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — Colonialism leaves its mark on any country. It was not just the state of the roads, or the inadequate health facilities, or the destruction of local agriculture that the Grenada revolution had to face. It also had to tackle an education system deformed by 400 years of colonialism, and twenty-five years of the Eric Gairy dictatorship.

It is through education that the "new Grenadians" are developing those who will lead their country out of the trap of underdevelopment.

Like everything else here on this small Caribbean island, education suffered under Gairy. Higher education was for the tiny elite who could afford to pay for it. There were only twenty-five teachers trained each year, and then the majority left to work in the United States or Britain. The revolution had to confront the problems of illiteracy and adult education.

One of the first acts of the revolution was to establish the Centre for Popular Education (CPE). This is the institution of the revolution that fought illiteracy and now carries out the campaign for adult education.

"We found that our adults had a low cultural level," explained Val Cornwall, the CPE coordinator. "In order to be able to build a revolution, in order to involve people in the democratic activities, they must be able to read and write. Here we say that 'the people cannot be truly free unless they have a high level of education.'"

Mass literacy campaign

The first tasks of the CPE were to investigate the educational needs of the country and plan a mass literacy campaign. Volunteers traveled to every village, finding out who could teach and who needed to learn. The CPE developed a three-stage plan: adult literacy, adult primary education, and skills training.

The first stage, the adult literacy campaign, has now been completed. At the time of the revolution illiteracy stood at 5-10 percent, while functional illiteracy was close to 30 percent. It has now been reduced to 6 percent.

The CPE had to work out a methodology for the mass literacy campaign, which was to take place in the local communities, and not in a formal classroom situation. They looked at the Cuban and Nicaraguan experiences, and invited leading educators like Paulo Freire to assist the program. But they found that while they could learn from these experiences, the language differences meant they would have to develop their own teaching methods. Two manuals were produced — one for students, called *Let us learn together*; and a guide for teachers, called *Forward ever*. The students were of all ages. The teachers were all volunteers, the youngest being twelve years old.

"The point of all our teaching methods is the theory of the revolution itself," explained Cornwall. "When our people understand the needs of the country, they can then seek to make their own input into the process, both economically and politically. Most of the lessons involve some aspect of the revolution . . . things that relate to their practical needs like agriculture and the different programs of the revolution."

It was through the mass mobilization of the Grenadian people that the campaign was actually carried out.

Teachers and students both came from the mass organizations. Trade unions, parish councils, women's and youth groups all discussed the campaign. It lasted six months, from August 1980 to February 1981. Rural workers, who suffered the highest illiteracy, benefited the most.

Mass organizations provided people

Trudie, a young woman from Carriacou, told me she had been a CPE teacher. "I used to teach a twenty-five-year-old woman — I was only seventeen then. She's catching up real fast. So now she can go to banks and offices for herself, and sign her name and read the forms."

Counterrevolutionaries spread rumors about the program, claiming that it was "communist." "Counters," as they are called in Grenada, want to turn back the clock, and each new CPE graduate makes it harder for them to attack the revolution. The CPE has been one of the most popular programs of the revolutionary government.

The next stage of the CPE's work is primary education for all adults, which starts in April. This will deal with specific subjects like arts, language, arithmetic, natural science, geography, community health education, history, and agricultural science. Graduates from the literacy campaign, and the far greater number who need primary education, will take part. It will last for two years.

Then the third stage will start, "training for skills," which will involve even more Grenadians.

Teachers also learn

The CPE program ranks among the finest achievements of revolutionary Grenada. But not only the illiterate have to learn. School teachers also have to go back to school. After the revolution only 30 percent of primary and junior secondary school teachers had received professional training. The rest had no



Center for Popular Education is one of best-received programs of Grenada's revolutionary government. Education is finally reaching the people; illiteracy has dropped from 30 percent to 6 percent.

qualifications for professional teaching.

In January 1980, all of Grenada's teachers assembled to discuss the new educational system. Each morning, members of the revolutionary government told them how education affected their sector. The teachers had workshops, and from these discussions the National In-Service Teacher Education Program (NISTEP) was formed.

While the teachers were at their two-week-long conference, the local pupils and community carried out basic repairs to the school buildings.

Chris Searle, a coordinator, told me, "This [problem of untrained teachers] was clearly another factor in keeping rolling the whole cycle of underdevelopment in education."

"In October 1980, NISTEP got under way, and in a three-year course, they hope to retrain every teacher who does not have a qualification."

'Every worker a student'

While the teachers are at NISTEP, the schools are not closed. They are turned over to community school day programs. In these programs, the mass organizations provide classes in car re-

pairs, agriculture, and other practical skills.

In Grenada, "If you know, teach; if you don't, learn" is how they sum up their approach to education.

But education is not confined to these programs, or the island's school system. Every day, Radio Free Grenada announces yet another training course for youth or women's organizers, trade unionists, leaders of cooperatives, government employees. The entire country is teaching and learning.

"Every worker a student, every student a worker," declare the posters and billboards across the island.

There are huge problems in educating a new Grenada. Every school is understaffed and has very few materials. When I asked Val Cornwall what she needed for CPE, she said simply, "Pencils."

But the energy of the Grenadian working people is being harnessed by this government to overcome the material problems. In every school and community center I visited, the children were laughing. That should be tribute enough to the new, revolutionary educational system of free Grenada.

From Intercontinental Press

Company blames cutbacks on clean air

BY DAN FEIN

SAN MANUEL, Ariz. — Clean air or jobs — that's the choice Magma Copper Company is offering its 5,000 workers. Magma's underground copper mine here is the largest in the world. To make the threat real, for months now Magma has cut down the number of hours of smelter workers to thirty-five per week.

On February 23 public hearings were held on pollution control at Magma's smelter.

Under terms of the 1977 Clean Air Act Amendments, copper smelters are supposed to cut emissions to an average of 200 tons of sulfur dioxide a day. The U.S. Congress granted the copper barons a loophole by exempting smelters that can "prove" they cannot financially meet the requirements of the Clean Air Act.

The Arizona State Department of Health's Bureau of Air Quality Control recommended acceptance of Magma's request for an exemption which would allow the company to continue emitting between 500 and 900 tons of sulfur dioxide daily from its smelter northeast of Tucson.

Sulfur dioxide is an insidious lung poison that irritates the eyes, nose, and throat; damages the lungs; kills plants; corrodes metal; and reduces visibility.

Atmospheric sulfur dioxide can cause

acid rain, an environmental disaster in the northeastern U.S. and Canada. In the southwest, the potential for far-traveling acid rain to affect high altitude lakes and fisheries in the Rocky Mountains, and cause poisonous heavy metals and radionuclides to leach into municipal water supplies could soon be as severe a problem.

Earlier in the month on February 9, Claire O'Brien and Davis Stewart, two activists from the environmental group Greenpeace, scaled the 565-foot smokestack at Magma's smelter. They unfurled a banner that read "For our children, For our land, For our future — Stop Acid Rain."

O'Brien and Stewart stayed on the smokestack for sixty hours with their respirators. The reaction from the copper workers was mixed. Some waved and supported the banner. Others denounced Greenpeace for threatening their jobs.

More than 200 people attended the February 23 public hearing. One of the first announcements was that the public would not be allowed to question either party, i.e. the Arizona Department of Health Services or Magma. However, the parties would be allowed to question members of the public who testified.

James H. Boyd, Magma's environ-

mental officer, told the audience that they couldn't afford the pollution control devices. He explained that the state and the Environmental Protection Agency agreed that the "affordability test" only applied to the smelter, not to the plant as a whole or the company as a whole.

On top of that, Boyd explained that the company's financial records were turned over to the state which was keeping the information confidential so as not to hurt Magma's competitiveness.

Several local residents of this company town spoke in favor of the company, stating that further expenses in the face of a depressed copper market could trigger layoffs or a shut down.

A teacher from nearby Oracle noted that Magma is owned by Newmost Mining Company, which in turn is one of the biggest stockholders in CONOCO, a financial giant in the energy industry. She suggested the installation of pollution control devices should create more jobs for workers.

But the next day Magma announced to its employees that the hours of all surface workers would be reduced to thirty-five hours per week. Fifteen hundred workers are affected.

Dan Fein is a laid-off copper worker for Duval and a member of United Steel Workers Local 7508.

Reagan backs racist Chicago school plan

BY JON HILLSON

CHICAGO — The Reagan administration has come down squarely on the side of segregation in the Chicago school system. A Justice Department brief filed here on February 12 endorsed the Chicago school board's "voluntary desegregation" plan, which is aimed at perpetuating inferior schools for Blacks and Latinos.

The main provisions of the board's proposal were announced nearly two years ago, with the final draft being submitted to Federal District Judge Milton Shadur two months ago.

Chicago is a city segregated by racist housing policies, redlining, and the conscious refusal of authorities to desegregate the schools.

Eighty-two percent of the school system's students are Black or Latino, and they are crowded into the worst schools.

The Black community in particular has fought for years to end this segregation. The school board and Democratic city administration have consistently refused to carry out a busing program, the only way to achieve equal education and implement desegregation in this city.

The school board's plan permits a few "voluntary" Black transfers to all-white schools, as well as "magnet schools," which are also voluntary.

The city's majority Black and Latino student population is compelled to compete for a relative handful of transfer assignments to the all-white schools.

The school board openly admits that under its plan just 116 of the city's 538 schools will be "desegregated."

But the board defines a 70 percent white school as "desegregated."

And schools that are 70 percent Black and Latino are, by the board's definition, also considered "desegregated."

Operation PUSH leader Jesse Jackson blasted the Reagan administration for okaying a plan "of, by, and for a white majority school board, designed for a Black majority school system . . . a plan designed by the occupier for the occupied."

The Chicago NAACP filed suit last year against the school board for its delaying tactics.

The Justice Department endorsement particularly hails the "voluntary" aspects of the plan. These let the city administration off the hook from its obligation to carry out a genuine

desegregation plan and enforce it, including providing protection for Black and Latino students from antibusing racists.

In 1977, when Black students engaged in a modest, pilot voluntary busing program into the white Bogan community, they were met with bottles, rocks, and bricks.

The police did virtually nothing.

A leader of those riots, Betty Bono, is now a Byrne appointee on the school board, helping to oversee "desegregation."

Because Byrne has refused to stop racist attacks on Black students, last fall some Black parents protested a boundary change aimed at desegregating — without busing — a South Side grade school.

The Blacks justifiably feared bodily harm to their children. They knew the police would, at best, wink at such violence.

While a handful of racists picketed the school to protest Black students coming into it, Black parents marched against their children being assigned to it.

Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Illinois, Ike Nahem, points out, "desegregation and winning equal education for Blacks is directly in the interests of all working people."

"With all public education under

attack from the Byrne administration and the bankers, the Democrats and Republicans use the substandard and unequal education system in the Black community to drive down the quality of education for every student," Nahem, a railroad switchman and member of the United Transportation Union, told the *Militant*.

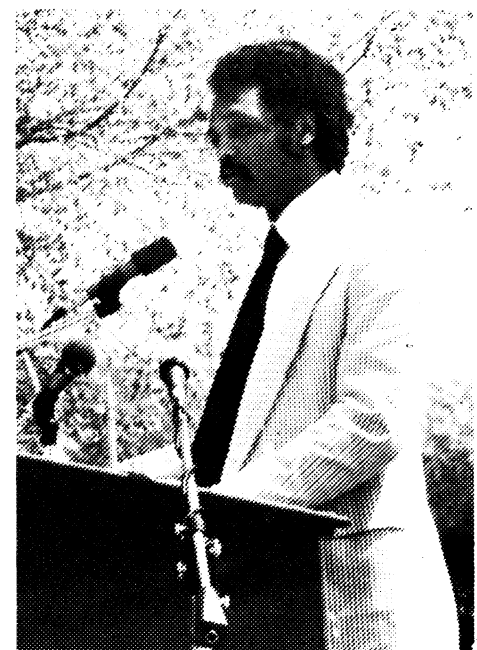
"Byrne, Reagan, and the antidesegregation forces in Congress are going after busing, just as they have targeted affirmative action, legal abortion, and Black voting rights," he said.

"I support Black equal rights in education," Nahem said. "I support busing as the only way to break down the barriers to equality erected by the rich, who profit from racism."

Trade unionists, Blacks, Latinos, and all working people have a big stake in opposing the fight to take back the gains of the civil rights movement, which, Nahem said, is "the real meaning of the Chicago plan."

Every survey of Black student achievement shows increases after desegregation, and not one has ever shown a decrease in white student achievement, Nahem noted.

"By pushing back desegregation, the government aims to lower the expectations of Black people for equality in education as a key part of the drive to lower the expectations of all working



Militant/Suzanne Haig

"A plan designed by the occupier for the occupied," was the response of Operation PUSH leader Jesse Jackson to Chicago school board's "voluntary desegregation" plan.

people for any advances whatsoever," he said.

"That's why the Chicago plan is so bad," Nahem said. "That is why Reagan supports it. And that is why I oppose it."

New Orleans socialist winds up campaign

BY DERRICK MORRISON

NEW ORLEANS — The March 20 run-off for mayor here will feature State Representative Ron Faucheux, a white Democrat, against Mayor Dutch Morial, a Black Democrat.

However, none of the issues that are



Rashaad Ali

of concern to Black and working people will be raised. The debate between the two will be over who can best represent the interests of the banks, real estate sharks, and big corporations that run New Orleans.

This was the same debate that dominated the February 6 primary, only then there were six candidates rather than two, and one of the six was Rashaad Ali, chairperson of the New Orleans Socialist Workers Party.

It was through Ali's campaign that the issues concerning Black and working people were addressed, from the Reagan budget cuts and preparations for war to the cold-blooded murder of four young Blacks by police here in November 1980.

In the first debate in early January, Mayor Morial boasted how he had put 1,500 city workers out of a job. This was dropped later on account of the fierce at-

tacks by Ali.

In his campaign literature, Ali called for jailing the killer cops involved in murdering the four Blacks. State Senator William Jefferson, a Black Democrat, tried to use the issue against Morial but didn't raise any demands of substance.

During the course of the campaign the big business press, the *Times-Picayune/States-Item*, decided not to give equal coverage to all the candidates by dividing them into "major" and "minor." One irate reader wrote, "the law makes no such qualification as to 'major' or 'minor,' but only speaks of qualified candidates."

Of course the *Times-Picayune/States-Item* was not concerned about qualifications, but about money. Of the so-called majors, Morial raised over a million dollars, Faucheux \$500,000 and Jefferson \$250,000.

The so-called minors included Ali, Leon Waters who represented a small sect called the Liberation League, and Rodney Fertel, a capitalist candidate.

Despite his limited resources, Ali ran an exciting campaign, placing second in a vote at a Black high school and getting a hearing in a number of community organizations. Several people were attracted to the SWP as a result.

In a special appeal to organized workers at Kaiser Aluminum, Tenneco, Shell, and the hiring hall of the International Longshoremen's Association, Ali blasted the rising tide of unemployment and called for a labor party.

The mayor's race illustrated the confusion and disorientation sowed by the Black Democratic Party politicians. In Milwaukee the murder of a Black youth by the cops last year kicked off demonstrations by thousands in the Black community. The pressure was so great that a couple of cops had to be indicted for murder.

In New Orleans, however, four young Blacks were brutally murdered by police in November of 1980, and massive opposition was successfully contained and derailed by Mayor Morial and other Black capitalist politicians. The illusion that these politicians represent the Black community and not the interests of the racist, capitalist ruling class runs deep. But when that illusion finally bites the dust on the rock of hard experience in the not too distant future, look for a powerful resurgence of struggle in the Black community.

Steelworker candidate talks with jobless

BY ELIZABETH LARISCY

BALTIMORE — "Another candidate has thrown her hat in the ring against Sarbanes," announced Channel 11 television in Baltimore. The candidate is Yvonne Hayes, a twenty-nine-year-old steelworker at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant. Hayes is running for U.S. Senate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Paul Sarbanes, a Democrat, is the incumbent.

Sarbanes is touted as a "friend of labor." He sits on the Congressional Steel Caucus. This is the committee that has given the steel industry a "breather" — an extension of time to further pollute without penalty. Even the conservative leadership of the AFL-CIO, which supports Sarbanes, gives him only a 65 percent rating on labor issues.

In contrast, Yvonne Hayes is a steelworker and has been an active member of United Steelworkers of America Local 2609 for more than three years. She helped organize participation in the recent rallies demanding that Martin Luther King's birthday be made a national holiday.

Hayes is also a past coordinator of the Maryland Committee Against Registration and the Draft. A firm supporter of abortion rights and the Equal Rights Amendment, Hayes is a member of the

National Organization for Women and the Coalition of Labor Union Women. She is also a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The news conference announcing the socialist campaign was held in front of the Baltimore unemployment office. Two Baltimore television stations and five radio stations carried the news. Newspapers in other cities in Maryland also picked up the story.

The steady stream of people filing in to register for work were eager to hear what socialists propose to do about the skyrocketing unemployment. They warmly received her campaign flyers proposing a reduction of the workweek with no loss in pay, to spread around the available work.

Hayes explained that the military budget should be dismantled and the money used for massive public works programs to rebuild the cities. There was sympathy with this idea, and with Hayes's proposal to nationalize basic industries like steel, auto, and rail, in order to take them out of the hands of the profiteers.

These ideas and others were discussed further at a Militant Forum the previous week. There, Hayes joined Angie Collins, cochair of the Baltimore chap-

ter of the National Black Independent Political Party, and Rosa Lemmon, vice-president of Local 1784 of the International Association of Machinists.

Hayes proposed that the unions in this country organize their own political party — a labor party — to protect working people's interests. Such a party would fight to establish a government of, by, and for workers and farmers.

Campaign committee meetings are held every Saturday at 1:30 p.m. For more information call (301) 235-0013.



Militant/K.C. Ellis

Yvonne Hayes speaking at 1981 Young Socialist Alliance convention.

Is Polish crackdown comparable to Cuba's sending troops to Angola?

Where the Communist Party's 'Daily World' goes wrong

BY SUZANNE HAIG

Since the Polish government declared martial law on December 13, the *Daily World*, newspaper of the U.S. Communist Party, has campaigned in support of the crackdown.

Articles, editorials, and commentary have rolled out, full of convoluted logic and outright lies to justify Warsaw's repressive action.

One such apology by Bruce Caraway appeared in the December 29 *Daily World*. It attempted to equate the military crackdown in Poland with the Cuban government's response in 1975 to a request from the Angolan government to help repel the U.S.-backed invasion of Angola by South Africa.

The use of Cuban troops in Africa and the Warsaw regime's military crackdown, Caraway argues, are both in the interests of working people and the oppressed around the world.

"That the decision to call in the army is in the best interests of the Polish — and international — working class . . ." Caraway writes, "becomes clearer when we look at another case of an army being used in a manner which appears to violate socialist principles [Cuban troops in Angola.]"

Caraway apparently hopes that he can erase any doubts *Daily World* readers might have about Warsaw's dishonorable action by equating it with the inspiring example of international solidarity shown by the revolutionary government of Cuba.

A brief glance at the facts, however, shows that these two instances are not equivalent, but totally opposite.

In his closing speech to the Cuban Communist Party congress in December 1975, Fidel Castro explained the motivation behind the Cuban action.

"We are fulfilling an elementary internationalist duty when we help the Angolan people," he said. "We do not remain passive when we see an African people, a sister people that the imperialists all of a sudden want to swallow up, and that is brutally attacked by South Africa."

The decision to send troops to Angola, moreover, was made with the enthusiastic support of the Cuban people. Hundreds of thousands volunteered, although only some 15,000 to 20,000 were sent.

Cuban troops repel invasion

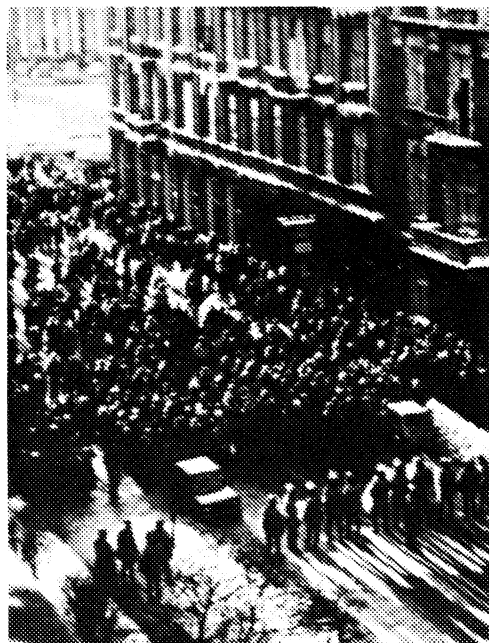
As a result of Cuba's support, the South African invaders were repulsed. This victory in Angola directly advanced the struggle of working people throughout the world by dealing Washington a major blow and by inspiring movements of the oppressed in Africa and elsewhere.

Cuba won broad support for its action, and its prestige among class-conscious workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world was greatly enhanced. In 1976, a meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo, Sri Lanka, hailed Cuba and the other governments which had assisted in repelling the South Africans.

Regardless of the different views working people and the oppressed around the world may have toward the Polish crackdown, it certainly has not similarly inspired them. It is not seen as a victory for the working class nor a step forward for humanity.

Poland and Cuba

In Poland, by contrast to Cuba's action, the corrupt, ruling bureaucracy has used the elite paramilitary police and the secret police to crush a strug-



Left: Polish government used militia against movement for workers democracy. In Angola, Cuban troops (right) came to aid liberation struggle in fight against South Africa and U.S. imperialism.



gle by the workers and farmers to democratize the workers state.

That is the meaning of the demands made by Solidarity over the last year and a half for an end to bureaucratic privileges, such as special shops and managerial appointments; freedom of the press; and union participation in upgrading education, health care, housing, and childcare centers.

Solidarity was no minority organization "about to form its own paramilitary organization and . . . planning a coup," as Caraway contends.

Solidarity: a popular movement

It was a popular movement of millions of people. Through strikes and other actions over the last year and a half it had won certain democratic rights and better working conditions — gains that the bureaucracy is now trying to erase.

The leaders of Solidarity, moreover, were democratically elected to help lead the working class in this struggle.

It is no wonder that millions of Polish workers and farmers immediately recognized and opposed the reactionary nature of the government crackdown, even if Caraway didn't.

Caraway claims that Solidarity leaders were trying to weaken socialism — "to create anarchy by aggravating the economic crisis."

Who has caused the economic crisis?

In addition to the decades of mismanagement, corruption, and squandering of wealth by the privileged bureaucracy, one must ask why, after martial law was declared, did the regimes in East Germany and the Soviet Union decide to bring in plane-fuls and truckloads of produce to Poland?

And why did the Kremlin wait until January 6 — after the crackdown — to loan huge sums to Poland, when the money could have been used last year to buy the spare parts needed to get the factories going?

Could it be that Warsaw and Moscow hoped to pin the blame for the crisis on Solidarity, while wearing down the population in preparation for imposing martial law?

For the last year, moreover, Solidarity leaders constantly put forward a program to help solve the economic crisis — workers control over production and distribution — but the authorities fought against it.

Caraway asserts that Solidarity leaders wanted to weaken the workers state. "Given the opportunity, they would remove Poland from the Warsaw Pact and upset the military bal-

ance in Europe to the advantage of NATO."

Again Caraway is attacking the wrong party.

Section two of Solidarity's program, adopted at its congress in Gdansk in October 1981, states that "A sense of responsibility compels us to recognize the relationship of forces established in Europe after World War II. We want to conduct the great work of change without breaking these international alliances, which can obtain more genuine guarantees than they have until now."

Solidarity supports workers state

Solidarity's objective is not to weaken the Polish workers state and lay the basis for capitalist restoration. Nor have its actions unwittingly increased the danger of this. To the contrary, the struggle to democratize economic and political life in Poland and to get the nationalized economy to serve the interests of working people

strengthens the workers state.

When millions of Polish working people believe that they have control over their lives, they will be far more willing to defend the gains made by the working class as a result of eliminating capitalism in Poland.

By keeping the working class demobilized and deprived of political power and by pursuing a policy of collaboration with imperialism at the expense of struggles of the oppressed around the world, the East European and Soviet governments have severely undermined the defense of the workers states — despite their military strength.

In fact, the military crackdown has provided Washington with a major propaganda weapon to justify beefing up NATO, moving against the revolutions in the Caribbean and Central America, and continuing draft registration. Already the imperialist powers have used the attack to try to disarm the growing anti-NATO, antinuclear weapons movement in Europe.

Rent control under attack

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

A Reagan administration advisory commission has called for the abolition of rent control.

On February 25 the Commission on Housing recommended that federal housing aid to communities that don't file plans to end rent control within three years be eliminated.

If rent control laws were abolished, landlords would be able to raise rents to the level that the "market would bear." Rents would rise so rapidly that many poorer people — and in places like New York City many not so poor people — would be forced to vacate their apartments and double up with other families. Evictions and the already high number of homeless persons would soar. The impact of this move can be seen in the fact that 1,241,000 apartments in New York City alone are subject to some form of rent control.

The Reagan commission argues that "rent control laws inhibit owners and lenders from investment in rental housing and consequently constitute a substantial deterrent to production and maintenance of rental housing."

What the commission's arguments prove is simply the irrationality of private ownership of rental housing. As long as this private ownership is not eliminated an adequate supply of rental housing at reasonable rents will

not be provided.

The Reagan administration is not moving in the direction of eliminating private ownership of rental housing. To the contrary, it wants to eliminate the public housing program. In its place it proposes a "voucher system," whereby the most impoverished would receive vouchers which private landlords could turn into the government for cash redemption.

But the problem with this is that it provides no relief for the millions burdened by exorbitant rents but who don't classify as "impoverished" by the government.

The day after the Reagan housing commission recommended the elimination of rent control, the same commission issued another report which would make it more difficult to get a mortgage for a private home. The commission wants the Federal Housing Administration, which insures mortgages against default, to limit itself to insuring those mortgages that private mortgage insurance companies are unwilling to insure.

This will mean higher insurance premiums for those who would still be eligible for government mortgage insurance. As a result, as the Reagan Housing Commission itself admits, the number of people who can afford to buy their own homes would be further reduced.

For the better class — A Hollywood men's fashion designer will offer a .38 caliber Colt automatic with gold parts



Harry Ring

for "somewhere between \$10,000 and \$25,000." Clients such as his, he explains, should have a piece "appropriate to

their life style. Every possession of a discriminating man, including his means of security, ought to be of the highest quality and taste."

Sad situation — A "senior Reagan administration official" confided to the *New York Times*: "There was a time when it was good enough for the President or Secretary of State to give his word that a foreign power was opposing American interests abroad. Sadly, that's no longer the case."

Our civilized society — A professor of criminal justice at

Albany State University in New York says that instead of jailing all prisoners there should be painful physical punishment such as flogging and electric shock. "It's much more humane and just than prison," he philosophized.

Bullets, not books — Montgomery County Community College officials in Blue Bell, Pennsylvania, have decided that guns will prepare students for jobs better than file cards. They're replacing a library science program with a weapons training course. The library

market is shrinking, they said, but the "security" field is picking up.

Fewer and worser — An Environmental Protection Agency official explained that the agency eliminated the nasty word "hazard" from its vocabulary because it's "a trigger word that excites the American public needlessly." He added, "The average citizen is going to hear that his life is threatened by some chemical many times fewer."

Sounds reasonable — Inter-

ior Secretary James Watt has appointed twenty-one people to a board which advises the government on managing 328 million acres of western land. Three of the appointees have connections with oil and gas interests, seven are or have been tied to ranching interests, three have mining interests, two are lawyers and one owns a logging company.

Thought for the week — "Virtually every action I have taken has been part of a strategy to protect the environment." Interior Secretary Watt.

—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Film: *Malcolm X Speaks*. Sat., March 13, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. South. Donation: \$2. **Ausp:** Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Tucson

Reagan's Attack on Women's Rights: What Strategy to Fight Back. Speakers: Diane Dittmore, Tucson National Organization for Women; Karen Brown; Donna Kae Branch, Arizona Women's Political Caucus; Jill Fein, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 19, 7:30 p.m. El Rio Neighborhood Center, 1390 W. Speedway. **Ausp:** Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 622-3880.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

What Road for Women's Rights Struggle? Speaker: Alison Beckley, member of Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party candidate for 5th Congressional District. Sun., March 14, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. NE. Donation: \$2. **Ausp:** Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

Socialist Workers Party Campaign Rally — Cutbacks and War: How We Can Fight Back. Speakers: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; Alison Beckley, SWP candidate for 5th Congressional District; Tom Fiske, SWP candidate for secretary of state; Greg Worthy, Young Socialist Alliance; Rob Lutton, Atlanta Committee for Latin America. Sat., March 20, 7:30 p.m. reception, 8 p.m. program. 509 Peachtree St. NE. **Ausp:** Socialist Workers Party Campaign. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

INDIANA

Gary

Socialist Campaign Rally: First-Hand Account of Revolutionary Cuba. Speaker: Jesse Smith, Socialist Workers Party candidate for 1st Congressional District. Sat., March 20, 7:30 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation: \$2. **Ausp:** Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

Indianapolis

Classes on Women's Liberation. Sat., March 20. Roots of Women's Oppression, speaker: Jenny Austin, Young Socialist Alliance, 1 p.m.; History of the Women's Movement, speaker: Eileen Weiss, Socialist Workers Party, 3 p.m. 4850 N. College Ave. Donation: \$.50 per class. **Ausp:** Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

Who Are the Real Terrorists? Speakers:

Listen to Radio Venceremos

Radio Venceremos is the official voice of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador. Since it is still a clandestine radio station its signal is not as strong as that of Radio Havana or of La Voz de Nicaragua, but it can be heard with a shortwave radio even in New York. It broadcasts on the 40 meter band at 6,907 kHz every day at 7 a.m., 7 p.m., and at 9:30 p.m. (EST). It usually transmits for an hour, except on Sundays and Mondays when it can be heard for about an hour and a half.

Abd Algader Khalid, Arab student; Dhalia Almuhaire, Arab student; Steve Lich, Irish rights activist; representative from Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 20, 7 p.m. IUPUI Lecture Hall, Room 104. Donation: \$1.50. **Ausp:** Militant Forum Series. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Cuba: The Truth Behind Reagan's Lies. Film: *The Seeds of Liberty*. Tape of Clyde Bellecourt from the American Indian Movement. Speaker: Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress. Sun., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 809 E. Broadway. Donation: \$2. **Ausp:** Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Victory For Democratic Rights: Public Act 94 Struck Down. Speakers: Howard Simon, executive director, Michigan Civil Liberties Union; Ron Reosti, attorney; Tim Craine, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. Sat., March 13, 8 p.m., party to follow. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. **Ausp:** Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

U.S. Foreign Policy vs. People of El Salvador. Documentary film: *El Salvador: Another Vietnam*. Speaker: Fred Murphy, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*. Fri., March 19, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. **Ausp:** Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Puerto Rico: The Struggle for Independence. Speakers: Rafael Cancel Miranda, Puerto Rican nationalist; Artemio Camacho, Socialist Workers Party; Zydna Nazario, New York Committee in Support of Vieques. English translation provided. Fri., March 19, 7:30 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2. **Ausp:** *Perspectiva Mundial*. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

Manhattan

Marathon for Unity of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement. Speakers: Rafael Cancel Miranda, Puerto Rican nationalist hero; Gilberto Gerena Valentín, councilman from the Bronx; Wilma Reverón, Office of International Information for the Independence of Puerto Rico; José Alberto Álvarez, Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Victor Nieto, Socialist Workers Party; others. Cultural presentations by Pepe Castillo and Estampa Criolla; Pleneritos de Ponce; The Family; Epoca Brass Quintet; Teatro Cuatro; many others. **Ausp:** Comité Unitario 21 de Marzo. Sun. March 21, all day. Casa de las Américas, 104 West 14th Street. For more information call (212) 893-3802, (212) 538-6512, or (212) 675-2584.

Schenectady

Reagan's Big Lie: Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador. Speakers: April Brumson, recently returned from Nicaragua; Pat Mayberry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for 28th Congressional District. Fri., March 19, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. **Ausp:** Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

NORTH CAROLINA

Winston-Salem

Socialist Workers Party Campaign Rally:

Why the Democrats Won't Stop Reaganism. Speaker: Meryl Lynn Farber, SWP candidate for 5th Congressional District. Sat., March 20, 6 p.m. banquet, 7:30 p.m. rally. 216 E. 6th St. Donation: \$5 banquet and rally, \$1 rally only. **Ausp:** SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Stop Reagan's Attack on Central America and the Caribbean. Speakers: Victor Rubio, spokesman for Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; Joe Lombardo, member of Central America Task Force and Socialist Workers Party. Sun., March 14, 7 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. **Ausp:** Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

OREGON

Portland

Crisis in the Labor Movement: What Strategy to Fight Back Against Reaganism. Speakers: Paul Freeman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council. Sun., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. **Ausp:** Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

The State of Nuclear Power in 1982: A Debate. Speakers: Dr. Bernard Cohen, professor of physics, University of Pittsburgh; Paul Behers, representative of Westinghouse Electric Corporation; Jerry Gordon, coordinator of Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment; Doug Hord, rail worker. Fri., March 12, 7:30 p.m. University of Pittsburgh, Cathedral of Learning, Room G-24. **Ausp:** Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (412) 488-7755.

TEXAS

San Antonio

Ecocide: The Strategy of War. Film and panel discussion. Fri., March 19, 8 p.m. 337 W. Josephine. Donation: \$2. **Ausp:** Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Money for Jobs, Not for War! Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Sara Smith, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 7889, Socialist Workers Party

candidate for 2nd Congressional District; Cecelia Moriarty, member of United Mine Workers Local 2176, Wilberg mine. Featuring Jon Shuman, jazz pianist. Free buffet and refreshments. Sat., March 20, 7:30 p.m. Northwest Multi-purpose Center, 1300W 300N. Refreshments at 7 p.m. Donation: \$2.50. **Ausp:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

El Salvador: Another Vietnam. Film and panel discussion. Speakers: Mario Velásquez, Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; Peter Gribbin, D.C. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Fran LaRue, Democratic Front Against Repression of Guatemala; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., March 14, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. **Ausp:** Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Black Revolutionaries Yesterday and Today. The Fight Against Slavery: Abolitionists and Reconstruction. Sat., March 20, 1:45 p.m.; From the Black Renaissance to WWII, Sat., March 20, 4 p.m.; The Revolutionary Leadership of Malcolm X, Sun., March 21, 1 p.m. Slide show on Grenada, Sun., March 21, 3:45 p.m.; Forum — Black Struggle Today, Sun., March 21, 6 p.m. Antioch School of Law, 2633 16th St. NW (near Columbia Rd.) Donation: \$5 for all classes, \$2 forum only. **Ausp:** Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (202) 797-7021.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Campaign Social. Hear Jim Eyman and Annie Gorenc, rural blues and string band artists; listen to Radio Havana; rap with Peter Seidman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Wisconsin. Sat., March 13, 8 p.m. 706 E. Hadley. **Ausp:** Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

The Indian People and the Nicaraguan Revolution. Speaker: Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement leader recently returned from Nicaragua. Also: Little Big Band (Native American rock group) after program. Sat., March 20, 8 p.m. Fireside Lounge, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee Union (Kenwood and Maryland). Donation: \$1.50. **Ausp:** Militant Labor Forum, American Indian Movement, UW Native American Student Movement, Mobilization for Survival; Central American Solidarity Coalition, Wisconsin Coalition Against Repression, Workers Center. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

GM goes for takebacks from workers

Continued from Page 20

UAW leadership to get GM workers to accept concessions.

This campaign included the new pressure on GM workers from ratification of the contract by workers at Ford, a corporation whose prospects for survival are considerably less than GM's.

For auto workers, the recession has been a disaster. More than 50,000 of Ford's 105,000 production workers, and 140,000 of GM's 330,000, were on indefinite layoff as of mid-February. And this does not include layoffs in the projected GM plant closings, nor tens of thousands more who have been laid off so long they have lost recall rights.

It was the pressure of job insecurity

that caused Ford workers to accept the new contract givebacks. They hoped to minimize the concessions demanded by the auto barons.

Nevertheless, the UAW leadership realizes that considerable opposition to concessions remains among GM workers, and is organizing a "back-to-negotiations" movement among local officials and unions. Toward that end, the capitalist press reported that several locals that had been opposed to concessions had reversed themselves.

It was amid this pressure, plus that from owners of other UAW-organized companies for concessions (see editorial on page 18), that the union's bargaining committee decided to reopen the concessions talks with GM.

Brainwashing U.S. style—not just for children

The Children's story . . . but not just for children, by James Clavell, Mobil Showcase Network.

BY RANDI LAWRENCE

A very slick piece of anticommunist propaganda was aired recently on TV. *The Children's Story . . . but not just for children* by James Clavell was shown on prime time TV February 18, sponsored by the Mobil Showcase Network. It was preceded by an intensive ad campaign which left you wondering what it would be about. A half hour special, uninterrupted by commercials, "about freedom and the fragility of children's minds" was the way the description in the New York *Daily News* read. A full page, six-color ad ran on page 3 of the February 18 *New York Times Magazine*, a full page in the *New York Times Book*

TELEVISION REVIEW

Review Section, and a full week of ads showing clips from the show ran on television.

The show began on the first day after "the war" had ended and "we" (the United States) had lost. "They have conquered us" read a subtitle. "The place: a neighborhood school." The old, but obviously dedicated and caring, teacher was about to be replaced by an enemy teacher and was afraid for the future of her young, multi-racial students. Johnny, a brave, verbal student cautions her not to be afraid of the enemy just because they won. "If you're afraid, you're dead, even if you're still alive." He learned that from his dad.

Nine a.m. arrives and there are shadows going by the classroom door that look and sound very much like troops. The new teacher enters in a drab uniform and sends the old teacher to "see the principal." She begins by showing the students that she has memorized all their names. They immediately agree with her that the old way of beginning the day, by roll call, was a sign of a lazy teacher who hadn't taken the time to learn their names.

The special depicted three of the ideological pillars of capitalist society being destroyed in the minds of second graders by the deceptively kind and attractive "enemy" teacher. It took the new teacher all of half-an-hour to undercut allegiance to flag and country, belief in God, and blind trust in the words of parents.

The standard procedure of the "old" school day of pledging allegiance to the flag is questioned by teacher when she asks the students the meaning of the words "pledge" and "allegiance." Their ideas are sketchy at best and most just say they had to memorize it, that's all. One student had been paid a dime by his father for getting it right. The new teacher explains that the pledge means a promise to be loyal to your flag, your government, a pledge that makes the flag and government more important than each of the students. She cleverly gets them to agree that it's silly to think a flag is more important than a person. But since it is a pretty flag, everyone should have a piece of it. A shocking idea to the students that turns into fun when the birthday girl in the class gets to cut the first piece. All the other students, except for Johnny, line up behind in expectation of their piece. The flag pole is tossed out the window by the excited children after teacher notices how funny it looks without the flag.

Next comes a question and answer session. Where is the old teacher? She went for a long rest. She's old and teachers should be young. Shouldn't they? General agreement.

Is the war over? Oh yes, we're all one big world now and all the daddies will be coming home. That's good. Isn't it? General agreement.

Johnny asks where his father is. He knows he went somewhere he didn't want to go. Teacher answers that he went to a school to unlearn some wrong ideas. Wrong, not bad, but wrong. You don't always like to go to school, do you? Johnny says his dad couldn't have wrong ideas. Could he?

Finally, everyone says a prayer to God. A prayer for their parents and a prayer, at teacher's suggestion, for candy. No candy appears. Teacher suggests praying to "our leader" for candy. Candy appears this time but Johnny points out that the teacher brought out the candy — he peeked. Teacher admits to this and explains that now they all know praying gets you nowhere. You can pray if you want, she says, or if your parents want you to, but it's worthless. Johnny is congratulated for his clever observation and is made monitor for the week.

The show ends with teacher gazing out the window saying she's so happy because all over the world students are being taught this way now. As she looks at Johnny, the one student who questioned any of her ideas, she adds that each student is being taught "according to his needs."

The Children's Story was designed to instill intense fear of people and ideas that might challenge belief in the government, religion, and the family as we know them. It portrays anyone who might have different ideas as evil, deceptive, and out to control the minds of others, especially the young. They are "outsiders" who have conquered "us." They are not specifically Russian or Cuban, but in light of the U.S. govern-

ment's heightened scare campaign of today, the implication is clear.

The one major flaw in this attempt to stir up anti-communist hysteria is the same problem that in the last analysis will always lead to failure in this effort. That is the assumption that the majority of people, in this case the majority of the children, are meek, naive, easily bribed, and unintelligent people without the ability to think and analyze for themselves. The children portrayed in this show cast off their old ideas willingly just as soon as it looks to them that what the new teacher offers involves fun and candy. Except for Johnny. He is bribed with praise and power.

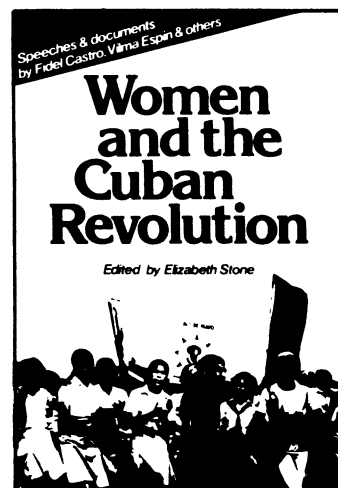
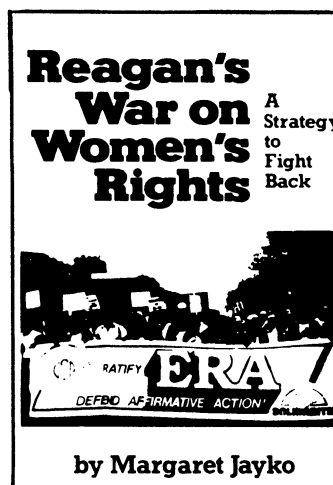
Socialists know very well that it is the very ability to discern truth from deception, intelligence, and the will to survive of the majority of people which will, in the end, indeed change the world. It is only this confidence in people which insures the future in a just and humane world.

For those who are interested in finding out about the actual development of a society towards socialism, the Cuban revolution provides a wonderful example and much has been written about it. The educational experience for young and older alike is also well documented. A few suggestions for further reading are:

- *Cuba: Dictatorship or Democracy* — How Peoples Power Works, by Marta Harnecker, \$8.95.
- *Children of the Revolution*, by Jonathan Kozol, \$4.95.
- *Women in Cuba — Twenty Years Later*, by Margaret Randall, \$6.95.
- *Women and the Cuban Revolution*, edited by Elizabeth Stone, \$3.95.

These books can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

Reading on women's liberation



Reagan's War on Women's Rights

By Margaret Jayko
38 pp., \$.95

Women and the Cuban Revolution

Edited by Elizabeth Stone
160 pp., \$3.95

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Ford, Teamster pacts a blow to labor

Over the last two weeks, contracts containing significant losses to workers have been negotiated by the leaderships of the United Auto Workers and International Brotherhood of Teamsters and grudgingly ratified by union members.

If there were any two unions that workers have looked to as able to get good contracts, it was the UAW and Teamsters. Both have been pacesetters in improving wages, hours, and working conditions.

Yet, the leaderships of these unions were no more capable of resisting employer takeback demands than those of much smaller, less powerful unions.

Further layoffs will result from both the Ford and Teamster Master Contract concessions. At Ford, the loss of ten yearly holidays will cost 3,000 jobs. Teamsters will lose jobs as more over-the-road drivers make city deliveries.

The losses in cost-of-living increases and in pay rates and benefits for new-hires will give billions to the bosses. Over the next months, Ford and the trucking companies will use the new contracts to eliminate hard-won work rules, both nationally and locally. The promises of job security are illusory.

The UAW and Teamsters will find it difficult to resist further concessions. General Motors wants them. The UAW is reopening the contract with American Motors, which also wants takeaways. So do auto parts and agricultural equipment manufacturers.

There are other unions that will also feel more pressure from the bosses for concessions: Steelworkers. Rubber workers. Rail workers. Electrical workers. Warehouse workers. Machinists. And others.

These demands for concessions are an attack on our living standard and working conditions on all fronts. The breadth of these takebacks, and the number of unions affected by them lead to only one conclusion — the bosses' drive to increase their profits means a campaign to weaken and ultimately destroy the unions.

How far do they intend to go? The example of PATCO, the air traffic controllers' union, is instructive. Air traffic controllers are now unrepresented. And since PATCO was decertified, the demands for takebacks have increased.

The bosses and their government are out for blood. That's an important lesson to be learned from these two contracts.

The Ford and Teamster settlements also show that the employers' attacks cannot be turned back by one union, or by workers in one industry.

To be sure, both the auto and trucking industries

have been hurt badly by the deepening recession. But there is no separate "auto crisis" or "trucking crisis." There is a structural crisis of U.S. capitalism caused by the employers' need to drastically deepen the exploitation of workers and farmers in order to better compete in the world market.

This crisis affects us all. It is throwing millions out of work. It is bankrupting working farmers. It has meant that Blacks, women, and Latinos are especially hard hit. It has brought a decline of education and all other social services.

And more is to come, including war in Central America or the Middle East — which the capitalists see as *their* way out of the crisis.

To be competitive, U.S. employers must replace obsolete plants and facilities. But, as in auto, they are not making money available for this. Yet, despite the recession, there is plenty of money for investment in the war industries. The reason for this is that the war industry is receiving bigger and bigger orders from the Pentagon guaranteeing them profits.

Could there be any stronger indictment of capitalism than the fact that hundreds of billions of dollars are spent on weapons while millions of people are out of work?

How can we save our jobs? What can be done? Not much, if we try to save our jobs by helping out the bosses, as the union misleaders are doing. Givebacks have resulted in not more Chrysler jobs, but fewer. They aren't saving jobs at Ford and the trucking companies; they are losing them.

What workers need goes in the opposite direction from takebacks. We need a shorter workweek, with no pay loss, in order to spread the available work. We need unemployment benefits at full pay for as long as people are out of work. We need a crash public works program to provide schools, hospitals, low-rent housing, public transportation, roads, and more.

But we can't get any of this by relying on the Democratic-Republican government of the rich, one that is opposed to the interests of workers and farmers here and throughout the world.

Instead, we need a government that represents our interests — a workers and farmers government.

Indeed, the government's war drive in Central America, and the union movement's growing opposition to it, is a powerful example of the unions' need to break with the policies of the bosses — and their two parties.

To fight for a workers and farmers government, we need a political party that is independent of the employers — a labor party based on the unions.

Reagan kicks off 'Afghanistan Day'

Amidst reports of further massacres carried out by the U.S.-backed dictatorship in El Salvador, the Reagan administration charged that it has "reliable information" that the Soviet government is using chemical weapons in Afghanistan.

Deputy Secretary of State Walter Stoessel, Jr., told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 8 that Soviet forces have killed 3,042 people with chemical weapons in forty-seven incidents between the summer of 1979 and the summer of 1981. These charges were based on a "sanitized version" of a two-volume, classified CIA document totaling several hundred pages.

Washington has alleged many times in the past two years that Soviet chemical weapons have been used in Afghanistan as well as in Laos and Kampuchea. But not one shred of substantial evidence has ever been produced to verify these accusations. In fact, a United Nations panel, composed of representatives from close U.S. allies, submitted a report in late November 1981 saying that "there was no conclusive evidence to support United States charges that Soviet-made chemical and biological weapons had been used in Laos, Cambodia, and Afghanistan."

And just a week before Stoessel's accusations officials in the Defense Intelligence Agency, in the International Security Agency, in the Defense Department, and in the State Department admitted they had no evidence that Soviet forces used chemical weapons in Afghanistan.

What new evidence is being presented now? How does the administration know that exactly 3,042 people were killed in exactly *forty-seven* incidents?

Reports of refugees in Pakistan and defectors from the Afghan army who claim to have seen chemical weapons used. Doctors who say they have treated victims of chemical weapons. And victims who say they have survived these attacks.

But not one chemical sample, not one photograph, nor one cannister or bomb was presented as part of

this "reliable information." Instead, administration officials hide in the sanctuary of "classified information" and not "compromising sources or methods."

State Department intelligence official Philip Stoddard, who was with Stoessel, said further details would be made public later and the number of deaths might be twice the 3,042 reported. This is a time-worn technique. When you don't have hard facts, add even more charges hoping that the bigger the lie the more believable it will seem.

Stoessel admitted that the intensity of his attack was to focus attention on March 21, which has been designated by Congress as "Afghanistan Day." This date, set in response to a call from the European Parliament, is part of imperialism's reactionary anticommunist crusade around Poland and Afghanistan.

Reagan and Congress figure that the louder they yell about Soviet "crimes" and the more terrible they paint them, the more the spotlight will be diverted from their own heinous actions. It's no accident that Washington has stepped up its charges of Soviet use of chemical weapons just when it is massively increasing its own chemical and biological arsenal. Reagan proposes that by 1984 the national budget will include \$1.4 billion for such weapons, compared to \$111 million in 1978.

But most of all Washington wants to get the spotlight off of its support to the bloody dictatorships in El Salvador and Guatemala where unspeakable crimes against human rights are being perpetrated.

By whipping up anti-Soviet propaganda, Washington hopes to convince working people in this country that it's all right to militarily intervene in Central America and the Caribbean. Their anti-Soviet and anticommunist campaign around Afghanistan and Poland is part of their preparations for war against the revolutionary governments in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, and the liberation fighters in Guatemala and El Salvador.

1965 Selma-Montgomery march: federal troops and Voting Rights Act

As part of the current fight to renew the 1965 Voting Rights Act, a February 6-18 demonstration retraced the steps of the historic Selma-to-Montgomery, Alabama, march that was instrumental in passing the original Voting Rights Act.

January 17, 1965, began a renewed voter registration drive in Selma, Alabama. This drive was met with arrests and violent attacks by local and state cops. In protest, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., called for a march from Selma to Montgomery, the capital, where a voter registration drive was also taking place.

On March 7, civil rights activists assembled in Selma. The unarmed demonstrators were brutally attacked by state troopers and sheriff's possemens. The bloody assault, which was filmed and shown on TV, focused national attention on the savage resistance of local authorities to Black voting rights. It led to a national outcry and support for the demand for federal troops to protect the civil rights of Blacks in the South.

Demonstrations in support of the Selma struggle took place across the country. On March 14,

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

7,000 marched in Los Angeles; 10,000 in San Francisco; 5,000 in Denver; 4,500 in Columbus, Ohio; 2,500 in Springfield, Ohio; and 25,000 in both Boston and Harlem. Many demonstrators linked the demand for U.S. troops out of Vietnam to the demand for federal troops to Selma.

A second voting rights march was scheduled for March 9, to be led by King. Alabama Governor George Wallace declared that he would stop this demonstration also. The demonstration marched from Selma, but was stopped by state troopers outside Montgomery, and returned to Selma.

The militancy of the Alabama Black community and the unprecedented national support forced President Johnson to send federal troops to protect a three-day march, beginning March 21, from Selma to Alabama. A rally of 50,000 took place in Montgomery at the conclusion of the demonstration.

The following are excerpts from an article by Fred Halstead that appeared on the front page of the March 22, 1965, *Militant*.

The unprecedented wave of demonstrations over the Selma events — demonstrations boldly and directly aimed at embarrassing and exposing the hypocrisy of President Johnson — have wrung from him significant concessions on voting rights for Negroes in the Deep South.

The proposed new voting-rights law, as promised by Johnson in his March 15 speech to Congress and the nation as described by administration spokesmen, would eliminate the "tests" now used in the South to disqualify Negroes from voting. It would also provide for federal registrars upon petition by Negro citizens. This goes far beyond what Johnson and Congress would have dreamed of conceding before the militant demonstrations over Selma.

But Johnson continues to evade his immediate and central responsibility — enforcement of *existing* federal law by intervening in Alabama with federal armed force against the criminal state and local authorities there.

Indeed, Johnson's concession on voting is in part designed to help him evade that responsibility. He hopes to get the struggle out of the streets and back into the courts and legislative halls where it can easily be bogged down. Meanwhile, the criminal violations of Negroes' rights by Alabama "law enforcement" officials continue.

Federal troops should occupy Selma — and all other areas where similar flaunting of Negroes' constitutional rights exist — and arrest and remove from office the guilty local and state officials. The federal government, moreover, should arm and deputize Negro citizens there to defend themselves, police their communities and assure that elections are honestly carried out.

The Selma demonstrations throughout the country also revealed, for the whole world to see, widespread domestic opposition to Johnson's brinkmanship in Vietnam. For suddenly there appeared everywhere the demand to withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam and send them to Alabama, a demand previously raised only by radical forces such as the Socialist Workers Party.

'Let them eat cheese'— gov't answer to jobless

BY BRENDA BRDAR

GARY, Ind. — American cheese has never been my favorite. But there was no choice on this "menu."

So I waited in line with other low-income and unemployed workers for five pounds of government-surplus-processed American cheese.

This is Reagan's response to the growing unemployment and misery in America — brought on by the

UNION TALK

crisis of the capitalist system and the bipartisan policies of the employers' parties.

While people took advantage of the free cheese, they knew it wouldn't begin to solve their problems. "I think they can do more, but we need this cheese," said one woman with a small son in line with her.

It's jobs and childcare centers that people need. Five pounds of cheese won't last long.

An attitude common among cheese recipients was skepticism about the government's motives for distributing the free cheese, as well as the belief that more could be done.

An unemployed man from Gary expressed the anger present. "I think it's a big joke. They just gave

\$55 million to El Salvador and all they can give us is some cheese."

Even Marion Hogan, executive director of the Lake County, Indiana, Economic Opportunity Council said, "the government has enough food in warehouses to feed the whole country for a year."

Some people complained that their cheese was too salty to eat. But they weren't allowed to exchange it.

The cheese was distributed at numerous locations throughout northwest Indiana, including the Lloyd McBride Hall. Named after the national president of the United Steelworkers of America, this new union hall for USWA Local 1014 was constructed at the cost of \$2.2 million.

While the union leadership squanders its members' money on a grandiose, basketball court-equipped structure, it hands out blocks of government-surplus cheese to unemployed steelworkers and low-paid garment workers.

Is this what we have unions for?

More and more workers think not.

The unions should be organizing demonstrations and protests against the government's policies. The spirit of Solidarity Day, September 19, 1981, when half a million American workers poured into the streets of Washington, D.C., should be extended.

The unions should be talking about putting our

own people — working people — in office. They should be talking about the need for a government which represents working people and puts the needs of us — workers, Blacks, Latinos, women, working farmers, not the corporations — first. And they should be organizing a labor party to fight for such a government.

Instead the union leadership is offering more of the same no-win strategy. As Leon Lynch, the Black USWA vice-president for human affairs, explained at a recent conference on "organizing the unorganized" sponsored by Northwest Indiana Coalition of Labor Union Women, the union movement must get into the front lines of the Democratic Party.

And then what? We can support more enemies of working people!

Any fashion of supporting the Democratic Party won't take the wealth of this country out of the hands of big business and put it into the hands of working people. And that's what we need to do to solve our problems.

All the Democratic Party approach will get us is more salty cheese.

Brenda Brdar is a garment worker and a candidate for the Indiana State Senate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

LETTERS

Khomeini

If the Khomeini regime in Iran has not successfully crushed working class activity, it's not because it doesn't wish to. It is because the clerical dictatorship lacks the strength to do so. I for one hope it is swept away by the Iranian workers before it acquires such strength.

Iran is not the first case in history where a magnificent, budding democratic revolution has been aborted (temporarily, let us hope) by a reactionary, anti-labor, and repressive government ruling in the name of the revolution itself. The Kuomintang which crushed the working class in the first Chinese Revolution, and the bourgeois Spanish Republic which suppressed revolutionary workers and the left in the name of revolution, thereby opening the door for fascism, are two examples among many.

What is completely new, so far as I know, is for a paper in the political tradition of the *Militant* to defend such a regime against revolutionary left and working class opposition, to label proven revolutionaries "counterrevolutionary terrorists" for opposing such a regime, and to mask this position as "anti-imperialism."

David Finkel

Highland Park, Michigan

Appreciation

I'd like to offer a few words of appreciation for the role the *Militant* newspaper is playing in these times of deepening crisis and impending war. More than ever, I find the *Militant* essential.

Looking back over the past six years, I see that the world and the American scene have undergone profound and irreversible changes neither I, nor anyone I knew when I began reading the *Militant*, could have foreseen. It would have been difficult if at all possible to understand many of the great events correctly without the Marxist analysis of the *Militant*. Thanks to the *Militant* I have understood such events as the Nicaraguan and Polish revolutions, the collapse of American liberalism, etc.

As a constructive criticism I could suggest more coverage on class struggles in Texas, which is fast becoming the real economic heartland of this country.

Another part of the world that could stand more attention is China, where a major purge seems to be under way and the powerful movement for socialist democracy continues to grow.

M.C.

San Antonio, Texas

'Granma'

One other way (other than finding a Canadian bank or going to Cuba) of subscribing to *Granma* is to send Canadian dollars. If you live in a small town like I do it may be the only convenient way of subscribing. It's a lot easier to find a bank with Canadian dollars than one with headquarters in Canada.

I've been sending Canadian dollars to Cuba for *Granma* for years and never had any problem.

The subscription rate is the equivalent of \$10 U.S. (I always send a little more to account for currency fluctuations). To: Ediciones Cubanas, Empresa De Comercio Exterior de Publicaciones, O'Reilly 407, Apartado 605, Ciudad de la Habana, Cuba.

Mark Rhodes

Fresno, California

Abu-Jamal

This is an appeal to all readers of the *Militant*. On December 9, 1981, Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Black activist in Philadelphia, was beaten and arrested by the infamous Philadelphia cops. He is charged with the murder of a cop killed during the arrest.

Jamal has been active in the Black liberation movement since his high school days when he was involved in a struggle to get the name of his high school changed to Malcolm X High School. He was a leader of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party, and more recently active in the struggles against police brutality in Philadelphia. As a radio reporter and newspaper writer he is also president of the local Association of Black Journalists.

Mumia Jamal was a familiar face at demonstrations against police brutality and in support of women's and labor rights. He often interviewed members of the Socialist Workers Party and taped sections of the *Militant*

Labor Forums for his radio shows.

A very important defense committee has been formed in Philadelphia to gather support for Jamal and to demand his release and that the charges against him be dropped. The committee seeks to counter the sensationalism of the press by explaining the truth about Philadelphia cops and the innocence of Jamal.

Contributions and messages of support can be sent to the Mumia Abu-Jamal Defense Committee, c/o AFCON Learning Center, 2432 W. Lehigh Ave., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19132.

Mark Friedman

Brooklyn, New York

Two good books

"Feminists Challenge Scholars Basic Tenets" was the headline in a news section in the *Minneapolis Tribune* on Nov. 28, 1981. According to the article, Florence Hose, founder of the Feminist Press, said that about three hundred colleges have women's studies programs and that there are twenty thousand such courses nationwide.

What they are questioning and challenging is the tenets that men throughout history have always been the leading sex. This question is very timely since it indicates a dissatisfaction with the programming that women have and are being subjected to and a determination to ferret out the truth about the role played by women in the history of humanity. Knowledge of our evolution and history is our greatest asset in our struggle for equal rights.

The most profound source for this understanding are two books by Evelyn Reed. The first is *Women's Evolution*, on which the author spent twenty years in scientific study and which contains the pertinent ideas of the leading evolutionists, archaeologists, and anthropologists who delved into the history of prehistoric times.

Sexism and Science exposes and scientifically refutes the anti-woman bias of the establishment anthropologists of the present day.

Many women have the idea that books of this nature should only be read by college women and not by working women and



housewives who work very hard for no pay. Nothing could be further from the truth. These books were written to be read by all women and men who are seriously considering the direction that humanity must take. They were written by an active and dedicated socialist from a Marxist historical point of view.

Fannie Curran

Minneapolis, Minnesota

'Creative presence'

The death of Thelonious Sphere Monk, of a stroke at age sixty-four on February 17, brought to a close a uniquely creative and productive presence in what Rashaan Roland Kirk called "Afro-American classical music."

Monk's compositions, as his piano style, were immediately identifiable as his and his alone. One or two notes played in his tough and precise manner were sufficient to instantly identify Monk's voice on the instrument.

Together with saxophonist Charlie Parker, trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie, drummer Max Roach, and others, Monk participated in the founding of a new, militant Black music in the 1940s known as "bop" or "bebop."

Among Monk's most distinctive compositions were "Epistrophy," "Blue Monk," "Mysterioso," "Brilliant Corners," "Jackie-ing," "Pannonica," and "Well, You Needn't." His best known composition was "Round Midnight."

Some of his finest performances were recorded on "Monk/Trane" (Thelonious Monk and

John Coltrane) recorded on Prestige M-47011, "It's Monk's Time" on Columbia CS 8984, and "Monk/Straight, No Chaser" on Columbia CS 9451.

Walter Lippman

Los Angeles, California

Prisoners

The coverage of crime, criminals, prisons, and the letters from prisoners to the *Militant* have been excellent. I have a couple of suggestions on this.

I think the coverage of letters from prisoners is important and adds something to the paper. It has been a long time since the *Militant* has advertised or used Etheridge Knight's book *Black Voices from Prison*. I recently reread it and I think the book stands up well for what it is and was written to do. You might look it over and decide to reprint small excerpts from some of the "testaments" written by prisoners. They would be especially effective with appeals for the Prisoner Fund.

Pathfinder Publishers hasn't got anything in pamphlet form since the *Attica* pamphlet. The *Attica* rebellion was a real cause in the Black community and among radicalizing students at the time. Why not redo a short pamphlet from the *Attica* material, prisoner's letters, and some of the material from Knight's book. In the process of writing about it in the *Militant* you might end up with new correspondence from prisoners which could be added.

Michael Maggi

Los Angeles, California

Miami Blacks back Haitian refugees

March of 1,000 protests detention center conditions

BY CARMEN MAYMI

MIAMI — More than 1,000 people capped Black History Month with a demonstration here February 27 in support of Haitian refugees.

The demonstrators, mostly Black Americans, danced to the beat of "Ain't No Stopping Us Now" as they marched to the Dade County Courthouse.

They chanted, "Let My People Go!" and "Close Down Krome!" — references to the Krome Avenue Detention Center, where 600 refugees who have fled the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti are imprisoned. The Haitians are fighting to gain asylum in this country.

William Perry, president of the Greater Miami NAACP, told the crowd, "The housing of Haitian refugees at Krome is gross, intolerable, and inhumane. Krome should be closed."

State Representative Carrie Meek and Athalie Range, former Miami city commissioner, also spoke.

The demonstration was organized by Les Brown, director of the Quest for Truth Center in Liberty City. Brown pointed out that Haitians are treated differently than other refugees because they are Black.

Rev. Gerard Jean-Juste, director of the Haitian Refugee Center, Inc., noted that "we Africans in America and we Africans in the West Indies have all come together."

NEW YORK — A victory was won for Haitian refugees March 5 when a federal judge ruled that the Immigration and Naturalization Service must release

eight refugees on parole unless it could prove the eight "pose a risk of absconding."

Judge Robert Carter ruled that in denying the refugees parole the INS had discriminated against them "because of their race or national origin."

More than eighty Haitians are currently imprisoned in a Navy brig at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. They have filed for political asylum in this country, but the State Department has turned down their request. The INS is now ruling on whether to deport them, having ordered thirty-three to leave thus far. All thirty-three have appealed that ruling.

The Haitians filed a second suit asking to be released from detention while their deportation hearings are taking place. The ruling on parole for eight of the refugees could be extended to others currently imprisoned.

The judge found that the Haitians had been held in "substandard facilities for approximately eight months." The refugees have been locked up in the Navy brig since last July. They have not even been allowed to go outside, or have any exercise. The only exceptions are when they are taken — in manacles — to a doctor or to "disciplinary quarters."

"Only out of fear would anybody in their right minds continue to put up with the hell they're put through," explained Michael Hooper of the Haitian Project of the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights. "They are genuinely fearful of what will happen if they go back" to Haiti.



Demonstration showed growing solidarity between Afro-Americans and Haitians.

Protesting the wretched conditions of the Haitians and demanding asylum, some 1,000 people demonstrated in Brooklyn February 27. Among the participants were Hispanic trade union officials.

Meanwhile, Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH met with Pope John Paul II in Rome to urge him to speak out in defense of the Haitians. Jackson explained the refugees were "being held in concentration camps."

GM out to grab new takebacks from auto workers

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Following membership ratification of a contract that granted Ford significant concessions, and with the threat of further plant closings as a backdrop, the United Auto Workers leadership is reopening contract talks with General Motors (GM).

The UAW bargaining committee decided March 2 to resume the talks. A meeting of the union's GM Bargaining Council, which must approve the contract reopening, is scheduled for March 11.

The current GM contract, like the former one with Ford, would expire in September. The new GM proposal is certain to contain concessions based on those made to Ford.

Ford workers gave up ten holidays a year and productivity increases. Ford also got sharply reduced pay and benefits for new hires and deferred cost-of-living allowances.

In return, Ford workers are promised guarantees of job security that will be virtually unenforceable under contract language and layoff benefits that will at best be meager and short-lived, even for workers with high seniority.

GM expects concessions from the UAW at least matching those given to Ford. Both GM and the union leadership are eager to reopen negotiations, which were called off by the company in late January when a large minority of the UAW GM Bargaining Council voted against reopening the contract. This was a blow to GM's plans for workers' concessions.

The GM council's opposition convinced GM that its workers would not accept givebacks without more pressure. Douglas Fraser, UAW president,

reported that GM told him, "whatever we do, you probably can't get it ratified anyway."

GM then announced plans to close eight plants — including many whose union locals had voted to oppose concessions. These threats are part of an intensive GM propaganda campaign aimed at its workers to get them to make concessions on pay and working conditions.

For several years, GM has conducted

"training" sessions for its workers in which they are shown films telling them they must out-produce workers in Japan. GM has a propaganda program called *The Road to Survival* which outlines how workers are to be told that they must sacrifice.

In late February, GM workers got a letter from Roger Smith, GM board chairman, complaining that negotiations had broken off and trying to con-

vince them that cuts in wages and benefits are necessary to GM's survival — in spite of the corporation's \$333 million in profits last year.

At the same time, the UAW leadership was telling its members they face a choice of accepting concessions or going on strike in September.

Thus, there has been a coordinated campaign both by the company and the

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Cops invade Black community in Chicago

BY ED WARREN
AND JON HILLSON

CHICAGO — A massive police attack against this city's Black community following the slaying of two white cops has sparked widespread outrage among Blacks in Chicago.

Under this pressure, the Afro-American Patrolmen's League set March 13 for public hearings on "law enforcement" in Chicago.

The latest act of police violence occurred on February 26. Two cops broke down the apartment door of a paraplegic forty-six-year-old South Side Black who had refused to return his two-year-old son to his ex-wife.

The police claimed the crippled man threatened them with a bat.

They shot him dead on the spot.

The wave of racist terror began in the wake of the February 9 deaths of two Chicago policemen, when a giant "man-hunt" was mounted to find their killers.

It was, in reality, a Black-hunt.

The huge dragnet on the city's South Side was spearheaded by white cops in the Black community.

Complaints of cars being stopped and searched, Blacks being arrested and held without charges, and homes being ransacked were common. Scores of police brutality charges were filed. The siege lasted for five days.

Alvin Smith's story was typical.

He told of his home being broken into by six white cops who took his wife from bed and arrested the couple's two teenage sons.

The racist sweep was an act of police retribution against the Black community, which it occupies like a foreign army.

Two brothers, Andrew and Jackie Wilson, were charged with the cop murders after being seized and arrested on February 14.

Both pleaded innocent to the murder charges, reportedly claiming self-defense. They were refused the right to bail.

The plight of the Wilson brothers was described at an Operation PUSH meeting on February 20, where hundreds of people were present.

Andrew Wilson appeared in court with a bloody bandage on his head, and retracted an earlier "confession," apparently produced by the Chicago cops' special methods of persuasion.

At a news conference on February 23, Renault Robinson, executive director of the Afro-American Patrolmen's League, revealed the existence of a racist police gang that calls itself the "Ghetto Raiders."

These white vigilantes in blue wear buttons and jackets to identify themselves, Robinson stated. He charged the police with over 190 instances of illegal detention of Black citizens.

The *Chicago Defender*, the city's Black community daily newspaper, has reported many incidents of "Ghetto Raider"-style thuggery.

Democratic Mayor Jane Byrne hailed the dragnet and the nabbing of the Wilson brothers. But her public relations campaign to win sympathy for the cops has made little headway in the face of police terror tactics.