Shipyard workers beat navy witch-hunt

Socialist lawsuit exposes gov't conspiracy
—PAGES 9-11

BROOKLYN NAVY YARD—FBI and Naval Intelligence teamed up to get these pipefitters fired. They won rehiring and back pay, and brought to light a plot aimed at disrupting antiwar sentiment among workers and sailors. From left, Susan Wald, Robert Dees, Steve Smith, Marilyn Vogt, Bill Henry.

HANDS OFF POLAND!
Why Moscow threatens to invade
How Kremlin moves aid U.S. war drive
—PAGES 3-5

World outrage over Salvador murders
—PAGES 6-7
License to kill

On December 4 the Justice Department issued guidelines for FBI informers. Under the guise of defining the legal limits on these finks and provocateurs, the guidelines actually give a written seal of approval to stepped-up FBI crimes—up to and including murder.

The guidelines say that outright illegal acts approved for informers whenever "the conduct is necessary to obtain information" and "this need outweighs the seriousness of the conduct involved."

Such actions, in FBI lingo, are termed "otherwise criminal" activity.

The New York Daily News reported that at the news conference where the guidelines were announced, FBI Director William Webster gave one example of "otherwise criminal" activity, the case of Gary Rowe.

A former FBI informant in the Ku Klux Klan, Rowe admitted to being involved in the 1965 murder of Viola Liuzzo, a civil rights demonstrator who was shot to death in Alabama.

Asked if the new guidelines would have permitted Rowe to ride with klansmen in a car to murder Liuzzo, Webster said, "It's okay if he shoots to kill."

The reason added that if Rowe shot to kill, the FBI would not necessarily have to report the murder to local authorities—it would depend on whether the informant's role outweighed the individual killing!

For cover, the guidelines say that "the lawful activities of legitimate organizations are, of course, not subject to investigation."

"However," the Justice Department hastens to add, "individual members of such organizations may be independently involved in criminal activities. The FBI can send in informers to find out—or for more likely, to try to conceal illegal activity that can be used to victimize the organization."

The guidelines instruct the FBI to be particularly careful when "informant or confidential source will make use of formal or informal affiliation with an organization that is predominately engaged in illegal activity."

Such organizations—trade unions, socialist parties, civil rights groups, antidraft organizations—are in fact the main groups the FBI is targeting, and they have no other methods for disrupting these legal organizations except criminal ones.

The guidelines in fact admit this. The use of informants "may involve an element of deception, intrusion into the privacy of individuals, or cooperation with persons whose reliability and motivation can be open to question," the rules state. But informers are "often essential to the effectiveness of . . . investigations."

There is a way to fight back against the FBI's labor spies and the blacklisters. On March 16 the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance is putting these crooks on trial. Your support to the SWP-YSA lawsuit is an important way to help expose government crimes and organize to end them.

John Lennon

John Lennon, the musician and composer, was murdered December 8 in New York City. The man arrested for gunning him down is an ex-security cop.

Lennon grew up in a working-class family in Liverpool, Great Britain. Along with three other nonconformists he formed the Beatles, the internationally renowned rock and roll band, in the 1960s.

The most politically outspoken of the group, Lennon became one of the symbols of the youth radicalization.

In 1969, protesting Britain's role in the Nigerian-Biafran war and the bombing of North Vietnam, Lennon renounced his Order of British Empire award given to the Beatles by the Queen.

He continued to publicly oppose the Vietnam war. He and his companion, Yoko Ono, were featured entertainers at the April 22, 1972, antirally in New York City, where they sang "Give Peace a Chance."

Because of his views, Lennon was a target of the U.S. government that same year. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service tried to deport him and Ono from this country, based on a 1968 London drug possession charge.

Lennon maintained that his opposition to the war—not the drug rap—was the real motivation for the deportation attempt. He won the case, which has since served as an example for other nonconformists facing political harassment by the INS.

Within minutes of Lennon's murder December 8, a crowd gathered outside his apartment building to express shock and outrage. Vigils have continued.

Although no facts have come out to indicate the slaying was politically motivated, there is a big question on the minds of stunned mourners: why is this society so wrecked with irrational hatred and violence?

Crazed murderers like the one who took Lennon's life are not aberrations but products of the decaying capitalist social order that breeds violence.

Capitalist violence begins on the assembly lines in the factories and is extended by the cops to the streets of Black, Latino, and other working-class communities. In action, the slaughter of more than 10,000 people by the U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador this year is but the latest example.

John Lennon's contributions—both as an artist and as an opponent of that system of violence—will be remembered.

March January 15

On January 15, in Washington, D.C., entertainer Stevie Wonder will lead a march to demand that Martin Luther King's birthday be made a national holiday.

This demonstration and solidarity actions in other cities is an opportunity to honor Dr. King and to speak out in support of Black rights as he did.

This is a critical time for Black rights supporters to mobilize in protest. Racist bigots have given new life to Black rights on several fronts. These include:

Killer cops who have murdered scores of Blacks around the country in the last several months alone.

The brutal murders of Black men in Buffalo.

The murders and disappearances of fifteen Black children in Atlanta.

Moves by the Carter Congress and Ronald Reagan to gut busing, fair housing, voting rights, and affirmative action.

The outrageous acquittal of Klan and Nazi assassins of Communist Workers Party members in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The Klan's brazen declaration that it is operating paramilitary training camps.

These are in addition to the day-to-day exploitation and racist victimization that every Black person in this country is aware of:

The disproportionate unemployment and low wages, the unifl housing, unequal educational opportunities, the racist epithets of right-wing scum.

The attacks on Black rights are led by the same forces that are challenging the rights of women, of unionists, and of young people.

We can protest all these injustices in paying tribute to Dr. King.

The January 15 actions are an opportunity to show that the Klan, Nazis, segregationists, and other bigots do not speak for the majority of American working people.
Why Moscow threatens to invade Poland

By Fred Feldman
DEC. 10—Faced with the growth and strengthening of Poland’s multi-million-member anti-Stalinist union movement, the Soviet bureaucracy is taking steps toward massive military intervention against the Polish workers.

Recent days have seen an escalation of news leaks about Soviet and East German troop movements near Poland’s border. The leaks were reportedly called up for military service in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union.

The latest moves followed a December 5 meeting of the Warsaw Pact governments (the Soviet Union, Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, and Romania). They declared that “the Polish people can firmly count on the fraternal solidarity and support” of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

In the twisted vocabulary of Stalinism, such “solidarity” comes on bayonets. Similar threats preceded the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The Polish army’s high command has been issuing almost daily communiqués threatening action against the union movement. And one top Polish official indicated the government might back a Soviet military operation against the workers.

Jozef Klasa, a party official in charge of propaganda, said, “The army’s high command—meaning the rule of the bureaucracy—was threatened.”

The Polish Communist Party itself is deeply divided, however, with many members favoring broader concessions to the workers.

Workers respond

The leaders of Solidarity have called on workers to avoid strikes for the time being. They are determined to maintain the unity of the movement and to give the bureaucracy no pretext for attacking.

But the workers are far from having been intimidated in face of the threatened crackdown. More than 300,000 people reportedly gathered outside the Gdansk shipyard December 7 to commemorate workers who were killed in previous struggles for democratic rights and equality.

On December 8 union leader Lech Walesa responded to the growing threats. “If the government does not stop its provocations,” he warned, “then Solidarity will strike a very serious blow. The entire country will be involved.

“We don’t want strikes at all, but solutions will be adapted to circumstances.”

And he added, “You can’t use force to make people work efficiently. Force is not the solution.”

And in a sign that Poland’s workers do not stand alone, an organization claiming to represent 500,000 private farmers called December 9 for a meeting to discuss means of forcing the government to register them as an independent union.

Poland’s 5.5 million private farmers account for three-quarters of the country’s agricultural production. Leaders of the group said they would be consulting with the leaders of the unions about what action to take.

Church backs Stalinitis

While farmers and others rally to the workers movement, the Catholic Church hierarchy is drawing closer to the enemies of the workers.

“Church leaders say they feel compelled to support the party because it is the only administrative power in Poland,” reported the December 5 Wall Street Journal.

“‘If the party is in disarray, so is the country,’ says a church official in Warsaw. ‘If the party can show signs of dominating the situation, the Soviets will stay away.’”

The Journal report described Father Henryk Jankowski, a priest in the center union of Gdansk, as “horrided at calls for the church to support the workers’ demands openly. ‘It would do great harm for the church to be caught in politics because, right now, its relations with the government aren’t bad.”

Blow to workers of world

Like the Kremlin’s invasions of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Hungary in 1956, a Soviet military move against the Polish workers would deal a brutal blow to the entire world revolution. It would strike at the interests of working people not only in Poland but around the world.

In particular, a Soviet invasion would hand the U.S. rulers a priceless pretext to support the party in their desperate battle to overcome domestic opposition to their own war plans. It would give them cover to step up their international military operation.

Continued on next page

Kremlin’s moves aid Washington’s war drive

By Suzanne Haig

The threat of Soviet intervention hangs over the heads of the Polish working class.

The U.S. government and capitalist media have lost no time in sounding the alarm bells and threatening dire consequences.

Washington has sent four radar warning aircraft to Ramstein Air Force Base in Germany to monitor Soviet troop movements in Eastern Europe. This move is tied to the December 10 Washington Post.

A meeting of NATO defense ministers taking place in Brussels was discussed further responses to the Soviet threats.

President Carter stated December 3 that he would send U.S. reservists toward the Soviet Union would be directly and very adversely affected by any Soviet use of force in Poland.

Secretary of State Haig warned the Soviet Union of “the tremendous costs” they would face in invading Poland from the resistance of the Polish people and possible military action by the Western powers.

Contrary to the appearance Carter and Maukie are trying to create, their threats against Moscow have nothing to do with sympathy or concern for the Polish workers. From the opening days of the strike by shipyard workers in Gdansk to the present moment, the U.S. government has been exploiting developments in Poland diplomatically, politically, and militarily.

Washington has used the threat of Soviet intervention to try to line up the American people behind its murderous foreign policy.

Should the Soviet invasion Poland, they would hand Washington an even greater trump card than their intervention in Afghanistan. There, opponents of the Soviet Union and the Khali government included feudal landlords, heroin traders, and murderers of teachers. In Poland the Soviet would be crushing an anti-bureaucratic workers movement, which has inspired millions around the world.

Soviet intervention in Poland would be utilized to whip up anti-Communist sentiment and to identify all revolutions and struggles for social progress with Stalinist totalitarianism. A wave of propaganda would pour out explaining the need for a massive U.S. military budget, the draft, and military interventions around the world as a means of stopping “Soviet expansionism.” It would be used to present further cuts in our living standards as a “patriotic duty.”

Many in Washington hope an attack by the Kremlin on the Polish workers will provide the perfect backdrop for moves toward greater military intervention in El Salvador.

Already the news from El Salvador, where Washington is backing a brutal dictatorship that responds to every protest with murder and torture, is being drowned out by the media campaign around Poland.

An invasion of Poland would also make it harder for the European workers who are fighting against their government’s demands to beef up their military arsenals for “defense” against the Soviet Union. It would be a direct blow to the movement against placing cruise missiles in Europe. These missiles would be directed at Poland, as well as to Soviet territory.

The Wall Street Journal virtually licked its chops over the prospects for U.S. imperialism should Moscow invade. “A return to the Cold War atmosphere of the 1950s, with increased defense spending and heightened East-West tension would seem certain to follow,” Karen House wrote December 3.

“European doubts about deploying tactical nuclear weapons that could strike the Soviet Union would evaporate.”

Continued on next page

THE MILITANT/DECEMBER 19, 1980
Moscow knows it would not be able to wipe out the workers' movement in Poland without a long, difficult, and costly struggle—one that would further undermine Stalinist rule throughout the Soviet bloc.

**Power at stake**

Yet, despite the great risks, the Kremlin bureaucrats appear to be moving inexorably toward an attempt to crush the Polish workers. That is because the risks of intervention are far outweighed by the threat the Polish struggle poses to the power structures of the Soviet bureaucracy itself.

The privileged bureaucratic castes that run Poland—as well as the Soviet Union and the other East European countries—can survive only by depriving workers of all rights to organize and express themselves. Once the workers begin to feel their own power and assert their right to rule, the bureaucratic caste crumbles rapidly—a process that is under way in Poland and was seen earlier in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Past experience has indicated that it can be propped up only by the intervention of an outside force—the Soviet army. A success for the workers in one country like Poland will find many imitators in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. If a movement of similar scope were to take place in the USSR, the bureaucratic caste would find itself in free fall with little to gain from its sacrificing its footing.

The fact that the bureaucracy requires totalitarian methods is a sign of its social weakness and vulnerability. It is the stability and the locally rooted power of a ruling class like the American capitalists. In the United States, private ownership of the means of production allows the capitalist class to exploit us and to maintain its power over economic and political decisions. The things they are fighting for are what socialism is all about.

The Kremlin bureaucracy will also pay a high price for an invasion. It will arouse the hatred of workers all over the world. The U.S., European, and Japanese imperialists are already using Moscow's threats against Poland as a pretext for stepping up the armaments race and preparing economic and political sanctions against the Soviet Union.

**Workers will resist**

The Polish working people are certain to resist any such invasion. In 1956, Moscow prepared to invade Poland in response to an earlier uprising, which was crushed by the Stalinist puppet party of the Communist Party that was thought to be too independent of Moscow. At that time, the Polish workers' strike, the formation of workers councils, and moves by a section of the officials to arm the strikers led Moscow to retreat.

The anti-Stalinist unions have taken deep root in Poland. The movement today is at least as broad, better organized, and far more independent of the bureaucratic regime than the movement of 1956. It is finding sym­pathizers in the rest of Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union (especially in the Baltic states and the Ukraine).

In a capitalist country the daily struggle of workers to achieve and maintain their living conditions is a problem which the capitalists do not allow free elections, parties that represent the interests of the working people, or free press. In a workers state the right of working people to organize and express their desires are far outweighed by the threat posed by the Soviet bureaucracy. That is why the Kremlin rulers are moving to crush the workers into unthinking tools at their beck and call. It is the Stalinist rulers—those who stand for privilege, inequality, and government by a minority—preparing for the day when they will become the rulers of Poland.

Fundamental challenge

But the effect of rising wealth and productivity in a workers state is the opposite of its role under capitalism. The fact that Poland has risen from being a relatively backward country before World War II to a modern, industrially highly productive economy that has undermined the power of the bureaucracy and strengthened

that of the workers.

These policies are designed to account for the organization and confidence of the Polish workers—their conviction that they can lead society.

The formation of strong trade unions in Poland represented a direct, massive challenge to Stalinist rule. Moscow equates the totalitarian bureaucratic rule by millions of workers with the Russian revolution. It is putting down exorcizing this revolutionary cataclysm with a wave of political sanctions against the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The elimination of capitalism in the Soviet Union after 1917 and in Eastern Europe after the end of World War II created an economic structure—nationalized industry and planned economy—that is in the interests of the workers.

The consolidation of bureaucratic rule in the Soviet Union after Lenin's death in 1924, and in Eastern Europe under Soviet occupation in the late 1940s, did not eliminate this progres­sive economic structure. That is why socialists call these regimes workers' states.

The nationalized and planned econo­my makes possible unprec­edented advances toward ending want and inequality. But the rule of the bureaucratic caste stands in the way.

Like the capitalists, the bureaucrats also assume control of the surplus, for the luxury skimed off the top of industry and Moscow, especially in the Baltic countries. But in contrast to the capitalists, they often institute policies that exist. Moscow equates the totalitarian regime with the society of the new Soviet people, and the American capitalists. In a workers state the role of the means of production allows the capitalist class to enjoy only by totalitarian rule. The Stalinist rulers who stand for privilege, inequality, and government by a minority—those who use repression to maintain control of all society—those who stand for privilege, inequality, and government by a minority—those who use repression to maintain control of all society.
By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—Gary Fields, a machinist at Danly Machine Corporation here, like most workers, wanted to take his two weeks vacation somewhere he could get to cheaply and stay at inexpensively.

He had wanted to learn something. So he got a bargain-flight base to Poland, stayed with friends, and got more than he thought from his second shift job.

He saw history in the making. Fields, a twenty-five-year-old member of the Young Socialist Al­liance and United Steelworkers Local 15271, stayed in Bydgoszcz, a major industrial city of Poland, in 1975 and 1977.

He also visited Gdansk, ninety miles north, the political center of Poland’s labor upsurge and national headquar­ters of Solidarity, the country’s inde­pendent union.

“Solidarity is everywhere”

The friends who put him up, Fields told the Militant, are like many of the people building Solidarity.

Iza, a community college teacher, is a “de­liber­ate elect­ed representative to Solidarity’s regional committee. She’s twenty-five.

Her husband, Andrew, is a soldier who has been in the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP)—the Com­mu­nist Party—for four years. He’s twenty­seven and backs Solidarity too.

“I asked him about the support Solidar­ity has in his party cell [neighbor­hood branch] and the army,” Fields said. “He told me his entire platoon supported Solidarity, that ‘everybody in my cell thinks like me.’ That’s twenty or so people.

“That’s what Solidarity is like,” Fields said, “it’s everywhere.”

Huge banners decorate the train stations, plant gates, busses, high schools, and colleges. “People even have signs in their windows at home,” Fields said.

When he went into big train station in Poznan, Fields saw a gigantic banner that said, “We order the government to register Solidarity,” a refer­ence to the fight waged by the union to have its charter accepted by the state.

“I saw no visible signs of the govern­ment-dominated trade unions any­where. They exist in name only,” Fields said.

“There are no progovernment banners, nothing. And the police are afraid to touch the Solidarity men. In fact, you don’t see police on the street that much, only near the plant gates.”

‘From the bottom up’

Field’s friend Iza introduced him to numerous Solidarity activists, translat­ing their conversations.

The people he met were “overwhelm­ingly young, in their early twenties,” Fields said. A twenty-five-year-old electrical worker, a central leader of Bydgoszcz Solidarity, “told me Solidarity wants, in his words, ‘to transform the socialist system in Poland from the bottom up.’ They want an extension of democracy, starting with greater decision-making in the factory,” Fields said. “He told me he was a supporter of the socialist system.”

Naturally, Fields found that the level of political consciousness varies among Solidarity workers.

“But I didn’t meet anyone, any­where, who said they wanted capital­ism,” he said.

Because the PUWP exercises dictator­toral control over every aspect of society, working people identify its tyrannical practices with commun­ism.

“So, if you say you’re a socialist, it’s as if you’re saying you’re in the party. And there is nothing but hatred for the party—or, more precisely, the party leadership,” Fields said.

“You can be talking with a Solidar­ity member about the struggle for workers’ democracy and workers’ con­trol in the factories and then they’ll say, ‘But I’m not political,’ because to them ‘politics’ means the party and the government,” Fields said.

The Solidarity members Fields talked with “operate from the frame­work that all the power of society should be under control of the workers. But they are not controlling every aspect of their own destiny. That’s the contradiction.”

“Because there is no private ownership of industry and because of their expectations of what they should have, this puts them in a stronger position than workers under capitalism.”

Different views

In his discussions, Fields found dif­ferent views of what Solidarity should be and should do. Some workers favor Solidarity maintaining itself as an independent union, with a program of increased workers’ control over factory conditions and production quotas, higher wages, and an end to govern­ment censorship.

Other militants he talked with “see in­dependence as one of the central issues of the labor movement.” Fields said.

One leader he thought Solidar­ity has become an alternate “center of power” already.

But these leaders, Fields said, are “very cautious. They kept saying they wanted to take one step at a time, even though they see big developments com­ing.”

This caution is prompted by deep concern about a Soviet invasion.

“Everyone I talked with saw that as a real possibility,” Fields emphasized.

Breaking media monopoly

Despite the domination of the media by the PUWP and the government, Solidarity gets its message out.

The union publishes a national daily newspaper, and its regional affiliates publish weekly journals. In many cit­ies, daily bulletins are posted on walls, “and people just line up to read them on street corners,” Fields said.

Breaking the media monopoly is important to Solidarity, Fields said, “because everybody knows the govern­ment lies. No one believes the official press.”

He described a case in point.

The government claimed the country’s potato production quota had been exceeded by 50 percent, and thus it was going to export that surplus. But Sol­i­arity members discovered that the quota had fallen short by 20 percent, which meant the proposed export would result in a massive shortage.

Solidarity had won demonstrations that exports could only be made on the basis of surplus through the Gdansk general strike last year.

The fight to gain access to informa­tion is necessary in the workers’ battle to force implementation of that dem­and.

This is all part of Solidarity’s re­sponse to the crisis in Poland’s econ­omy produced by the miracle of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

“Poland exports ham, but you can’t buy it in the stores. Sometimes it takes five days to get potatoes. People are starting lining up in the middle of the night for stores that open the next day,” Fields said.

Aid for farmers

“Solidarity has a program to help the farmers,” Fields said, which calls for government credits to finance the purchase of modern equipment.

Students are also rallying to Solidar­ity, he said, organizing new, independ­ent university and high school organ­izations.

Even small shops, from bakeries to grocery stores, display Solidarity’s placards in their windows.

Thus, Fields said, “Solidarity has become a pole of attraction for all the pent-up anger and frustration in so­ciety.”

He had visited Poland in 1975 and 1977. “People have a sense that change is possible. There is exuberance, enthu­siasm. People do things waiting in line. People are a lot more alive, ener­getic, because there is hope,” he said.

“I went over thinking a lot about religion,” Fields said, “but it’s not such a big thing. Poland is overwhelmingly Catholic, but the church didn’t come up much in discussion. I see more pictures of the pope in Chicago than I saw in Poland.”

Aid for the totalitarian rule of the bureaucratic-CAPItalist party, Fields said, “is like a haven. But among the militants in Solidarity, ‘religion wasn’t a big factor in doing things.”

His friend Iza, the Solidarity provin­cial committee delegate, “goes to church pretty much,” while her hus­band, the pro-Solidarity soldier and PUWP member, “doesn’t have any­thing to do with religion.” It isn’t an issue between them.

Leaders accountable

In Solidarity, “there’s a close connec­tion between the rank and file and the leadership. The leadership is com­pletely accountable to the members,” Fields said.

In Gdansk, Solidarity members in­troduced Fields to Lech Walesa, the union’s central national leader.

“We didn’t talk long because he had to go somewhere, but we chatted and he was very friendly. I asked some workers who Walesa usually talked with. They said ‘everybody.’”

Now, no American in the United States can just pop into [USWA Presi­dent Lloyd] McBride’s office and say, “Hi Lloyd, I just got here and tell you a few ideas I have about how to build the union.”

What Fields saw convinced him that “a whole new form of unionism, open, with a new leadership, is emerging in Poland. It’s a workers’ movement leading the struggle for so­cialism.”

In the big struggles that lie ahead, Solidarity’s strength is deeply rooted. That’s because, at Gary Fields’ last, “the leaders are the workers.”

An American steelworker visits Poland’s Solidarity

GARY FIELDS

Militant/Jon Hillson

5

THE MILITANT/DECEMBER 19, 1980
Killings spark protests, church deeply involved

By Stu Singer

The Wall Street Militant printed the full text of a “dissent paper,” written by State Department and other government officials, which exposes U.S. secret war in Central America. One of the dissenting officials, who signed the document, explained how the government tries to manipulate public opinion.

It said, “Media coverage of El Salvador’s involvement has been critical. People were about to discover the involvement of troops, particularly in the Sangre de Cristo operation,” and that the government is trying to cover up the involvement of the sangre de Cristo operation.

The author also warned that the U.S. policy has been to pressure the Salvadoran government to end its opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

In the months since the dissent paper was released, Washington’s plans for keeping the bloody Salvadoran junta in power have suffered blow on blow. Significant cracks have appeared in the support for the junta’s crimes, and church forces have stepped up their involvement in solidarity with the Salvadoran people.

The process began with the reporting on the November 27 murder of six leadership figures of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the political coalition of opposition groups in El Salvador. The FDR was an alliance of left-wing organizations from the state, and a large number of bishops and priests were involved.

Just as protests were organized against those killings, word came out that the sangre de Cristo operation was a cover-up of the massacre of priest and nun witnesses who were killed in El Salvador.

In some cases the news of the killings of the three nuns and the six bishops and priests came literally as people were gathering to protest the killings of the FDR leaders.

In New York City, for example, 2,000 protesters arrived at St. Patrick’s Cathedral for a memorial mass as the evening newspapers headlined the brutal killings. New York Cardinal Terence Cooke unexpectedly presided at the mass and issued a strong statement against U.S. backing of the Salvadoran regime.

Large protests have taken place in other cities throughout Latin America, and many more are planned.

The protests have begun to receive extensive publicity in the news media. Unprecedented support from church groups, and increasingly from union organizations, is developing.

In Cleveland, where two of the victims were from, a special memorial mass was attended by 3,000 people. Bishop-delegate Anthony Pillia spoke, quoting slain Salvadoran Archbishop Romero’s statement demanding the United States stop sending military aid to El Salvador.

Activists in El Salvador solidarity in Cleveland report that many nuns have stepped up to work with them. One is a center for Catholic missionary work in El Salvador. Other nuns and missionaries still in that country are from Cleveland, and there are a number of people in Cleveland who work there.

A number of union officials have become involved in the protest actions in the first time. In Minnesota, United Auto Workers International Representative Bob Killinger issued a tele-gram to Secretary of State Edmund Muskie demanding an end to U.S. aid to El Salvador “until workers’ government . . . is in power that will protect the democratic rights of the nation.”

In northern Minnesota, Richard Bin, editor of the AFL-CIO paper Labor World, and Gerald Borowicki, coordinator of the Committee for the Defense of Nicaragua, are organizing a protest in Cleveland.

We would like to appeal to North American youth not to register for the draft for further support for the arms race, for the belligerent attitudes of the present Carter administration or of the future Reagan administration.

We would like to appeal to Nicaragua youth not to register for the draft for further support for the arms race, for the belligerent attitudes of the present Carter administration or of the future Reagan administration.

We would like to appeal to the United States to mobilize our people and youth to stop sending military aid to El Salvador.

The overwhelming antiwar sentiment among American youth, as well as the growing movement in solidarity with the Salvadoran people, indicates that any imperialist intervention would produce a Vietnam in Central America.

We pledge to mobilize our members and supporters to protest this latest crime against the fighting people of El Salvador. We call on the people of El Salvador to free themselves from the yoke of U.S. imperialism and other imperialist forces. We call on the people of the United States to mobilize our people and youth to stop sending military aid to El Salvador.

The fight against Reaganism and racist terrorism will be at the top of the agenda at the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

To be held December 27-30 in Indianapolis, Indiana.

For more information on attending, check your local area in the directory on page 27, or write to:

YSA
Box 471, Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

2,000 in Washington hear solidarity call

By Fred Feldman

WASHINGTON—The growing breadth of the international movement for solidarity with Nicaragua, revolution and the struggle of the people of El Salvador was indicated at the conference on “Euro-Americanism and America” held here December 5-7. The conference attracted more than 2,000 people.

Sponsored by the Institute for Democratic Socialism and strongly supported by the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the meeting featured leaders of social-democratic parties from around the world.

The meeting heard speeches by such figures as Olaf Palm, former prime minister of Sweden; Barry Glassman, leader of the British Labor Party’s left wing; Francois Mitterrand, head of the French Socialist Party; German minister Joop den Uyl of the Netherlands; and former Chancellor of West Germany Willy Brandt, who now heads the social-democratic Socialist International.

The conference also included workshops examining political and economic problems in the United States. Included in the keynote address Olaf Palm sharply denounced the repression in El Salvador and called for solidarity with the anti-communist workers movement.

Tony Benn told a December 7 news conference following adjournment of the conference that the British Labor Party, through its international committee, has voiced support for the Democratic Revolutionary Front of El Salvador.

“We are going to watch the American government’s attitude toward civil rights in Latin America very closely,” he said. “The credibility of your government’s support for civil and human rights will be determined by what it does in Latin America, and particularly in El Salvador, as well as by what it says about these issues.

Hundreds of signatures were obtained on petitions demanding that Washington stop all assistance to El Salvador’s brutal junta.

The first meeting of the International Committee for the Defense of Nicaragua, projected by the Socialists International at its recent congress in Dublin, was held during the conference.

The committee is chaired by Felipe Gonzalez, head of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party.

According to a news release issued after the meeting, the committee “received an account of the present situation in Nicaragua by Foreign Minister Miguel D’Escoto.”

The committee’s stated aim is to work for “international solidarity and assistance for Nicaragua’s development program” and “to avert foreign intervention in Nicaragua’s internal affairs by outside powers.”

At the December 7 news conference, Willy Brandt expressed concern that pro-Somoza forces might attempt a comeback in Nicaragua but did not receive strong international support.

This aspect of the conference may help explain the nearly complete blackout of its proceedings in the U.S. media.
Outcry at Salvador killings puts Carter on spot

By Fred Murphy

The American women were being buried in a common grave in a Salvadoran province of Chalatenango, and shot in the neck. Clarke, Dorothy Kazel, and Jean were declared four American women. The bodies of Ida Ford, Maura Clarke, Dorothy Kazel, and Jean Donovan were found buried in a common grave near the village of San Juan Nonualco, twenty-five miles east of San Salvador. All had been tortured and shot in the head.

Ford and Clarke, nuns of the Maryknoll order who had been working for several months with refugees of the Salvadoran province of Chalatenango, were returning from a conference in the United States on the spot. The roadblock site was not far from the airport to the capital was being heavily patrolled by National Guard. All denied having any association.

Junta disintegrating?

The junta’s situation has become increasingly precarious in recent weeks. Military offensives in the countryside against the armed revolutionary forces—now united in the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN)—have failed to achieve their objectives. Demoralization and desertions from the army have mounted.

The Christian Democratic members of the junta began calling for a “dialogue” with the Revolutionary Democratic Front in mid-November. Meanwhile, extreme right-wing sectors of the officer corps—buoyed by the election—began planning the ouster of the Christian Democrats.

With the November 27 murders of the FDR leaders, the situation worsened. Junta member Col. Adolfo Majano, a “liberal” officer who had been the chief target of the extreme right wing, abruptly left the country.

Soon thereafter, the Christian Democratic leader José Napoleón Duarte turned up in Washington for meetings with Carter and with aides of President-elect Reagan. According to U.S. government sources quoted in wire dispatches here, Duarte’s aim was “to warn at the highest level of the danger presented by the rapid deterioration of the Salvadoran situation.”

Unearthed bodies of American women. Junta’s troops rape, torture, and kill.

Junta more isolated, desperate

DEC. 10—Repercussions of the murders continue to shake the junta and its backers both in El Salvador and in the United States. At press time there were reports that Col. Adolfo Majano had been expelled and Christian Democratic member José Antonio Morales Ehrlich would be expelled from the ruling junta.

Reforming junta Christian Demo­ cratic member José Napoleón Duarte, is reported to have lost credibility and has little support in El Salvador or internationally. Open feuding has also broken out between president-elect Reagan’s transition team and U.S. Ambas­ sador to El Salvador Robert White. Reagan’s people said White would be fired for pushing social reform pro­ grams too much. White shot back that his approach is the only thing preventing civil war.

White also added to speculation about a further shift to the right or a right-wing coup being planned with the backing of Reagan supporters.

Extremist rightists in El Salvador are calling for an open campaign of extermination against all opposi­ tion. White revealed that Salvadoran officer Major Robert D’Ambrosio was back in the country. He is identified as the leader of the right-wing death squads.

The junta’s White has been backing and advising killed nearly 1,000 people a month in the past year. American policy makers are not fighting over human rights. They see U.S. policy in El Salvador headed for a defeat and they cannot decide how to salvage anything from it.

The military junta’s situation has become deeply concerned about the stability of the Salvadoran junta itself.

The bipartisan makeup of the diplo­ matic mission and the involvement of Bowdler, the Carter administration’s troubleshooter for Central Amer­ ica, indicated that considerably more might be involved than just establish­ ing responsibility for the murder of four American women. Washington is deeply concerned about the stability of the Salvadoran junta itself.

Washington could condone the FDR murders if political appearance in the United States and abroad would be far too damaging if it failed to at least appease or be taken, organizations a vigorous action against the killers of three U.S. nuns and a missionary.

Policy dispute in Washington

Even before the murder of the four American women, there was great pressure on Washington to make at least some cosmetic changes in its approach to El Salvador. The Christian Democrats’ call for a “dialogue” may have been worked out with U.S. officials with these pressures in mind.

Even before the murders of most members of the executive committee, the FDR had flatly rejected the call for “dialogue” by junta members. In their November 27 statement on the FDR murders, the FMLN Directo­ rate said that while the “armed forces and their paramilitary groups have stepped up their massacres,” the junta was “trying to cover up these fascist outrages . . . by insistently proclaim­ ing its support for ‘peace’ and ‘dia­ logue’.”

FMLN reply

“Peace can only be achieved by overthrowing this genocidal regime,” the FMLN declared.

The only alternative for solving the national crisis is the installation of the revolutionary democratic government made up of and supported by the working class of the country and the reorganiza­ tion of the society to make it justly and durably peaceful.

The FMLN indicated what kind of dialogue it was interested in: “we are open and fully prepared to hear the opinions, ideas, and institutions that seek to achieve this goal of freedom, peace, independence, and social justice, even if they are not affiliated to the FMLN or the FDR. We respect their ideas and opinions. The political conduct of the revolutionary democratic government will seek to represent the synthesis of the various ideas, opinions, and interests of the progressive forces of the nature and will respect them all.”

From Intercontinental Press

THE MILITANT/DECEMBER 19, 1980 7
Israel: brutal attacks on student protests

By Nelson Gonzalez

Despite an Israeli crackdown on the media, news of renewed protests by Palestinian students in the occupied West Bank and of continued atrocities by the Israeli military has been transmitted worldwide.

The latest round of protests was triggered by an Israeli military board决定 to uphold the deportation order of two prominent West Bank mayors. They had been ordered deported last May for making speeches against the Zionist occupation of the West Bank. Their latest appeal was rejected.

In solidarity with the mayors, students at Bethlehem University struck December 8 and barricaded themselves against Israeli troops for eight hours. Bir Zeit and Najiah universities have also been shut down.

In a further incident related to the December 10 New York Times, sixty to seventy high school students in the West Bank town of Bir Zeit were arrested by Israeli troops after they attempted to organize similar protests against the deportations.

"Witnesses said about 20 of the teen-age students were beaten by soldiers in the yard of the Ramallah military compound in front of their parents," the Times reported.

In an apparent attempt to cover their bloody tracks, the Israeli military has imposed strict press censorship on the West Bank.

It seems the authorities did not appreciate having their claims of "self-defense" in firing on students last month exposed in front of the whole world. Televised broadcasts showed Israeli soldiers perched on rooftops November 18 firing at unarmed students below. The sight of the Palestinian youth lying in pools of their own blood provoked worldwide outrage.

Since then the Israeli regime has resorted to arresting foreign journalists, confiscating equipment and even throwing tear gas canisters at reporters.

Crimes charges have been filed against Howard Arentstein of United Press International for being in a "military zone"—the campus of Bir Zeit University—during a demonstration.

Bob Simon of CBS reported Israeli troops firing gas canisters at his news team. Two other CBS crews were arrested.

On December 5, the Israeli government announced the arrest of thirteen Irish civil-rights demonstrators by British paratroopers near Derry on January 26, 1972.

On November 16, ten thousand persons marched in support of hunger strikers in Coalliland, a small town in County Tyrone, Northern Ireland.

The demands of the hunger strikers are now supported by a number of major union organizations in Ireland.

Violence against the Zionist occupation of the West Bank continues.

By Gerry Foley

The hunger strike of seven political prisoners in Northern Ireland's Long Kesh concentration camp that began October 27 has touched off a massive solidarity movement throughout Ireland.

On November 28 three representatives of women prisoners at the Armagh jail announced that they would join the hunger strike on December 1.

The three, Mary Doyle, Mairead Farrell, and Mairead N. Gallagher, declared, "We have reached this decision after several years of cruel and inhuman treatment. We are prepared to fast to the death if necessary.

In Dublin on November 22, more than 20,000 persons participated in demonstrations in support of the prisoners and in protest against the treatment that forced them to begin to starve themselves to death rather than endure it any longer.

On December 6 some 60,000 people demonstrated on the British embassy in Dublin chanting "Britain out" and "Don't let the hunger strikers die!"

These demonstrations are the latest protests against British repression in Northern Ireland held in Dublin since the mass upsurge that took place in March 1972 between thirteen Irish civil-rights demonstrators by British paratroopers in Derry.

On November 16, ten thousand persons marched in support of the hunger strikers in Coalliland, a small town in County Tyrone, Northern Ireland.

The demands of the hunger strikers are now supported by a number of major union organizations in Ireland.

Violence against the Zionist occupation of the West Bank continues.

Korea: repression intensifies, Japanese unions plan boycott

By Diane Jacobs

"Hooligans, thieves, extortionists, sailors, habitual gamblers, and others." This was the way the South Korean government described the 1,210 people they arrested in Seoul on November 28.

At least sixty-seven publications were forced to fold against vague government charges.

These arrests and bannings were part of a further crackdown on the traditional South Korean regime. It vowed to continue "until all social evils were swept away."

The roundup of anyone suspected of opposing the military government of President Chun Doo Hwan comes at the time when the three defendants, Kim Dae Jung's final appeal is up before South Korea's Supreme Court.

Kim was sentenced to death on a frame-up charge of sedition.

He was also accused of fostering student demonstrations and the Kwangju insurrection last May in which 200,000 workers and students took control of the city for almost a week to demand an end to martial law and bloody repression.

Student protests continued this fall in spite of the arrests of more than 30,000 people over the summer.

Some opposition to Kim's frame-up comes from the governments of South Korea's primary trade partners, Japan and the United States.

Both governments fear that Kim's execution would "destabilize" and isolate the Chun regime.

But more important opposition has come in recent weeks from the 850,000-member All-Japan Council of Transport Workers Unions.

While the Japanese government opposed the Chun regime and retracted from any sanctions against South Korea, the transport workers, and longshoremen, planned a boycott beginning December 3 of goods shipped between Japan and South Korea.

The boycott threatens to hurt trade expected to amount to $2.6 billion in the first ten months of 1981.

The unions' decision came in response to a call by the 4.6 million-member General Council of Trade Unions of Japan.

Japan: 40,000 march for jobs

In one of the largest political demonstrations in Britain for years, more than 40,000 people marched through the streets of Liverpool November 29 protesting rising unemployment, according to the November 30 New York Times.

People came from all over the country to this Labor Party-sponsored action.

Several trains and buses came decorated with such slogans as "Save Jobs—Sack the Tories!" Unemployment in Britain is 8.4 percent.

Signs depicted the hatred felt toward the Conservative (Tory) Party government headed by Margaret Thatcher.

Thatcher was depicted in hundreds of signs with sharp fangs or wielding a bloody sword against the poor.

The most popular cheer of the day was "Maggie, Maggie, Maggie, Out! Out! Out!"

Unemployment in Britain with a clock ticking off the number of Britain's unemployed, Labor Party leader Michael Foot told the crowd: "You are here stating for the nation that we are not going to tolerate what this government is doing to us."

The Labor Party plans to hold a series of such demonstrations this winter.
By Vivian Sahner

Navy brass is probably wishing it had never tried to fire five pipefitters at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. On November 26, the five were told they were being discharged by Coastal Dry Dock and Repair Corporation because of their "engagement in political activities". Within forty-eight hours they had won back their jobs.

They're not alone. Through the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government harassment, the five have uncovered a months-long disruption effort by Coastal Dry Dock, Naval Intelligence Service and the FBI. The aim was to victimize them and to intimidate other workers and sailors who read this government's stepped-up military moves.

"This is just one of a mailing of pro-vocative materials, distribution of a phony "labor" newspaper with virulent anticommunist smears, and other actions designed to provoke physical violence in the yard and get the socialists thrown out."

Here's how it happened.

Fired

On November 25, Robert Dees, Bill Wald, Steve Smith, Marilyn Young and Susan Wald were called into the company president's office at Coastal. The five workers, some of whom are members of the Socialist Workers Party, are all active union members in the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Local 12. Each was handed a termination notice. They were being fired because Coastal had received a letter from the government's intelligence service "criticizing" the yard for the role of the U.S. military. There is a wide range of opinions among Coastal workers and sailors. Many people are opposed to any draft or any new Vietnam.

"We think we have a right to talk about such life-and-death questions. But by getting me and the other four pipefitters fired, the navy was trying to tell all of us that this discussion was just not going to be allowed."

"We wanted the SWP lawyers to find out the exact reasons why we were fired." Dees explained. "I don't want to find out what involvement the navy had with other recent activities in the yard that were directed against the antiracist sentiment there."

The navy and Coastal did a complete about-face in one day.

On November 26, Coastal sent a telegram to each of the pipefitters. It said, "Upon review by our counsel of the circumstances etc. relating to your discharge, you are advised that the notice of your discharge is rescinded and withdrawn. . . . You will receive compensation for November 20th," it added.

The socialists decided that they had hit a sensitive nerve.

Commander's testimony

Last week Shelley Davis, an attorney for the SWP, took sworn testimony from Commander J.R. Kott, the commanding officer of the USS Alysson. She asked him why the five were fired.

"He informed me that there had been four charges against them," Davis told the Militant.

"First, he claims that the two women pipefitters were seen distributing a Progressive Labor Party leaflet titled Soldiers and Sailors and the Fight for Socialism," Davis said.

"Second, he says the navy found copies of this pamphlet on the USS Alysson and concluded the women put the leaflet in the yard."

"This charge is not only false, it's absurd," Davis said. "None of the five supports the Progressive Labor Party, or has any connection with them what soever."

"The PLP pamphlet in question is highly provocative," Davis pointed out. "It portrays the anti-Vietnam War movement as a series of attacks on campus recruitment centers, draft boards being burned down, and U.S. officers being shot by soldiers in Vietnam."

"Until this literature mysteriously appeared, the five pipefitters told me that they had never seen even PLP materials in the yard, nor are they aware of any PLP supporters in or around the yard," Davis said.

Anonymous mailing

The third charge Kott made was that the five sent out an "anonymous" mailing of PLP literature to workers and sailors in the yard.

Davis told the Militant that the five pipefitters had heard second-hand about this mailing.

"This mailing was stuffed with back issues of the PLP magazine and other PLP literature. It was sent to many sailors including several known right-wingers," she said.

"Oddly enough, some of the mailing labels included the person's Social Security number," Davis added.

I phoned the New York headquarters of the Progressive Labor Party. A spokesman told me it doesn't sound like anything we sent out. And we don't have people's Social Security numbers.

SWP attorney Davis said, "This whole episode has all the earmarks of a 'Cointelpro' operation. That was the FBI claim that the FBI gave to its programs for disrupting the antiwar movement, Black liberation groups, socialists, and others in the 1960s and 70s."

"The FBI, along with the U.S. military, and the Washington government for at least the past decade have been using phony letters, leaflets, and mailings to sow dissension, provoke confrontations, and get people fired. It was one of the most common Cointelpro schemes," she said. Kott denied that the navy had anything to do with the mailing.

"The final reason Kott listed for firing the five," Davis continued, "was his claim that three of the pipefitters were overheard by navy personnel soliciting membership in the Socialist Workers Party."

"I found it astounding to hear a navy officer even suggest that urging membership into a legal political party in this country is a crime," Davis remarked.

Navy Blues

"When I asked Kott how he identified the five socialists," Davis said, "he admitted that both the Naval Intelligence Service and the FBI were involved."

"He gave me two Navy Blues—memos from him to his superiors in the Atlantic Fleet—which refer to NIB and FBI participation."

"One of the things that turned up in these memos was that another navy officer asked about trying to indict the five workers—send them to jail for their political views! This was discussed with the FBI, which apparently told the navy they couldn't get away with that."

"I pointed out to Kott," Davis said, "that his accusations against what he terms 'self-professed members of the Socialist Workers Party' did not even include any SWP literature."

"So I gave him an antidraft statement by Andrew Pulley, the SWP 1960 presidential candidate."

"Kott read it carefully. Then he told me that it was subjective too—that he would have cited Section 2387 if the leafflet had been found on his ship."

Witch-hunt

Now the navy is trying to claim that the whole episode occurred only because literature was distributed in an improper manner. Just a question of following regulations.

"They say it's not an attack on the politics of the SWP or on the democratic rights of U.S. citizens to disagree with the government."

But by their memos, letters, and actions show that the five workers'...
Pulley hails rights victory at Navy Yard

The following statement was released December 10 by Andrew Pulley, a political committee member of the Socialist Workers Party who was the SWP 1980 presidential candidate. Pulley is also a plaintiff in the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government harassment.

The attempt to victimize Socialist Workers Party members and other young workers in the Brooklyn Navy Yard sums up exactly what our party’s suit against the government is all about.

At stake is nothing less than the right of free speech and free political association in the face of a government drive to get us into wars that the working people of this country don’t want.

The Navy tried to get five pipefitters—Robert Dees, Bill Henry, Steve Smith, Marilyn Vart and Susan Wald—fired for violating a witch-hunt law against “mutiny.” That’s a ridiculous frame-up. Their rehiring the very next day shows how flimsy the charge was.

It’s no mystery what really outraged the Navy. It wasn’t “mutiny.” It was the same problem the rulers of this country keep banging into.

Working people just don’t want to go to war against our brothers and sisters in El Salvador or Iran or wherever else U.S. corporate profits might be threatened.

The workers in the Brooklyn Navy Yard—including the young workers in sạch—were caught up in the Cointelpro pattern.

Recently the Navy Yard union—probably others as well—was caught up in a fight to get into wars that the working people of this country don’t want.

A recent drive to win back the jobs of the five pipefitters at the Brooklyn Navy Yard was a victory for the political rights of all working people. And we’re not going to stop there.

We’re going to use our lawsuit to get the word out and get the whole truth about this disruption plot. We’re going to sit more Navy officers down to be interrogated under oath.

These kinds of plots can’t stand the light of day. The attempt to victimize us was a political frame-up against Socialist Workers Party members and other young workers in the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

Some workers from the yard came to socialist forums and campaign rallies. A few sailors came as well, which they have a legal and constitutional right to do.

But all this sent the Navy brass right through the bulkhead. They’re planning to send ships like the USS Aylwin to the Persian Gulf or to blockade Cuba or to back up an invasion of El Salvador. They don’t want sailors knowing the truth about these places. And they sure don’t want sailors and shipyard workers talking with socialists—they might agree.

Some phony red-baiting newspapers started appearing. Provocative material was circulated to try to incite violence. The FBI and Naval Intelligence got their heads together to see if the socialists could be fired or even prosecuted.

These dirty tricks sound awfully familiar. They were used against those opposed to the Vietnam war, against socialists, against Black militants, and against the labor movement.

The government claims it ended its disruption program against the Socialist Workers Party in 1976. It says all those illegal actions are a thing of the past.

Once again, the government is caught in lies, lies, lies.

The attempt to victimize us was a political frame-up against Socialist Workers Party members and other young workers in the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

The working people of America aren’t just going to lie back and take that. What’s the draft-age youth have won by protesting and by hundreds of thousands refusing to sign up?

It’s what the youth of Miami and Chattanooga have shown by lighting the skies instead of accepting racist injustice.

It’s what workers are showing by trying to defend their living standards instead of sacrificing willingly for the “national good.”

Our party’s lawsuit is part of defending all these struggles against government disruption.

Some workers from the yard came to socialist forums and campaign rallies. A few sailors came as well, which they have a legal and constitutional right to do.

But according to both the New York offices of the AFL-CIO and their national headquarters in Washington, D.C., the AFL-CIO has no connection with the Herald Recorder.


There are a number of these phony labor publications around that solicit funds. Usually they only issue enough of each issue to use for getting ads from businesses the next month.”

“We can’t prove who brought the Herald into the yard,” Dees said, “but I doubt that it’s just a coincidence that it appeared right in the middle of the navy’s attempt to oust us.

“We were searching high and low for an excuse to get us out,” Dees added. “One day navy Ensign Hebert thought he caught Smith, who is a first-class pipefitter, with illegal photos of the USS Aylwin’s boiler. The captain and security cops came running on board.

“They were mightily disappointed when Coastal had to admit that they gave the photos to Smith for his work. We were charged with violating the law not because we had the photos but because we were looking for them.”

The masthead says it’s an AFL-CIO paper, but another pipefitter phoned the Herald Recorder to ask what unions it represented and they wouldn’t tell him anything.

I called them and was told that the paper was published “in conjunction with the AFL-CIO News.”

But according to both the New York offices of the AFL-CIO and their national headquarters in Washington, D.C., the AFL-CIO has no connection with the Herald Recorder.

Phony newspaper

Robert Dees told me of two recent incidents in the yard that also fit into the Cointelpro pattern.

“Recently huge stacks of the Herald Recorder, a paper everyone had never heard of, appeared in the yard with a vicious anticommunist editorial,” Dees said. “The paper had nothing in it but ads, reprints of a few articles from a news service, and this big editorial. It’s hilarious.

“The masthead says it’s an AFL-CIO paper, but another pipefitter phoned the Herald Recorder to ask what unions it represented and they wouldn’t tell him anything.

I called them and was told that the paper was published “in conjunction

Socialist workers workers, 5, navy 0

“The support we got from the other workers and sailors in the Brooklyn Navy Yard made a tremendous difference in the fight to win back our jobs,” Robert Dees told the Militant.

“We distributed a leaflet at the yard entrance the day after we were fired, explaining what had happened. The word spread quickly,” Dees said.

“That afternoon when we were standing on line to cash our checks, workers came up and shook our hands—in spite of the obviously intimidating intent of the company’s move.

"Whether or not they shared our views," Dees added, "most felt the company had no right to fire us."

Dees said one young sailor from the South told him, “I don’t know anything about socialism, but you have the right to think what you want. And I told the Navy even if I did know anything I wouldn’t tell them.”

A shipyard worker commented, “You guys [the Socialist Workers Party] were on the ballot right? They’re saying I can vote for you, but I can’t talk to you? Give me a break!”

One worker from Guyana told Dees, "We get fired for talking about our ideas but the Klan gets away with murder.

A machinist from South America added, "And they talk about human rights in this country.

"After we returned to work," Dees said, "people we never knew before came up to meet us."

"One worker told me, "You guys getting fired back is the best thing that happened in this yard since I’ve worked here.""

—V.S.
3: Letter from Commander J.R. Kott to Coastal Dry Dock urging that socialists be removed permanently from USS Alvin. Kott charges that 'self-professed members of the Socialist Workers Party' distributed literature and solicited membership in their organization. He sees possible treason, sedition, and access to 'latest anti-submarine warfare and electronic warfare equipment.'

4.5: Memos from Commander Kott to superiors in Atlantic Fleet. 4 notes protest against firings. It also reveals earlier involvement by Naval Intelligence Service (NIS), 5 notes rehiring. It also says 'local FBI office will not seek prosecution for these three. The Navy had apparently posted these working men in the organization. The officers in the above referred to complaint are particularly sympathetic to individuals in the military who would be described as potentially treasonous or otherwise of subversive or anti-social character. Furthermore, we believe that Alvin's activities as a protest in line with the Navy's latest anti-subversive and electronic warfare equipment, as well as other classified material such as...

6: Bogus 'union' newspaper distributed at Brooklyn Navy Yard fit into effort to discredit socialists and undercut opposition to U.S. war moves. AFL CIO says paper is a 'racket' and has no connection with union movement.

THE MIGHTY THIRTEEN
Another killer-cop acquitted in Florida

By Bob Schwarz

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—December 21, three days after the Klan-Nazi killers went free in Greensboro, an emergency picket at 420 Bushnell Deedfield Beach cop Douglas Williams in the shooting of two young black men in径ies Macaulay.

Williams had been shooting dice with several friends April 3 in a park on the west side of the town 30 miles north of Miami. According to court testimony, when Williams and another cop broke up the game, Macaulay ran away. Williams chased him, knocked him down, and, according to several witnesses, shot him in the head from a distance of six to seven inches while Macaulay pleaded "Don't shoot!"

These facts were not in dispute during the trial, though Defense counsel attempted to create an atmosphere of confusion, reporting discrepancies in testimony on the color of Macaulay's clothes, etc.

While the prosecution claimed he thought Macaulay might be armed, the defense could produce no evidence the youth had attacked the cop. Williams later claimed his gun went off accidentally, but a police firearms expert called by the prosecution called that "highly unlikely" since the trigger takes 14 pounds of pressure.

Media sympathy with the cop was exemplified by "back-ground" stories published side by side in the Miami Herald several weeks after the murder. These described Macaulay as a social drop-out with no job, no education and no future, while Williams was pictured as a bright young dedicated cop who had devoted many hours to community service.

The Fort Lauderdale News quoted his defense attorney as calling him "a frightened, bated young police officer who was only doing his job."

According to the same article, "In this trial where a police officer is on trial, the defendant, [prosecutor] Ray admitted he felt compassion for the boyish-looking Macaulay family.

Joseph Sindaco, attorney for Macaulay's family, said they would file a civil rights suit in federal court as soon as possible.

"...a phenomenon that has been identified by Bok of the Supreme Court."

Our atmosphere of confusion, reporting discrepancies in testimony on the color of Macaulay's clothes, etc.

Harvard U. Blacks fight racist attacks

By Mike Raskin

BOSTON-Chanting, "Beat back racist attacks," more than 300 Harvard University students marched from the campus to the site of the Harvard-Yale game November 22 to protest a series of threats against black students.

On November 6 Lydia Jackson, Harvard-Radcliffe Black Student Association president, discovered the BSA office had been burglarized. "The 'KKK' and "KKK' unite" were written on a desk calendar.

Similar racist graffiti were found scrawled in the bathroom near the BSA office two days later.

Jackson also began receiving obscene and threatening phone calls. The incidents began shortly after the leak of an unpublished study commissioned by Harvard President Derek Bok, claiming that women and black students perform "slightly worse" than their admission test scores indicate.

Jackson told the Militant, "Over the past five years, minorities have been expressing their concerns and needs. Our academic respectability has been threatened, and now our very presence at the university is at stake.

Black students have gained the support of others, including the dining hall workers' union. Through these actions, black students are demanding revaluation by Bok of the admission study, a stronger affirmative-action program to recruit black faculty and students, student participation in admissions decisions, and a campus-financed minority student center.

Harvard U. Blacks fight racist attacks

By Nelson González

Harlem's Sydenham hospital was closed November 21 by order of New York's Mayor Koch.

However, the black community and its leadership are continuing to organize to reopen Sydenham.

Last summer and fall thousands of people protested the closed proposal. Referring to the angry demonstrations, Koch said he reviewed the turmoil I believe will help prepare a health care system for poor people.

Jenice Williams, president of General and Logan Hospitals, which city officials claim will absorb Sydenham, were understaffed and incapable of taking on the increased patients.

Williams said that he and other black community leaders are working on a plan to reopen Sydenham as a private voluntary hospital. These attempts are being facetiously sabotaged by city and state officials.

Reverend Herbert Drayton, president of the Black United Front, told the Militant that the closing of Sydenham "is part of the general attack on blacks and other minorities around the country's"

Drayton suggested organizing a health conference to educate the black community and to propose actions to improve the situation.

James Butler, president of Local 420 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, said that 200 of the 500 people who worked at Sydenham were members of his local.

Most of them have been placed in temporary jobs around the city," he told the Militant. "They face permanent job loss once the money on their job line runs out. When that happens all hell will break loose.""n

Meanwhile, AFSCME District Council 37's Public Employee Press released that the city has given more than $200 million in tax breaks to subsidize construction by giant corporations.

Tax waivers are illegal unless the company proves it would otherwise be unable to attract investment.

Yet AT&T—the richest corporation in the world, with over $2 billion in profits last year—was given a $20 million handout to build its mid-Manhattan headquarters.

City officials admit AT&T would not have canceled construction if it did not get the tax break.

Koch said the city could not afford $8-9 million to keep Sydenham open.

Nine-year frame-up of Panther continues

By Cecilia Moriarity

LOS ANGELES—November 15, a Black construction worker, was killed November 18 in the city of El Salvador. According to reports, the guards were going to kill him.

Nine prison guards, ganged up on Johnson in the beating that took his life, the eyewitnesses told the Militant.

The official report in the prison has said that Johnson had accidently fell to the ground and was killed. Therefore, the guards thought that Johnson was dead. The guards claim that a few minutes after they subdued Johnson, they returned to the cell and "found" him dead.

The press, which has carried the eyewitness accounts, has reported on the prison authorities' claims that the death can be attributed to murder. The prison authorities, in a bald face.
Atlanta officials attack striking bus drivers

By Dick McBride

ATLANTA—Black bus drivers responsible for driving 25,000 Atlanta students to and from school on strike.

The strikers’ main demand is for a $5.00 increase in wages. Many of the drivers now make as little as $3.50 an hour.

They are also demanding better maintenance of the buses, bus monitors to help ensure the safety of the children, medical insurance, and paid holidays.

About 300 bus drivers are employed by the National Transportation Service, which is contracted by the Atlanta school board to transport public school students.

While a number of the drivers are organized by Teamsters Local 258, the majority are not. The non-union drivers initiated the strike. Although they sought the union’s help, Teamster officials refused to support them.

Meanwhile, the city government is trying to use the unsolved murders of Black schoolchildren to force the drivers back to work. City officials charge that the drivers are jeopardizing the safety of children in this city.

The campaign has been taken up by the drivers now make as little

"stupid" and "irresponsible jerks." Denberg labeled strike leader Roderick Robinson a "fool" who "deserves[es] and is tied to a stake and cause it ties in with everything that is operating buses under those conditions."

In this the drivers share common interests with the families of the murdered Black children and other working people.

The demands they are raising will help to further the safety of children, not jeopardize it.

The demands of the striking bus drivers should be supported by all students. We call on all students to take the following emergency steps to protect Black children and other working people:

1. Provide free emergency twenty-hour centers in the Black community to keep children off the streets while parents are working.

2. Provide busses—driven by decently-paid, union-protected drivers—to and from school for all children.


4. Investigate the Klan, Nazis, and other racist groups.

5. Provide daily public reports on the police investigations at open meetings where the public can ask questions.

We also demand that city officials take the following emergency steps to find the killers of Black children and to prevent new murders:

1. Provide free emergency twenty-four-hour centers in the Black community. Working people can keep children off the streets while parents are working.

2. Provide busses to transport children to and from school.

3. Provide funds to community-controlled twenty-four-hour street patrols.

4. Investigate the Klan, Nazis, and other racist groups.

5. Provide daily public reports on police investigations at open meetings where the public can ask questions.

By Nancy Rosenstock

sales of the Militant and Perspectives Monthly are helping to build solidarity with the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador.

Last week’s Militant—headlined “El Salvador: next Viet­nam” and containing the State Department’s “dissent paper” on secret U.S. war plans—is a powerful weapon to help us to take the truth out of the country.

At a Twin Cities El Salvador solidarity rally on December 5, fifty­five copies of the Militant and eleven copies of the PMs were sold.

In Baltimore the film El Salvador Revolution will be shown December 5 to an audience of about 125. During the discussion period, one partici­pant pointed out that the Militant contained proof of the real role of the U.S. in Central America. Thirty papers were sold outside after the meeting adjourned.

Many areas have ordered more copies of the Militant that contain the “dissent paper” and are planning extensive sales.

The Militant’s coverage of recent racist attacks has also spurred sales in a number of cities.

On Saturday, November 22, socialists in Pennsylvania took out an introductory subscription to the Militant. Fifteen of these branches had areas visited.

The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of the successful fall circulation drive.

Soon after the Militant took out an introductory subscription to the Militant. The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of the successful fall circulation drive.

The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of the successful fall circulation drive.

The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of the successful fall circulation drive.

The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of the successful fall circulation drive.

The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of the successful fall circulation drive.

The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of the successful fall circulation drive.

The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of the successful fall circulation drive.

The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of the successful fall circulation drive.

The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of the successful fall circulation drive.

The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of the successful fall circulation drive.

The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of the successful fall circulation drive.

The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of the successful fall circulation drive.

The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of the successful fall circulation drive.

The accompanying scoreboard shows the final results of the successful fall circulation drive.
Target is Black rights

What's behind the new attacks on busing

By By Newton Brown

PHILADELPHIA—Cheyney State College is the oldest public Black college in the United States. The Pennsylvania school opened almost 150 years ago.

Cheyney's existence is being threatened by state and federal officials. As a result, a coalition of students and faculty is making efforts to stop the destruction of the school. Cheyney is traditionally Black colleges. The law stipulates that desegregation plans be implemented on traditionally Black colleges.

Cheyney students point out that Title VI of the Civil Rights Act states that the burden of desegregation in higher education cannot be placed on traditionally Black colleges. The law stipulates that desegregation plans must account for "the unique role of traditionally Black colleges." Roland Atkins, attorney for the Cheyney students and faculty, has charged that while Pennsylvania imposed a quota of 30 percent white enrollment, Cheyney, a traditionally Black college, has never been given a minority quota of greater than 13.7 percent.

Syndicated Black journalist and televi- sion commentator Tony Brown has explained that Cheyney is an example of national plans to destroy the country's 107 Black colleges, Black colleges being forced into a deal in which they must become white colleges in exchange for funds, he has pointed out.

Robinson explained that in their door-to-door canvassings through the Black community, strikers found that "people were sympathetic with us for they could identify with us. They did not perceive us as the culprits."

Thomas Varner, another strike spokesperson, explained that "We know the strike is not just for us. It is for all brothers and sisters in our condition. It is part of these kinds of conditions that forces us onto welfare and onto the streets."

"You can react when you don't have dignity on the job. This action will show people all over the country that they can fight back."

"It will show them that they have the power to deal with their problem."
By Jack Barnes

There's always a rush to get out the first paper­back book on the presidential election. The Wash­ington Post political staff prepared one. It was going to be a big one. But they decided to make a last-minute change. Now the book is titled None of the Above. That, of course, captured the way millions of workers felt about this election. Workers by and large voted against Carter or Reagan based on which one they perceived as threatening the worst disaster, not for either one because they thought he really represented our interests or offered a prospect of a better future. Polls reported the biggest single reason Reagan voters gave for their choice was, "It's time for a change."

In warning the Reagan administration not to overplay its hand, not to press too far too fast based on a spurious "conservative mandate," the New York Times editors pointed to the obvious: "Even if the voters are emphatic in saying, 'Throw the rascals out,' that is not the same as saying they love the new rascals."

Or will willingly sacrifice their rights and living standards for the new rascals. Not by a long shot. Socialist coal miners held a meeting soon after the election. They reported, from a number of different areas, that although Reagan hasn't gotten into the White House, hasn't done a single thing yet, there's already a hatred of him building up in the mines. The idea is growing, they said, that we just threw out the one guy and now we're probably going to have to throw out the other one. Most miners also figure they're in for a national strike next March, with the coal bosses again trying to deal major blows to their union rights, and they know for sure which side the government will be on.

Protests begin

Already many groups—antidraft, antinuclear, women's rights, opponents of racist violence—are talking about the need to hold counterinaugural and other protests. Already Blacks especially are saying, "Now it's really going to come down. We've been in trouble and we've got to find a way to fight."

Many are convinced that the murders of Blacks in Buffalo, Atlanta, Youngstown, New Orleans, India­napolis, and other cities are part of a nationwide racist conspiracy. They know the antibusing votes in Congress and Republican threats to repeal the Voting Rights Act encourage the Klan terrorists. And they suspect that government forces have an even more direct hand in the resurgence of anti­Black violence. Those suspicions, of course, are correct.

Already the trial balloons about stepped-up U.S. aid to the Shah are jumping and other rightwing regimes are prompting calls to mobilize against the war danger.

The more Reagan moves to implement his pro­gram—basically the same program of take-hacks Carter or Anderson would have to try to imple­ment—the more opposition it will provoke. Strikes, demonstrations, rebellions, attempts by the op­pressed and exploited to forge effective political alliances among themselves—the outcome of these struggles, not the elections, will determine how far the rulers can go in their plans to further violate our living standards.

That's elementary for Marxists—that the class struggle, not the election process, is decisive.

But a second thing is true. That is the fact that, regardless of the workers' disgust with "all of the above," the employers continue to have a total monopoly, a stranglehold, over all government functions. Their political parties and they alone have the power to tax, the power to spend, the power to call out the police and army, the power to send us to war.

This monopoly affects everything—and affects it negatively. It deeply undercuts the workers' strength in strikes, in the daily battle to keep living standards from going down, in the struggle to aver war and maintain civil rights. It facilitates the continuing rightward drift of capitalist politics, here and abroad.

Who governs?

Which capitalist politician is elected doesn't de­cide the fundamental direction of capitalist politics. But who governs—the workers or the capitalists—decides a great deal. Ultimately it decides every­thing.

Something other than contempt for "all of the above" is urgently needed—a political instrument to represent the working class and all the victims of capitalist society. Without their own party—an independent labor party—the workers are perennially caught in the trap of voting for one or another of the employers' choices to govern. They're boxed into politically supporting those who profit from the fundamental problems that workers are recolling from and trying to fight against.

Workers don't continue to vote for capitalist party candidates today because they anticipate major positive results. They do it because they see no practical alterna­tives to the choices. The millions there is no way to vote for peace, for jobs, for affirmative action, for women's rights.

To the contrary, if you support a Democratic or Republican candidate who seems to be good on one question—a "jobs candidate" or a "women's rights candidate"—you inevitably find the price demanded is that you swallow the rest of their party's reaction­ary program. And you end up without the jobs or equal rights, either. There is no "single issue" answer.

We, the People?

This two-party framework with no working-class alternative gives the ruling class a tremendous advantage. They are free to present everything as problems facing the whole country. That is, "we"—We, the People, the original title of the Wash­ington Post staff's book—all of us here in the United States.

What are "we" going to do about inflation? About rebuilding "our" industries? About "our" foreign relations?

The workers and the employers both face prob­lems, that's for sure. But what these questions deliberately obscure is that the solutions are polar opposite. The answer to their problems is to beat down our wages, lengthen our hours, take away our social services, poison our environment, send us to die in foreign wars, and deny our right to fight back. The answer to our problems lies in challeng­ing their sacred profits and their ownership and control over society's wealth.

"We" don't have common interests. "We" is a country made up of classes with conflicting inter­ests, in which their class is in control.

So instead of working-class answers, we are continually posed with false dilemmas—"trade­offs"—in which either answer always weakens and divides the working class. Either high taxes or cuts in social services. Either affirmative action or seniority. Either nu­clear power or blackouts. These are "our" problems, the rulers say. Which alternative do you want? You can "democratically" decide.

That remains the fundamental problem in Ameri­can politics—the absence of a labor party to bust through this framework and provide working-class answers.

We need a new kind of party, one that grows out of the battles of our class to defend itself and move forward toward a more just society. A party that politically advances our struggles instead of side­tracking them, that doesn't present biannual elec­tions, followed by lobbying our "friends," as the be­all and end-all of politics. We need a party that draws together and is led by determined workers—including the unemployed, the unorganized, the undocumented, the discriminated against—Blacks, Chicano, Puerto Ricans, women, working farmers, and rebellious youth in struggle against the exploit­ers.

Continued on next page
Bipartisan Social Policy

The need for independent working-class political action was shown crystal clear in this election, but in a new framework. This election reflected the end of any basic difference between liberalism and conservatism on domestic social policy.

Of course, there's always a spectrum of opinions and proposals by capitalist politicians, and they will continue to label themselves—among other things—as liberals and conservatives. It's never true that there are no differences.

But that liberalism and conservatism offer, as they have been presented to workers especially since the 1930s, has substantially converged. This is new. It is a product of the deepening economic problems of capitalism throughout the world, and the weakening position of the United States.

Advertisement

Felix Rohatyn, Tom Hayden

What liberalism and conservatism have to offer has substantially converged.

First, a freeze of wages and prices until a worked-out incomes policy can take its place with wages allowed to rise only in accord with productivity.

Second, a stiff gasoline tax, with part of the revenue going to cut taxes for business and part going to increased military spending.

Third, he says, "we must have an adequate conscripted army with low pay"—this is straight stuff—"an adequate conscripted army with low pay, with no excuses from service except for health, and a highly professional, highly paid cadre of officers and non-coms."

The coming crisis

Rohatyn acknowledges this program won't be accepted just yet—"our country today cannot muster a majority for such a program complaint." But a "crisis of sufficient magnitude," which he says is inevitably coming, may make it possible.

Workers are not convinced profits here or to die for

The speeches were given before the election. Rohatyn says right off that "whoever is elected, we are condemned ... to struggle from inflation to recession, and each succeeding slump will be more stringent than the one before." So he lays out what "we" must do about it, and both the conservative Business Week and the liberal-radical New York Review of Books present this as what the country now faces after the election.

Advertisement

"New York Review of Books" 

Rohatyn acknowledges this program won't be accepted just yet—"our country today cannot muster a majority for such a program complaint." But a "crisis of sufficient magnitude," which he says is inevitably coming, may make it possible.

Workers are not convinced profits here or to die for
"I do not believe that our society will stand the strain of the next forty years," Rohatyn says. "Our next president will face an emergency during his term of office. . . . It may begin in the Middle East or in Cleveland, he says, and the question is whether we will be able to meet it as we did in New York. . . . It is obviously a risk for democracy as well as a "hope," he says, because—as he chillingly adds—"austerity and democracy do not walk hand in hand in the United States, except in wartime." His final words were that the crisis "will come sooner than we think."

That's the vision of the future brought to us both by Business Week and by the New York Review of Books.

Death agony of liberalism

Rohatyn's speech came ten days before the election, emphasizing that this is what must be done regardless of who is elected. Ten days after the election, the Wall Street Journal opened its pages to Tom Hayden, a less serious figure but one who speaks for a certain layer of liberals.

Hayden explains that the old liberalism is finished. It's not just that it was "outspent, out-organized, beaten by the sinister electronic techniques of the radical right," as some claim. No, he says, "the deeper causes of liberalism's death were from within, in the crumbling world view and techniques of the radical organized, beaten by the sinister electronic technology." He lists where they went wrong:

Liberals "became victims of military spending per se, without a coherent military doctrine of their own." They "believed that an expansion of the public sector was the answer to every ill of society." Hayden also complains that liberals were soft on law and order and "adopted permissiveness as a new concept of freedom."

What's most interesting, though, is Hayden's program. It is, in essence, Rohatyn's program.

Gatsby & Thoreau

Its cornerstone, as Hayden lists them, include energy conservation; an anti-inflation policy of "living within our means"; an "industrial recovery plan" of government aid to industry; a "new partnership" in making economic decisions among corporations, labor, government and public interest groups; a "national security" that includes stopping the "deception of murder" of German and Japanese cars and television sets; and "use of pension funds as a precious source of capital."

That last is one where New York City certainly showed the way. By handing over union pension funds for investment in New York bonds, the workers supplied those institutions with money to buy up with the State Department and CIA abroad, and witch-hunted "extremists" and militant workers at home. Doing all this, in collaboration with the employers and the government, was one of the keys to how the bureaucracy consolidated its stranglehold over the industrial unions during and after World War II, quelled motion toward a labor party, and prepared to enforce class peace for decades to come. But on domestic social policy there was a difference.

Capitalists close ranks

To appreciate the full significance of the bipartisan domestic policy coming into being, we should look at the rulers' bipartisan foreign policy. It arose from the U.S. rulers' needs at the end of the 1980s, first to crush their imperialist rivals of Germany and Japan and then to save capitalism from the revolutionaries upswells that swept Europe and Asia after the war. Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, agreed to largely remove strategic foreign policy questions from the arena of partisan dispute and openly assumed the role of world capital. It was accepted by the union bureaucracy as public relations to the profits of the employers, of deepening the idea that "we" are all in it together. That's what we need for the whole country, Hayden says.

At the heart of this new perspective, he explains, is building "public confidence in the future and willingness to sacrifice to get there."

"It comes down to moving from a wasteful, privately oriented, self-indulgent existence to a more conscientious and disciplined existence. . . . the reassessment of personal responsibility in everything from conserving resources to decreasing demands to keep ourselves well through self-care. . . ."

I guess that means Harlem residents don't need Hospital South. To sum it up, Hayden says, we must now move "from the opulence of the Great Gatsby to the frugal self-assurance of Henry David Thoreau."

This is what the liberal alternative has come to, in their own words.

If Hayden was more like Thoreau and less like Gatsby this would be no more correct but at least not so nauseating. We, unlike Hayden, don't have the resources to live like the Great Gatsby, nor do we have a country Walden Pond as a separate, self-sufficient retreat.

Lesser-evil choices

Lacking a class alternative, the workers are still forced to make lesser-evil choices. Those appear—no matter how little the differences—to be the only choices available. It's important to keep in mind that the death of the old liberalism doesn't mean the death of lesser-evil. All lesser-evil means is two evils that are not exactly identical. They can be Hindenburg and Hitler.

Millions of workers voted for Reagan as a lesser evil to Carter, not because they agree with Reagan's reactionary platform. Just as millions of others—excluding the majority of Black workers who didn't vote—voted for Carter as a lesser evil to Reagan, not because most had any confidence in Carter.

We have to be extremely wary of how these lesser-evil choices are misrepresented by the media and many radicals to paint a false picture of working-class consciousness. The Guardian, for example, lamented the defeat of "progressive" referenda in various states as evidence of "the rightward swing of the electorate." Or, as they cited was a phony tax reform referendum in Ohio. One of our Cleveland comrades, discussing the elections with a fellow Black unionist this was somewhat surprised to learn he had voted against the "fair tax" referendum. This worker, a respected

In the 1980s the rulers must try to give the New York treatment to the most strongly organized workers in basic industry.

New York protest during 1975 budget crisis

Reassert racism

We have often pointed out how the rulers are striving to overcome the "Vietnam Syndrome" to prepare American workers for the war. They have to try to reassert racist and reactionary ideas that have been deeply eroded in the working-class and union movement under the rule of civil rights, women's liberation, and other protests.

The rulers are relentlessly campaigning to try to break down solidarity among workers, to deepen divisions between employed and unemployed, organized and unorganized, white and Black, male and female, English-speaking and Spanish-speaking, native-born and immigrant.

In the absence of any mass party putting forward a class perspective of workers and the oppressed in struggle against this offensive, the employers' onslaught inevitably causes widespread confusion. Some of the most ardent of the old left are chosen by quite a few workers. But we often find they don't run very deep; they can be thrown into doubt by even a little discussion and questioning.

War of nerves

But the workers are far from being won to the Rohatyn-Hayden perspective. They don't see COLA or a decent pension as "padding" to be stripped away. They're not convinced to sacrifice for corporate profits here or to die for them abroad. But the narrowing of the options presented by capitalist politics is keenly felt.

As the liberals' and conservatives' fundamental proposals converge, and as the economic and social problems worsen, the result might be described as a war of nerves. The workers and their organizations, and all who claim to lead them come under tremendous pressure to accept one or another part of the ruling-class program—which is the best that any liberal politician has to offer.

After six years in which unemployment has never gone below 6 percent, after massive waves of plant closings and layoffs, blackmail over jobs is at the heart of this war of nerves. If you don't accept more productivity, more nuclear plants, more tax breaks for business, a lower minimum wage for youth, then you are opposed to getting the economy moving—you are responsible.

The pressure bears down: Maybe we do have to restrict imports, even if it means higher prices. Maybe affirmative action has gone too far. Maybe productivity really needs to be raised, and we should take a look at this along with management.

Maybe that's the only way to hold down inflation. Sure the refugees and immigrants have got it bad, but maybe we just have to keep them out.

Nobody wants us to cut "our" oil out of this. This is what the politicians, the news media, and the whole capitalist opinion apparatus try to impose upon the workers every day. . . .
spear their ideas and establish their legitimacy through campaigns like these, we also see them employed in an unchecked wave of anti-Black violence and boast of the paramilitary camps where they are training for "race war.

The fact of life employers' unofficial apparatus of repression alongside their official one was highlighted by something else. The New York Times noted in an editorial two weeks after the election that there are now three times as many private cops as public ones. Three times as many Pinkertons, private guards, plant security guards, state police, sheriff's departments, and state troopers put together.

These juridical and ultrarightist forces are being tooled up, and we know the rulers will use them more and more to try to intimidate the working class and to terrorize Blacks and other vanguard fighters. Rokatyin is correct when he says that austerity and democracy do not walk hand in hand.

Unions in the New Framework

The trade-union bureaucracy was stunned by the Republican election victory. The union officials had spent big money trying to elect Carter and other Democrats. Alexander Barkan, head of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, called the biggest and best labor political effort he had ever seen. Reagan's election was a smashing blow to these bureaucrats, since their perspective in life revolves around their relations with capitalist politicians.

Their first reaction, of course, was to blame the workers. That's the bureaucrats' natural response to every calamity caused by their own misleadership. They said the workers have moved to the right.

On election night I sat down to a telephone interview with Victor Gotbaum, the head of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in New York City. Like millions of workers, he was just lost his best friend. He was being interviewed along with A. H. Raskin, the long-time labor editor of the New York Times.

Gotbaum explained that the problem was the workers, who actually went for all this Reagan propaganda.

But, Raskin asked him, how can your members be confident that you have any ideas that can move things forward?

So Gotbaum launched into a defense of Lane Kirkland, the AFL-CIO president. He said, don't be confused by images and prejudices you may have. Lane Kirkland has a lot of new ideas.

The obvious question

Right at the end of this Raskin said, "No disrespect, Vic," but one thing puzzles him. Why, he asked, did the only unorganized section of the labor movement not have its own political party?

He was surprised that Gotbaum had laid out labor's needs—jobs, social benefits, protection from inflation, and so forth—but labor has no political mechanism to fight for this.

Of course, Raskin wasn't proposing a class-struggle political formation organizing for union rights, Black rights, against war, etc. But he asked the rhetorical questions: Why is it that only country (he's talking about imperialist countries) where labor hasn't organized its own party so it can fight even if in the framework of "necessary" collaboration with the employers—for its political program?

He seemed to be amazed to hear this. He responded, well, this country is much more complicated than other countries. And that was the end of the interview.

No, the answer isn't complicated, it's simple. That is, the workers are to the left of their leadership—far to the left—of their empirical political forces, especially the most militant workers such as the Blacks and the youth. They are blocked from using their power to overthrow the fascist justice by the backward policies of this bureaucracy.

No new ideas

There are no new ideas, nor can there be any new ideas from this leadership.

The bureaucracy really has no ideas of its own. It is not part of a social class with distinct interests and a program that reflects those interests. Rather, it is a parasitic petty-bourgeois layer that squats on reality to the deeper reality of how millions of workers and farmers and parents, and how they themselves have organized to fight for jobs, for health, for a healthy life.

So many of the things workers have been talking about—one of the few topics the trade-union leaders can't bring themselves to discuss—have been finding expression in official union party. In the past year the unions have come forward as among the most active supporters of the ERA. Just last month the United Mine Workers and United Steel-workers joined with leaders of the National Organization for Women and the NAACP in organizing an anti- Klan rally in Uniontown, Pennsylvania. And the UMWA is more and more providing leadership for the entire antimovement, notably by its role in the 1,000-strong Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment in Pittsburgh in October.

Polarization

So while the ruling class continues to move to the right and to political life, which they dominate, in that direction (as clearly registered in this election and its aftermath), the working class is not.

The result is a deepening class polarization. This is disguised by the class-collaborationist stance of the top in the labor bureaucracy, but it is the most important force of the political changes.

Part of the polarization, part of the war of nerves, is the increasing boldness of ultrarightist and fascist forces. They are not so confused by the right-wing shift of capitalist politics and from the tolerance their violence gets from the capitalist government.

This too found expression in the November election. Gerald Carlson, an open Nazi running on an open Nazi platform, won the Republican nomination in the Fifteenth Congressional District in Michigan, right outside Detroit. In the general election, 32 percent of voters pulled the Republican lever for him! Thomas Metzger, the Ku Klux Klan Democrat running in the Forty-third District in southern California, got 12 percent.

At the same time as the fascists are moving to
The young workers—as the battles increase on many fronts, as they change and learn and gain confidence—will roll over the framework and change the ground rules of the current labor movement.
Klan’s armed camps: evidence of racist plot

By Osborne Hart

Recent revelations about Ku Klux Klan paramilitary training camps and KrK links to ultraterrorist terrorists in Europe provide new evidence of a nationwide anti-Black conspiracy operating with government sanction.

A recent Justice Department study of three Klan factions concluded that Bill Wilkinson’s Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, is the most violent and “bears watching.”

Wilkinson’s group, which in his words is preparing for a “race war,” has organized “special forces camps” that train Klan members in methods of killing and the use of automatic weapons (November 25, New York Times and December 7, New York Times Magazine).

The Klan has camps in several states. One in Arizona is named My Lai after the Vietnamese village where more than 600 men, women, and children were massacred by U.S. troops in 1968.

A similar camp was uncovered near Houston, where the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were training Boy Scouts and youth as young as eight in techniques of strangling and the use of firearms. The Klan is on a campaign to recruit to its Youth Forces.

A Houston Chronicle story November 23 exposed the camp. Joe Bo­gatt, an ex-Klan operative who was an instruc­tor, said, “I am proud to be a member of the Klan. There are only two groups I’ll fire Communists and homossexuals. That’s the basic reason I joined the Klan.”

During a recent conference of right­wingers in downtown Kansas City, Missouri, a session was devoted to instruction in methods of murder with handguns and the use of semi-automatic weapons.

The Christian Science Monitor reported November 25 that the largest Belgian fascist organization, Visanne Militant Orde, is suspected of hav­ing financial and other ties with U.S. racist groups.

The Belgian League for Human Rights reports that “cooperation between neo­fascist groups in European countries . . . is on the rise.”

A spokesperson for the league said that VMO leader Kurt Eicken’s “visit to the Georgia home of J.B. Stoner, the white supremacist, is just the beginning of closer cooperation between the VMO and the American fascist movement.”

Various European fascist groups have carried out bombings this year. Forty­four people in Bologna, Italy; twelve people in Munich, Germany; and four at a synagogue in Paris.

Like the U.S. Klan, the European fascists emphasize opposing the rights of immigrant workers. And like the Klan, their organizations overlap consider­ably with the police.

In a front-page story October 23, the San Francisco Chronicle reported on secret meetings and connections between California Klan head Thomas Metzger, who was the Democratic Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the November elections, and Manfred Roeder, a West German who was wanted in connection with a number of terrorist bombings in Europe.

Roeder’s visit to the United States included trips to Washington, D.C., and Buffalo, New York, “where he talked with sympathizers.”

According to a Chronicle source, “During his stay in the Bay Area, Roeder instructed Klannemen and Nazis in the use of explosives.”

Commenting on the KKK relations with the European neo-Nazi, Metzger told the Chronicle, “There is only one movement. Our goals are similar.

The evidence illustrates that the Klan, however small, is well financed, armed, organized, and is carrying out violent acts.

Yet the government is in no rush to apprehend either of the known racists, even when they flagrantly violate the law.

According to the Justice Depart­ment’s report, government agents have “frequently found Klan members in possession of explosives.” It is not clear whether the Treasury Department agency has not attempted to prosecute them because it was unable to prove that the explosives were convicted felons barred from pur­chasing or selling “destructive devices” (New York Times, November 24).

If government authorities had any intention of dealing with the racists responsible for the murders of Blacks in Buffalo, Atlanta, Greensboro, etc., the legal click­ets would be the Klan’s armed camps.

---

Black papers decry Greensboro acquittal

The recent acquittal of Ku Klux Klanners and Nazis in the murders of five Communist Workers Party members in Greensboro, North Carolina, has provoked international outrage. It has also sparked a discussion in the Black movement over the meaning of this verdict.

The following excerpts from the Black press in North America are contributions to that discussion.

---

published in Kansas City, Missouri. From an editorial in the November 28-December 4 issue.

The “not guilty” verdict handed down last week against six members of the American Nazi Party and Ku Klux Klan, charged with the murder of five members of the Communist Workers Party almost one year ago in Greensboro, N.C., could have far-reaching implications in the days and weeks ahead.

It was reminiscent of the favor in favor of Miami police officers charged with the murder of Arthur McDuffie that led to the recent uprising in the Liberty City section of Miami.

An unfortunate sequence of events, made even more peculiar by the allegations of police involvement and a statement by the Nazi Party describing the verdict as a “great victory for white America,” has been reduced to an ideological confrontation between Communists and Fascists in the news media, making it appear as though two “undesirable groups” in our society were attempting to eliminate each other and therefore the matter should be of no great concern to the rest of us decent citizens.

Quite to the contrary, the needless waste of any life—especially when Nazis and Klan members are making it appear as though two groups “bears watching.”

One year ago in Greensboro, N.C., could have swung to the right along with the coming to power of a Nazi-Fascist movement and at home in Toronto that politicians are afraid to deal with the European neo-Nazi, and hardly anyone is trying to deal with the racists.

We fervently hope that Deputy Attorney General Civita­tor of the First Amendment when it is sullied by the likes of such depraved maniacs as the Klan and the Nazis. However, holding to principles is a true and severe test for a democracy.

But, the First Amendment does not protect against criminal acts, including the denial of civil rights to U.S. citizens.

We fervently hope that Deputy Attorney General Drew Days, head of the Justice Department’s Civil Rights Division, will pursue the Greensboro case with a view to possible Federal prosecutions.

Simultaneously, it was reported that the Federal Bureau of Investigation would develop cases against both the Klan and the Nazis for violations of Federal criminal statutes. It would be comforting, but we are not persuaded that the FBI will do so.

---

Published in Toronto, Canada. From an editorial in the November 21 issue:

Within the last years we have seen an amazing swing to the right along with the coming to power of a Nazi-Fascist movement and at home in Toronto that politicians are afraid to deal with the European neo-Nazi, and hardly anyone is trying to deal with the racists.

We must be concerned when little Black children are being snatched from their mothers in Atlanta, Georgia, and later found dead.

We see in Buffalo Blacks being killed in racist incidents and at home in Toronto that politicians who stand up for minority groups are likely to feel the wrath of majority at the polling stations.

There is a strong feeling in the Black community that no one will take on the liability of standing up for minorities and that we must defend ourselves.

And there are Blacks who are so frustrated that they will do anything to bring about change.

It will be hard convincing these Blacks that they

should go the route of the courts if nine months later they are going to come away with a stronger feeling of injustice.

We still feel non-violence is the proper course. We must continue the struggle for justice, united. And we must encourage all freedom-loving people to join the fight.

Published in New York City. From an editorial in the November 22 issue:

"The law is a horrible business. There is no such thing as justice—in or out of court."

—Clarence S. Darrow, 1936

Admittedly, we did not attend the five month long trial, nor did we see and hear the evidence and testimony as did the jury.

What disturbs us is that with the re-emergence of the Klan and the persistent growth of the "American" Nazis, the spectre of increased anti-Black terrorism rises higher each day in our senses.

The Greensboro acquittals may quite easily be interpreted as a form of license in favor of Miami police officers charged with the murder of Arthur McDuffie that led to the recent uprising in the Liberty City section of Miami.

An unfortunate sequence of events, made even more peculiar by the allegations of police involvement and a statement by the Nazi Party describing the verdict as a "great victory for white America," has been reduced to an ideological confrontation between Communists and Fascists in the news media, making it appear as though two "undesirable groups" in our society were attempting to eliminate each other and therefore the matter should be of no great concern to the rest of us decent citizens.

Quite to the contrary, the needless waste of any life—especially when Nazis and Klan members are making it appear as though two groups “bears watching.”

One year ago in Greensboro, N.C., could have swung to the right along with the coming to power of a Nazi-Fascist movement and at home in Toronto that politicians are afraid to deal with the European neo-Nazi, and hardly anyone is trying to deal with the racists.

We fervently hope that Deputy Attorney General Civita­tor of the First Amendment when it is sullied by the likes of such depraved maniacs as the Klan and the Nazis. However, holding to principles is a true and severe test for a democracy.

But, the First Amendment does not protect against criminal acts, including the denial of civil rights to U.S. citizens.

We fervently hope that Deputy Attorney General Drew Days, head of the Justice Department’s Civil Rights Division, will pursue the Greensboro case with a view to possible Federal prosecutions.

Simultaneously, it was reported that the Federal Bureau of Investigation would develop cases against both the Klan and the Nazis for violations of Federal criminal statutes. It would be comforting, but we are not persuaded that the FBI will do so.
Mexico: peasants say landowners killed leader

By Anibal Yáñez

Last week’s Militant reported the murder of Donaciano Soria, a Mexican peasant leader, and the attempted murder of Gregorio Paredes. On November 12 a truck tried to run down both of them. Paredes escaped, but Soria was killed. The event occurred in the state of Veracruz, scene of mounting peasant struggles.

Soria was active in the Independent Revolutionary Peasants Coordinating Committee (CCRI). Paredes is a leader of the organization and also of the Revolutionary Workers Party, the Mexican sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. Socorro Taboada was also a party member.

Both the party and peasant union have issued statements charging big landowners in the area with the killings of Soria and the attempted assassination of Paredes because of their role in the peasant battles.

Over the last few years hundreds of peasants have fallen victims of massacres and repression throughout the country. Landowners have set their sights on areas like the Yaqui Valley where Gregorio Paredes participated in land seizures, there are highly advanced centers of U.S. agribusiness—very much like that of the Imperial Valley of California.

One sees vast fields of tomatoes and other crops, miles of concrete irrigation canals, Ford and John Deere tractors instead of primitive plows, and crop-dusters which cover the fields with Niagara or Dow chemicals.

The expansion of U.S. agribusiness into Mexico has accelerated the development of modern capitalist agriculture, with its corresponding class structure.

In several areas, agricultural production is controlled by gigantic multinational corporations like Del Monte, Campbell’s, and General Foods.

The growth of the giant farms has brought a corresponding increase in hunger and misery.

Small peasants are ruthlessly deprived of their land to make way for the giant farms.

Meanwhile, the lucrative export crops increasing land scarcity traditionally grown to feed the local population.

‘Land and Freedom!’

Faced with this imperialist control, the slogan “Land and Freedom” is still relevant today, more than sixty years after the murder of the revolutionary peasant leader Zapatista.

Over the years, many peasant organizations have been primarily instruments in the hands of the government to turn Mexican bourgeoisie to control the peasant movement. But this control has begun to crumble, as is evidenced by the development of militant peasant organizations throughout the country.

The CCRI, which has now suffered a blow with the murder of Soria and the attempted murder of Paredes, was founded in 1977 by peasant groups from Sonora, Colima, Morelos, Zacatecas, Puebla, Veracruz and Sinaloa. Since then it has been actively projecting a national organization of poor peasants, Indian communities, agricultural proletarians, and the landless poor.

The CCRI has led dozens of struggles in defense of the interests of the peasant. It has also been in the forefront of solidarity with the struggles of the workers, unionizers, and students. It supports the fight for freedom for political prisoners in Mexico.

The CCRI has also supported the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua and the struggle of the Salvadoran people.

One of the most recent victories won by the CCRI was the organization of the Independent Farmworkers Union of Coahuila (STCIC), made up of farmworkers from the area of La Laguna in the state of Coahuila in northern Mexico. This region is a big producer of cotton for export. The government has refused to grant union recognition, but the STCIC has responded with mass mobilizations and stepped-up organizing efforts.

These struggles have gotten the government and landowners scared. This is why the Mexican ruling class wants to get rid of revolutionaries who are building the independent peasant organizations like CCRI. It points to the real reason behind the events of November 12 in Palmarejo, Veracruz.

Solidarity messages to the Independent Revolutionary Peasants Coordinating Committee’s defense efforts can be sent to: Margarito Montes Parra, Secretario General de la CCRI, Baja California 71, Mexico 7, D.F. Mexico.
By Stu Singer

Last week's 'Militant' printed the full text of the 'Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America' written by U.S. government officials from the State Department and other agencies.

This week and in coming issues we will examine revelations from the dissent paper and correlate them with other information that has become available.

In a telephone interview I had with Donald Matthews, the public affairs adviser for the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs of the State Department, he immediately denied the paper was "bogus."

I asked him about some specific points made in the document. For example, what kind of military aid is being given El Salvador? He claimed that no lethal weapons are being sent or that Salvadoran pilots are being trained by the U.S. military.

He did admit that 250 Salvadoran troops are being trained at U.S. bases in Panama. But he claimed, "The Salvadoran armed forces have asked for a grenade launcher. The other side has it. Do we tell the junta, well, you can't have it?"

Middleman supplier

No. What the U.S. government does is either send the weapons anyway, or supply them "in cooperation with regional and extra-hemispheric allies," as the dissent paper explained.

That means weapons are obtained for El Salvador through the equipment of other armies or by U.S. help in organizing arms purchases. Israel, the U.S. cup in the Middle East, has become one of the biggest suppliers of arms in the world. Massive amounts of Israeli weapons were supplied to Somalia before his downfall and they are supplied to the El Salvador army today.

There is also additional information on the success of the U.S. program to coordinate military and paramilitary actions between the three right-wing dictatorships of Central America: El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala.

In October, Washington helped organize a peace treaty between El Salvador and Honduras to settle remaining disputes from a four-day war between the two countries in 1969. The treaty was signed December 9 in Honduras.

Training the way for the treaty, Salvadoran and Honduran army units began cooperating earlier. Last May, for example, they combined in a joint operation that killed 600 people.

The victims, including many children, were refugees trying to flee the fighting in El Salvador by crossing the Stampa Panama border. "Operation Sandwich," revealed by a Mexico City newspaper, provides for joint operations by armies of the three countries against guerrillas.

The picture that emerges is one of Washington preparing to engulf the entire Central American region in a new Vietnam.
U.S. Ambassador to Mexico flip-flops on El Salvador

By Anibal Yáñez

On December 3 U.S. Ambassador to Mexico Julian Nava declared, "It seems that the last assassinations were an action by the junta or the junta's troops." He was referring to the murder of the six leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front November 27.

On December 4 Nava issued a new statement: "The comment I made to Mexican journalists yesterday was based on what I knew as of then through the news media. . . . Eyewitnesses have denied the validity of this information. . . . We have no independent proof that the government of El Salvador had anything to do with the assassinations." The Mexico City daily Uno más quoted Nava's quick flip-flop: "Rarely had a representative of Washington spoken so objectively about such a thorny issue." "Now with the State Department's denials and Ambassador Nava's ambiguous retraction, the world knows that Washington confirms its backing of the crime against El Salvador. From that quarter no significant action can be expected to stay the hand of the executioners. . . . The Salvadoran people, sur­rounded by international solidarity, will be able to paralyze and destroy their enemies. . . . This game of simultaneous denials and retractions will remain a rather irrelevant epi­sode." State Rep. Phyllis Khan, an endor­ser of the rally, told the crowd, "We have to make Reagan understand he's got to stop U.S. military intervention in El Salvador." State Rep. Lee Greenfield said, "We have to join in mobilizing the majority of Americans to prevent the kind of vile situation that happened in Viet­nam." Sue Abrderholden, president of the Twin Cities National Organization for Women, said, "I was in Antioch, Texas, at the other end of the country from the Iron Range, fifty people participated in a picket in front of the federal building December 5. A nun and a priest on their way to El Salvador, as well as a number of Palestinian students, joined the protest. The pickets chanted, "No draft, no war, hands off El Salvador." El Salvador Solidarity Committee also participated in the federal building December 6. This protest against U.S. involvement in El Salvador received a lot of publicity. In Cincinnati 450 attended a mem­orial meeting December 8 at St. Peter in the Chains Church. It was organized by the Cincinnati Central American Task Force. The movie Revolution or Death was shown and Maria Rieckelman, a nun who had worked with one of the victims in El Salvador, spoke.

A December 10 article in the Wash­ington Post describes the protest activ­ities by U.S. Roman Catholics as "being unmatched by . . . reactions to past issues, including the controversy over abortion." The article reports that the San Francisco cathedral has a banner reading, "U.S. dollars kill U.S. nuns." Archbishop John Roach of St. Paul-Minneapolis, the new president of the U.S. Catholic Conference, sent tele­grams to Carter and Reagan demand­ing aid be cut off El Salvador.

The dissident paper predicted that whatever support might be for U.S. policy in El Salvador would not survive the introduction of troops into that country. The fact is it hasn't survived the first opportunity for the American people to see what is really going on there.

By Greg Cornell

TWIN CITIES, Minn.—A standing room only crowd of 250 jammed a half hour before the University of Minnesota De­cember 5 to hear speakers blast the slaug­her of the four American women as "appealing to the morality of the Salvador­ans."

The demand that the United States get out of El Salvador and we demand that the United States send no troops or arms to El Salvador," said Prof. Ilena Rodriguez to rousing applause. Rodriguez chaired the meeting and is a member of the Nicaragua Solidarity Committee.

The article reports that the San Francisco cathedral has a banner reading, "U.S. dollars kill U.S. nuns." Archbishop John Roach of St. Paul-Minneapolis, the new president of the U.S. Catholic Conference, sent tele­grams to Carter and Reagan demand­ing aid be cut off El Salvador.

The dissident paper predicted that whatever support might be for U.S. policy in El Salvador would not survive the introduction of troops into that country. The fact is it hasn't survived the first opportunity for the American people to see what is really going on there.

By Greg Cornell

TWIN CITIES, Minn.—A standing room only crowd of 250 jammed a half hour before the University of Minnesota De­cember 5 to hear speakers blast the slaug­her of the four American women as "appealing to the morality of the Salvador­ans."

The demand that the United States get out of El Salvador and we demand that the United States send no troops or arms to El Salvador," said Prof. Ilena Rodriguez to rousing applause. Rodriguez chaired the meeting and is a member of the Nicaragua Solidarity Committee.
...crackdown on human rights in Haiti

Continued from back page
Cayo Lobos have disappeared, among them the leaders of the group. "The political situation in Haiti proves that these people fled the regime," and proves that all of them are political refugees." Since Cayo Lobos, Grand-Pierre said, the government has threatened to kill anyone it finds trying to leave the country.

The Haitian community in Miami is calling for freedom for all political prisoners and the resignation of Duvalier.
"We need an international campaign to stop all Duvalier," Grand-Pierre told the Militant. "All the aid money goes to build houses and facilities for government officials and to increase repression.
"After 1971 there was a big influx of U.S. money to build businesses to increase the viability and stability of the regime.
"The U.S. has to protect its investments. The U.S. is responsible for the situation, and the U.S. government must say what its position is.

A news release sent out December 2 by the New York-based Friends of Haiti provides background on the recent wave of arrests in Haiti. Excerpts appear below.

"The first rumbles of the present repression came in August during labor difficulties at the Haitian American Sugar Company (HASCO), the largest sugar producer in Haiti. Ten of the leaders of the HASCO workers' union were systematically harassed, arrested, and then imprisoned, and have not yet been released or even charged.
"Then in September, strikes for better conditions and pay at the National Brewery and at the Heinz sauce factory were met with strong government retaliation.
"The strikes were declared illegal since they did not 'conform' with the 'legal guidelines set down in the Francois Duvalier Labor Codes.'

Many workers were fired and strike-breakers were sent in.
"At the same time, the press release notes the arrest of several prominent journalists and the arrest October 13 of Sylvio Claude, president of the Haitian Christian Democratic Party (FDPCH) along with forty party supporters.
"Claude was charged with "subversion of the government" for publishing in the FDPCH paper La Conscientisation a piece of artwork that implied that Jean-Claude Duvalier was a vanishing breed of dictator who would and should be overthrown.
"A FDPCH-sponsored march and rally in support of Sylvio Claude was cancelled at the last minute when secret police with firearms and clubs lined the march route hours before its start.
"During this same period, the Duvalier regime was taking a similar offensive on Haitian refugees fleeing to the U.S. On October 27, Army soldiers opened fire on a packed refugee boat leaving the north-coast city of Cap-Haitien, killing nineteen.
"Meanwhile, the Haitians were stranded and starving to death on Cayo Lobos. Also on October 27, "Haitian government officials met with a high-level State Department delegation headed by Frank Loy, director of the Bureau of Refugee Programs, and by Mike Finley, Deputy assistant Secretary of State.
"In the meeting, which was the first of anything but a token State Department delegation reportedly offered the Duvalier regime greatly increased amounts of U.S. 'assistance' to stem the growing tide of refugees from Haiti."

Protesters score repression, greet Haitian exiles

By Suzanne Haig
NEW YORK—Chants of "Hey, hey, USA—stop supporting Duvalier" rang out in Brooklyn December 6 as demonstrators marched down Essex Street to protest repression in Haiti.
At the high point of the march nearly 1,000 people, overwhelmingly Haitians, participated, according to Militant reporter Susan Waid.
Signs carried were in English, French, Creole, and Spanish, as were the chants, which included: "We demand democratic rights in Haiti," "Free all political prisoners," and "Down with Duvalier.
A Haitian women's group carried a banner reading "Free Marie-France," referring to the daughter of Sylvio Claude, president of the Haitian Christian Democratic Party, who is in prison.
Marie-France, herself politically active, was recently arrested along with her two children.
Many marchers carried Haitian flags and lit candles as duks appeared. Gregoire Eugene, leader of the Haitian Social Christian Party and recently exiled, was one of the speakers at the rally.
The action was sponsored by a number of Haitian organizations including: Committee Against Repression in Haiti, Association des Ecrivains Haitiens a l'Etranger, Movement Haitien de Liberation, Organisation Revolutionnaire 18 Ma, and others.
Six Haitians forced to leave their country after a wave of arrests there last month, told of their ordeal and gave hope reasons for the crackdown at a press conference in New York December 4 sponsored by the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights.
The Haitians included Gregoire Eugene, leader of the Social Christian Party; Pierre Citandre, editor, and Jean-Robert Herard, political editor of Le Petit Samedi Soir; Marc Garcia, station director of Radio Metropole; Michele Montaa, commentator for Radio-Haiti Inter; and Jean Jacques Honorat, lawyer and economist.
Nearly 100 people from the large Haitian community in Brooklyn were packed into Operation Push headquarters on November 35,000 Haitians who had fled there. "They want this to happen without any comment—without any opposition being raised."
She also mentioned the annual contract that the Duvalier regime is now negotiating with the Dominican Republic to supply workers to cut sugar cane.
Montas said, "It is our position that the Dominican contract is detrimental to Haitian workers. The government is selling Haitian workers for half price.
Gregoire Eugene also pointed to the coming meeting of the Haitian government with the International Monetary Fund as another reason for the crackdown.
Duvalier told to show them that he has things under control.

Black leaders welcome Burke to K.C.

By Martha Pettit
KANSAS CITY, Mo.—More than 60 people packed into Operation PUSH headquarters on November 16 to hear Joseph Kanute Burke, Consul General from Grenada, describe the gains of the Grenadian revolution.
"What we had in Grenada was a big revolution in a small country," Burke began. "The best example of what is happening in Grenada can be seen on the faces of our people.
We are under an example that you cannot wait for your oppressors to free you," he said. "You have to stand up and claim what is rightfully yours."
Burke explained Grenada's need for material aid, and said, "We will accept aid from any country (with the possible exception of South Africa and China), with one condition: there must be no strings attached to that aid. We are poor but proud.
He cited examples of aid from Panama, Cuba, the Soviet Union, and the OAS, but not from the U.S. directly.
"We are young," Burke declared, "but we have studied revolution. We will not repeat the mistakes of Alaric, Manley, etc.
The meeting was sponsored by Operation PUSH, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Rev. Nelson "Fuzzy" Thompson, the Young Socialist Alliance, and others.
At a news conference prior to the meeting Black city councilman Emanu­el Cleaver presented Burke with a key to the city, "which," he said, "will not open anything.
Burke replied, "This key may not open anything, but if I could remain in Kansas City, I would be sure to open many doors with it. Thank you."

Burke told gains of Grenada's literacy campaign. Above, Grenadan schoolchildren.
Behind ‘Gang of Four’ show-trial in Peking

By David Frankel

On November 20 the former leaders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) most closely associated—aside from Mao Zedong himself—with Mao’s “Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution” went on trial in Peking.

The prime defendants are the so-called Gang of Four, headed by Mao’s wife, Jiang Qing. The other members of the Gang of Four are Zhang Chunqiao, formerly Shanghai party boss and member of the Standing Committee of the CCP’s Politbureau; Yao Wenyuan, who was in charge of all the media in China during the Cultural Revolution; and Wang Hongwen, a former Shanghai factory guard who distinguished himself as a strike-breaker during the Cultural Revolution, was selected as a “trade union leader,” and was pardoned by Mao to deputy chairman of the CCP.

Also facing charges is Chen Boda, Mao’s political secretary and a leading figure during the Cultural Revolution. China’s top military officers have been lumped together as “the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao clique” and linked to former Defense Minister Lin Biao.

Crimes of defendants

Nothing quite like this trial has ever taken place in any Stalinized workers state. Unlike the infamous show trials staged under Stalin, the defendants in Peking are guilty of many of the “towering crimes” they are charged with, and everybody in China knows it.

If anything, the claim that the defendants were tried for the persecution of more than 700,000 people and the death of some 34,000 underestimates the facts of the case.

One of the demands voiced by the movement for democratic rights in China has been for an open trial of the Gang of Four.

During the period when Democracy Wall in Peking served as an open forum, wall posters asked what good the Red Guard Groups and exiling huge numbers to remote areas of the countryside. But Mao's economic policies proved disastrous. This, and his policy of all-pervasive repression, brought the China knew now has entered a new era of democracy and enforcement of the law.

Selected portions of the trial have been broadcast on Chinese television. Newspapers have devoted much of their space to it, and 800 carefully selected “representatives of the masses” from all over China have been selected as an audience. In this way, the regime has sought to give the appearance of an open trial while guarding against any embarrassing revelations.

It is as if mass pressure in the Soviet Union following the death of Stalin had forced Nikita Khrushchev to place some factional opponents such as secret police chief Lavrenty Beria on trial for the crimes of the Stalin era, instead of quietly shooting him.

Mao's 'Cultural Revolution'

Mao originally launched the Cultural Revolution in April 1966 as a means of wresting control of the CCP from his opponents within the party. While Mao used autobureaucratic demagogy to mobilize millions of youth as a battering ram against his factional opponents, the conflict within the CCP was between the wings of a privileged bureaucratic caste.

When Mao had gained control of the CCP he turned against the youth his faction had used, repressing the Red Guard Groups and exiling huge numbers to remote areas of the countryside.

But Mao's economic policies proved disastrous. This, and his policy of all-pervasive repression, brought the country to the brink of civil war. After his death his chief opponents, led by CCP Vice-chairman Deng Xiaoping, took over the party and reversed the domestic policies imposed by Mao.

Although Deng and other top CCP leaders were subjected to repression during the Cultural Revolution, they themselves were responsible for arbitrary arrests and imprisonments, and a vast network of prison camps, during the 1950s. The Stalinist regime in China is incapable of carrying out a fair or honest examination of its own past.

Furthermore, the regime is unwilling to admit Mao's responsibility for the crimes committed during the Cultural Revolution, since opening up Mao's role to criticism would inevitably lead to questions about the entire history of the CCP.

Role of Lin Biao group

Putting just the Gang of Four on trial would have made it extremely difficult for the regime to draw a line between Mao and his chief lieutenants. Therefore, Deng ordered Chen Boda and Lin Biao’s five military subordinates—some of whom have been presumed dead—brought out of prison and placed on trial as well.

Lin Biao’s support had been crucial for Mao during the Cultural Revolution. The Ninth Congress of the CCP in April 1969 adopted a new party constitution that declared: “Comrade Lin Biao has consistently held high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought and has most loyally and resolutely carried out and defended Comrade Mao Zedong’s great proletarian revolutionary line. Comrade Lin Biao is Comrade Mao Zedong’s close comrade-in-arms and successor.”

But Lin's alliance with Mao fell apart around a year after the 1969 Congress. The charges against Lin and his “counterrevolutionary clique” in the current trial are the same as those leveled by the Tenth Party Congress held in August 1973.

At that time Lin was labeled a “bourgeois careerist” and “conspirator” who “launched [a] coup in a wild attempt to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao.”

Lin himself was killed while trying to flee China in 1971, while Jiang Qing and her “counterrevolutionary clique” are on trial. The regime has opted to portray them as an anti-Mao faction.

A few days before the opening of the trial, but after the charges against the defendants had already been published in the Chinese press, the Liberation Army Daily tried to establish the connection between Jiang and Lin by claiming that Jiang took a flattering photograph of Lin in the summer of 1971. Only three months later, Lin “wrote much of his way” to send her some watermelons.

“These facts show,” the newspaper said, closely they collided with each other.”

Selective repression

The show-trial in Peking will hardly satisfy the layer of Chinese youth who were educated through the experience of the Cultural Revolution and began to draw general political conclusions about the character of the regime and the need for institutionalized forms through which the masses of working people could exercise control over the government and ensure their democratic rights.

Deng is counting on the widespread hatred of those responsible for the Cultural Revolution to brush aside any objections about the character of the trial. The Chinese people are aware of much of the fact that the defendants have received far better treatment than any of the thousands of people who have been sentenced to death since 1949.

While jailing Mao’s system of rigid ideological control and extreme totalitarianism is an attempt to do in Peking what the Brezhnev regime did in Poland, it aims to separate the masses from the element raising demands for workers’ democracy and to crush the latter.

In keeping with this project, it has closed down Democracy Wall, carried out a series of frame-ups against activists in the movement for democratic rights, and moved to eliminate the section in the Chinese constitution guaranteeing the right of the people to put up wall posters.

Thus, the “era of democracy” promised by the People’s Daily exists only insofar as the Chinese workers and peasants do not try to make use of their newly proclaimed rights.

Frame-up of Wei

Nor is this an abstract question for the Chinese masses. In October 1979 Wei Jinghong, an activist in the anti-bureaucratic movement, was sentenced to fifteen years in prison on frame-up charges of “counterrevolutionary agitation and conspiracies against Chinese military intelligence.”

Wei’s real crime in the eyes of the bureaucracy was his opposition to the invasion of Vietnam.

Because of the Peking regime’s pro-imperialist foreign policy, the capitalist media has taken a rather understanding tone toward the current show-trial.

An editorial in the November 30 New York Times even declared: “There is a symmetry about recent events in Poland and China. . . . Though they dare not admit it, the Chinese from on high and the Poles from below are destroying the central ethic of Communist party ideology shall reign supreme.”

In reality, what the CCP leadership is attempting to do in Peking is to regain the kind of political revolution that is beginning to unfold in Poland. Of negative regression. It aims to separate the masses from the element raising demands for party ideology shall reign supreme.”

From Intercontinental Press

Readings on China

The Chinese Communist Party in Power by Peng Shu-Te. Edited by Leslie Evans. This book by a former leader of the CCP describes thirty years of Mao’s China from its rise to power to the Great Leap Forward, Cultural Revolution, death of Mao, and fall of the Gang of Four. 500 pp., paper $9.95, cloth $30.

China After Mao by Leslie Evans. A critical Marxist assessment of the achievements of the Chinese revolution. Macmillan economic and foreign policy, and where China is headed. 194 pp., paper $9.95, cloth $16.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 (please include $.75 for postage and handling).
Miners win battle against scab coal

By Vivian Sahner
Coal miners in United Mine Workers District 23 have won their battle to keep the state Mine Police from coming in to break the 18-month-old strike at the Haysville Coal Company's Kincannon Mine in the Nutter Creek area of Beardmore, Kentucky.

The Kincannon Mine is the last company to refuse to negotiate with the UMWA, which is now ready to go into court to back miners who were fired for striking.

The company tried to send in replacement coal miners, but the stateMine Police refused to allow them to do so, saying the miners were released by the UMWA and had a right to strike.

The miners, who have been picketing for three days, are demanding reinstatement of the strikers and back pay for the time they were on strike.

The mine was closed for 12 days before the company decided to bring in the replacement miners, but the miners were determined to continue the strike until their demands were met.

By John Holloway
BALTIMORE—Hospital workers here are in a bitter battle to defend their right to a union. On December 1, the Baltimore City Hospital System signed contracts with the United Mine Workers, Local 1199E, representing its 1,500 dietary, maintenance, and nursing service workers, who struck Johns Hopkins Hospital on December 1.

The hospital had a two-night takeout by 500 members of the UMWA at Sinai Hospital.

The strikers were members of the UMWA and they were demanding an end to the practice of hiring replacement workers to break the strike.

The hospital had warned the TVA against prompting any further union actions.

They were encouraged to join the picketing at Hopkins and Sinai and to contribute to the strike fund.

Utah Safeway tries to bust UFCW union

By Dave Hurst and Stormy Mullendore
SALT LAKE CITY—More than 450 clerks and meatcutters went on strike November 12 against the Safeway Stores in Salt Lake, Davis, and Tooele Counties. November 25 the strike was ordered to the bargaining table.

The strikers are members of Utah Food and Commercial Workers Local 537.

The contract for the two other supermarket chains, Smith’s and Albertson’s, expired at the same time. The union is on strike only against Safeway.

Safeway is a notorious anti-union supermarket chain, yet it is the state’s largest supermarket chain in the country.

The Militant interviewed Ralph Moses, president of the striking local. He explained that Safeway stonewalled in negotiations for three weeks, then asked for a more inferior contract at the last minute.

Safeway workers in Utah already make 40 cents to $3.00 an hour less than in other states for the same work. Moses, forty-five years old, has been an active member of Local 537 for twenty-five years, "and in all the time I’ve never seen such a document [Safe­ way’s contract offer]. It’s so bad that you could even laugh. It’s immoral. The bottom line is a union busting contract.

Union pickets report that business is down 30 to 50 per­ cent at some Safeway stores. The strongest support is in neighborhoods around Kennecott’s gigantic Bingham Canyon copper mine, where the miners were on strike last summer.

Hershey workers vote to end strike

By Noel Green
PITTSBURGH—Striking workers at Hershey Chocolate Company voted at a mass meeting November 17 to accept the latest company offer. The new contract provides little more than what the company offered three weeks ago.

The pay rise that was accepted is a nickel an hour higher than the earlier offer. There was a small improvement in the pension plan.

The company offers no cost-of-living adjustments for the first eighteen months of the three-year contract.

Armed with a unfair labor practices charge by the National Labor Relations Board, the workers have only the NLRB in the situation.

By Michael Raskin
BOSTON—After forcing a twenty-four hour shutdown, the Massachusetts legislature passed an anti-union bill December 7 that will shift more of the burden for the Boston transportation system to the backs of the transit workers and the 250,000 daily riders.

The bill, which attacks workers of the Massachusetts Bay Transit Authority (MBTA), it restricts the MBTA from distributing overtime, contracting out work to non-union firms, and hiring long-term replacement workers. It also limits the MBTA from negotiating with the workers for the dete­ riorating conditions.

The basic fare was doubled and service was cut to 50 cents.

They’re setting the labor movement back fifty years in this state,” said John Galla­ hane, President of Boston Car­ men’s Union Local 569, which represents over 4,000 MBTA workers.

The bill kicks the unions in the head, but leaves the deficit still intact. “Yeah, I’ve got a family and Christmas is coming and it would be nice to have more money. It’s cold out here and it’s getting to worse, and people don’t like being out now. But we all knew that time of year it was when we voted to go out.”

“I’ve got two kids at home and I want a better life for them. So I see this strike and what the union is doing as more important than just me or this Christmas.”

“I’ll stay out until next Christmas or the next time if we have to win our contract.”

Anti-union assault against Boston transit workers

Angry hospital workers were joined by steelworkers, machinists, Teamsters, teachers at rally of 1,500 in Baltimore December 6.
By Phil McCann

The trucking industry is undergoing a general reorganization. Partly this is the outcome of government deregulation, which ostensibly aims to foster competition and reduce freight rates. The first result, however, are renewed attacks on working conditions by major trucking firms and the elimination of some companies.

In the shifting relationship of forces within the industry, the Teamsters union is caught in a pinched movement from which the entrenched union officialdom has no escape route.

Early last September the union's National Master Freight Negotiating Committee met in Chicago with big trucking firms, led by Trucking Management, Inc. (TMI). The employers wanted four major concessions from the union:
1) reduction or deferral of the forty-nine-cent-per-hour cost of living raise that fell due October 1;
2) elimination of certain pick-up and delivery jobs;
3) reduction in the percentage of freight revenue paid to owner-operators; and
4) flexible workweek and starting time to replace the normal Monday through Friday work schedule.

These changes would require reopening and negotiating the eighteen-month-old National Master Freight Agreement, which expires in 1982.

After hearing the employer proposals to scrap the agreement, Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons wrote on September 12 to the officers of all union locals under the National Master Freight Agreement. He said that "the terms and conditions of the current agreement are to be complied with in all regards."

"Specifically," the COLA increases on the hourly and mileage rates due on October 1, 1980, must be paid on time as called for in the agreement."

The concluding sentences were more revealing of Fitzsimmons's future plans. He said that "in recog-nition of the depressed condition of the economy, which has caused problems in this industry and loss of jobs for our members," union negotiations are continuing to "review the problem." Fitzsimmons implied that concessions will be made to the employers. "At that time," his letter said, "we will want you, as officers, to consider this matter."

Many truck drivers are already considering "this matter." Experienced ones who have been laid off. Union officials are careful not to tell the ranks the full scope of the employers' giveback demands. But the days when the Twin Cities Teamster members have already obtained changes in the rules bit by bit. "The owners," the union's representatives, now hope to speed up the process and get the union to authorize wholesale contract changes.

More giveback demands

These changes will really arouse the ranks, far more so than tampering with the forty-nine-cent COLA raise. The rotating workweek and optional starting time foreseen by the contract will mean the elimination of overtime for early-morning, late-night, and weekend deliveries. And what is meant by "elimination of certain pick-up and delivery jobs"? Does this involve the line drivers making drops and pick-ups on terminal ends of their runs? Are more "special commodities" exceptions to the union contract in this way?

No mention is made by top union officials or Teamster publications about "book off" for line drivers, the reduction of rates paid to owner-operators, and abatement of the demand for air conditioned cabs. All these givebacks are demanded by the trucking firms.

The union now claims 240,000 members under the National Master Freight Agreement. Previous reports listed 300,000. This records a 20 percent reduction in the work force. How did this come about?

Growth of nonunion carriers

Some old-line union-organized firms such as Wilson and Viking are being run by someone other than the owner-driver by bankruptcy, while nonunion carriers such as Overnite and Viking are expanding. The Teamsters recently lost the business of the Overnite drivers. No organizing success has been reported on Viking, the large and growing California intrastate carrier.

There has also been an alarming growth of owner-operators and other truckers who are not covered by the union contracts and have no protection. This competition undercut the conditions of union drivers and eliminates many union jobs.

The union has no program to stop the erosion of the National Master Freight Agreement via the "leased driver" practice, a scheme by some of the big carriers to dodge insurance payments, truck maintenance costs, and other overhead business expenses—frequently eliminating drivers with long seniority.

Another industry innovation with deregulation is enlargement of the scope and authority of contract carriers (those hauling under contract for specified companies) and exempt commodities carriers (unprocessed food is a major example of exempt commodities). These carriers are given new rights on backhauls. This is supposed to eliminate dead-head runs and general cargo on their return trips. It will open the way for cut-throat competition, random routes, and an influx of new innovation operators.

Union weakened

None of this has escaped the attention of the Teamster union membership, because they are being ground up in this new process, even though not all are yet directly and personally affected. But there are plenty of grumblings by road drivers who are forced to drive sixty hours in seven days, and sometimes seventy hours in eight days, under the most grueling conditions.

The union says little if anything about these intolerable conditions, and does nothing to correct them. The union officials pretend that this is all a natural part of "life on the road."

But there is evidence to the contrary. Nearly 1,000 drivers were killed in road accidents last year. Union officials do nothing to enforce safety rules, preferring it is not their job. "Leave it to [Teamster Safety Director R.V.] Durban," they say.

How did the Teamsters union lose control over these long-haul jobs to the extent that it had? The present condition did not occur overnight. It took several years for the trucking firms to get the upper hand as they have today.

It began with the "policy of relief" in the form of riders (local contract supplements) watering down the standards of the National Master Freight Agreement. These were given to union members in different segments of the industry and geographical districts. They undermine the principle of a master agreement, which is to set a uniform working condi-tions and standard wages.

First area contract

This practice began to change the character of the union from what it was when the first area agreement was signed in 1934. "Granting riders and relief" to local bosses, the union has begun reverting to a kind of baronial empire like in the old craft period. It was under IBT President Daniel Tobin, before the 1934 Minneapolis strikes and the organizing of over-the-road Teamsters by the Minnesota Teamster movement which was led by Farrell Dobbs and other revolutionary socialists.

The Minnesota Teamsters gave the union its first industrial character with the 1934 strikes in that city. This principle was extended with the signing of the first area agreement in August 1938.

Roy Williams, now an IBT vice-president and Fitzsimmons's designated successor as president, was a Local 41 business agent in Kansas City in the late 1930s. He was one of the small-time local officers and business agents who opposed industrial unionism and the area contract idea. They wanted "freedom" to deal with local firms on their own terms. In practice this meant undermining the general conditions of the area contract.

Williams has never changed in this respect. When Fitzsimmons became IBT president in 1967, he inherited the National Master Freight Agreement from his predecessor, Jimmy Hoffa. Hoffa had not been part of the original area committee in the Midwest but he supported and the principle of the master contract idea, and he later expanded its scope with the first NMFA in 1964.

Fitzsimmons, for his part, allowed the practice of local and area "sweetheart" deals and "riders." It has grown to the point that, according to Forbes, an employer magazine, "right now 80% of Teamster truckers in New York and New Jersey are receiving pay and benefits below the master contract" (Octo-ber 27).

Fitzsimmons tries to hide this pernicious and pervasive practice by writing letters to the local officers urging that they rigorously enforce unexempted sections of the contract, without mentioning the givebacks.

Horse-and-buggy days

The Teamster bureaucracy's present-day practice saps the power of the union. It is a carryover from the old horse-and-buggy days, and if pursued much longer will reduce the union to a relic of those times.

There were always elements in the old IBT who feared the emergence of the area contract principle because it endangered their little local associations.

During the negotiation and signing of the first area contract in 1938 a group of local officers and business agents (Roy Williams was se-cretly opposed it, but was unable at that time to sabotage and destroy it."

The attempt and if that was thwarted it is ex- plained in detail by Farrell Dobbs, the chief union strategist and negotiator, in his book Teamster Power (pages 219-221). He helps prepare for the men and women who are now working in the trucking industry, They will need to organize to fight their way out of that trap in the same way the Minneapolis Teamsters organized in 1934—that is, with a clear understanding of the economic and political forces that bind them and their union.

Further reading

By Farrell Dobbs

Teamster Rebellion 192 pp., price $4.45
Teamster Power 256 pp., price $4.95
Teamster Politics 256 pp., price $4.95
Teamster Bureaucracy 256 pp., price $4.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include $1.75 for postage and handling. $1.00 if order of more than $5.

Phil McCann is a former road driver, now re-tired.

THE MILITANT/DECEMBER 19, 1980

27
By Alicia Merel

CLEVELAND—A Safe Energy Rally was held at the International Ladies Garment Workers Workers Union Hall here November 16 to commemorate Karen Silkwood.

Silkwood is the union activist who was killed in 1974 while seeking to document unsafe working conditions at the Kerr-McGee plutonium plant. The rally here honored her, together unions, feminists, and antinuclear activists. They were urged to unite against the recurring nuclear danger by Dorothy Stass of the Cleveland Coalition of Labor Union Women.

The keynote speaker was Jane Lee from the Three Mile Island area.

Charles Grimm, international nuclear waste coordinator for United Mine Workers District 6, told the rally: “Coal is our immediate way out of current energy woes. This country can get along very well without nuclear power to make electricity.”

Coal can be burned safely and cleanly, he said, through such technological advances as coal washing, electrostatic precipitators, and improved scrubbers.

Rebutting the claim that nuclear power is necessary as a cheap energy source, he said that “more stringent safety requirements could greatly raise the cost of nuclear power.”

The real cost cannot be known, he said, until the cost of safe waste disposal is established.

Gail Bateson, occupational health specialist with the International Chemical Workers Union, spoke on the need to expose the many hazardous chemicals and conditions that workers are subjected to daily.

The Safe Energy Rally was covered by all three network TV stations and by the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

By Linda May Flint

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—Jane Lee, a fifty-seven-year-old dairy farmer who is a collateral opponent of nuclear power, addressed a statewide meeting of farmers in West Virginia, November 17. She also spoke at a meeting at the West Virginia University here November 19.

Jane Lee’s farm is 3.5 miles from the Three Mile Island nuclear plant near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

At the time of her death in 1974, near-miledown there, she began to observe increased health problems among farmers in the immediate TMI area.

She began to document health problems among the farm animals in 1976. Her data show an alarming increase in miscarriages, stillbirths, birth defects, and children’s diseases.

Many coal miners and other unionists had heard Lee at the National Labor Congress for Safe Energy and Full Employment, held in Princeton in mid-October. As a result, she was asked to be a keynote speaker at the state legislative conference of the Coal Miners

Jane Lee, TMI-area farmer, addresses W. Va. coal miners

Evidence of health problems among people increases in miscarriages, stillbirths, birth defects, and children’s diseases.

Many coal miners and other unionists had heard Lee at the National Labor Congress for Safe Energy and Full Employment, held in Princeton, mid-October. As a result, she was asked to be a keynote speaker at the state legislative conference of the Coal Miners

By Flora Norton

MIDDLETOWN, Pa.—The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) held the final public meeting of its TMI-1 Unit Two clean-up procedures here November 19.

The TMI-1 clean-up was the public’s last chance to make comments, ask questions, or suggest changes.

About 100 people attended, including a group of Baltimore residents who charged that the NRC was virtually ignoring concerns of people who live downriver from the reactor.

The NRC Chairman John Abele claimed that “public health and safety is paramount concern to the commission.”

Speaker after speaker challenged this assertion, charging that the NRC is concerned only with the interests of the utility, Metropolitan Edison.

The NRC’s public meetings are “a farce, a circus,” they said.

The residents’ accusations were belatedly substantiated November 20, when a U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that the NRC had violated the law last summer by allowing the venting of radioactive krypton gas from TMI without any public hearing.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission has ruled that community fears and psychological stress should not be considered in its decision whether to restart the supposedly undamaged Unit One reactor at Three Mile Island.

The four-member NRC split two-to-two on the question December 5, but maintains that the vote “constitutes an effective denial.”

Speaker Commissioner Joseph Hendrie: “Congress has already decided that the country is to have a nuclear power program even if it makes some people uneasy.”

By Diane Jacobs

Washington—What’s so super about Superfund, a bill that provides $1.6 billion over five years to clean up toxic chemical dumps? Not much, in its final form. The legislation was passed by the House on December 4 and awaits only the signature of the president to become law.

Superfund was intended as a solution to a national crisis, but it is anything but. We crunched the numbers and found that Superfund will cover clean-up of chemical wastes from just 205 of the most visible and dangerous dump sites.

A billion and a half dollars is not quite enough to tackle the problem. As a spokesperson for the Environmental Protection Agency said, each time a new list of hazardous sites is released, the total number of dump sites is reduced almost at once because of the uncovering of new danger.

For example, Superfund will not cover any medical or relocation costs for the residents of Love Canal.

Nor will it place any sanctions on companies to discourage them from continuing to dump.

The greatest insult to working people is that 12.5 percent of the fund will come out of our taxes, thereby raising the cost of living and the liability of the dumpers to 87.5 percent.

So what will it do? Superfund is a classic piece of bandaid legislation. It will cover clean-up of chemical wastes from just 205 of the most visible and dangerous dump sites.
And you’re dubious about polls?—The AP reports that a special poll of “outstanding” high schoolers found that two-thirds favored draft registration. A majority are against ERA and abortion rights, and 61 percent favor nukes. Also, this same solid poll reported: 94 percent have never used drugs; 89 percent have never smoked; and 76 percent have not had sex.

Heavy stuff—The New York Times reports that Reagan has contributed “about twenty tons” of his personal papers to the ultraconservative Hoover Institute. Two tons? Maybe it includes his movie scripts, like “Bedtime for Bonzo.”

Virtues of free competition—A federal regulation may set a minimum on the amount of cheese required in frozen pizzas, plus labeling to indicate if it’s real or artificial cheese. This followed impounding of a shipment of pizzas with artificial cheese by the state of Wisconsin, center of the dairy industry.

Ethics dep’t—A New York pasta wholesaler advises specialty shops they can boost sales by buying in bulk and cutting up the product in view of the customer. “They don’t have to say it’s homemade,” he said. “They don’t even have to lie.”

Suggestion box—Supermarket shelf-lifting has reportedly been reduced by a subliminal message machine which whispers, “I will not steal—I will go to jail.” And a real estate outfit says it’s boosted sales with subliminal tapes telling sales people, “I love my job.” Next, Muzak for production workers, plus: “I don’t need a raise. I don’t want a raise.”


Modern barbarism

This week’s column is by Kibwe Diarra, a member of United Transportation Union Local 21 at Chessie’s Newport coal pier.

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Eric McGlone is a twenty-three-year-old Black rail worker and Navy vet. Recently he lost one of his legs. The company says it was his fault, that he had worked with more caution, the accident would not have happened.

The truth is that Eric was up against something that stank—something that walks hand in hand with the modern form of barbarism.

The jobs we do cannot be done safely. We ride loaded coal cars weighing up to 100 tons—and most times two cars are coupled together—down a 30 percent grade up to 300 yards long with only the hand brake to stop them.

Our other job is to get the cars moving. To do this, we use a blow-shaped instrument to push them. That’s called “teasing.”

Eric was “teasing” the morning he lost his leg.

These jobs pit human bone and muscle against tons of steel and coal. From the moment our job begins, safety is no more. You do this job over the years without a major lost-time injury more by the laws of chance than anything else.

In seven months we have had at least twenty to twenty-five lost-time accidents out of a work force averaging around 110. Workers with as little as two days, and some with as much as thirty years, have been injured on this job.

Eric was the third worker here to receive a major leg injury. One had his leg broken in three places, another had bone chips removed from the knee area. Back, shoulder, neck, and head injuries have all made their stop here.

Eric and the others owe their injuries not to carelessness, or failure to observe safety procedures, but to a modern form of barbarism, which destroys the minds and bodies of thousands of workers each year.

This company’s method of dumping coal is ancient, as far as technology goes. Totally automated coal dumping yards exist. The technology for them is known and available.

So why do frail humans have to pit themselves against hundreds of tons of moving steel and coal? The answer is readily available.

This company, like other capitalist concerns in America, refuses to put their superprofits to work retrofitting, repairing, and upgrading plant facilities. Profits come before safety.

Workers themselves sometimes have to turn their backs on the real problem. If we argue for better plant facilities or for the latest technology to aid us in doing our jobs, the capitalists answer with plant closings and layoffs, and then blame workers for low productivity.

As a result, workers here and all over America must do our jobs on the brink of disaster every minute of the day, with little hope that things are going to get better.

Eric’s case is not unusual. He was a casualty of the war between workers and the ruling rich.

To make the work place safe to work in, workers need to be in control of the plants. Whenever a capitalist says modernization is too costly or that layoffs will follow modernization, that plant should be nationalized under workers’ control.

If the modern barbarians can’t run the plants safely, efficiently and productively then we, the workers, should run them in our own interests. That should be our battle cry whenever the capitalists mention plant safety, low productivity, or inefficiency.

Union Talk

Modern barbarism

This week’s column is by Kibwe Diarra, a member of United Transportation Union Local 21 at Chessie’s Newport coal pier.

NEW YORK MANHATTAN WHY AN INDEPENDENT BLACK POLITICAL PARTY? A report on the recent Black political convention held in Philadelphia. Fri., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. at 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: $2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 380-9400.


OHIO CLEVELAND PROTEST GREENBROOK VERDICT. KLAN/ NAZI MURDERERS SHOULD NOT GO FREE. A videotape of the massacre will be shown. Speakers: Jim McFarland, member National Lawyers Guild and ThoreAU to Fight Fascism, will report back on conference discussion of the Greenbrook Massacre; C. Daniel Peacock, Greater Cleveland coordinator, Black Political Party; George Chima­ kou, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Dec. 14, 7 p.m. 2930 Superior Ave. Donation: $2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9308.


Texas HOUSTON CONFERENCE IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEO.

PlE OF EL SALVADOR. Speakers, workshops, music: Film El Salvador: Revolution or Death. Sun., Dec. 14, 3-6 p.m. Holy Name Church, 1917 Coch­ ran. Ausp: Houston Committee in Solidarity with El Salvador. For more information call (713) 238-0380.


What's Going On

By Evelyn Reed

This book exposes the antifeminist, pseudoscientific bias that permeates biology, sociology, anthropology, and primatology today. It is a companion volume to Reed's major work, Women's Evolution, which documents the preeminent role of women in the earliest and longest period of human history—prehistoric matriarchal society.

190 pages, paper $3.95, cloth $14.00. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.
Joe Hill

Sixty-five years ago Joe Hill was executed by a Utah firing squad. He had been harassed, threatened with deportation, and framed-up because he was a trade union militant and member of the Industrial Workers of the World. Hill was celebrated for his songs, which dramatize the class-conscious philosophy of the IWW and reflect the spirit and humor of these militants. Many of them—"Rebel Girl," "Casey Jones the Union Scab," "The Preacher and the Slave"—have become part of labor tradition. His parents named him Joel Hagglund. After emigrating from Sweden in 1902, he worked in factories, as a miner, and a seaman. He changed his name after being blacklisted for attempting to organize one machine shop where he worked.

In 1910 he joined the IWW, a revolutionary movement for industrial unionism in the early 1900s. Any wage earner could be a member, regardless of occupation, race, creed, or sex. It didn't matter whether the work was American or foreign born.

"Education," "Organization," and "Propaganda" were the stated goals of the "Wobblies" (IWW). Some of the best educational material the IWW published was in the Little Red Song Book, which they subtitled Songs to Fan the Flames of Discontent. Joe Hill was one of the most talented contributors to this collection.

The Wobblies organized and led such historic class battles as the 1912 textile workers' strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts; the 1913 silk workers strike in Patterson, New Jersey; and the 1916 miners strike on the Mesabi Iron Range of Minnesota.

The government, determined to destroy the IWW, raided its meeting halls, blacklisted and deported its members. Joe Hill was jailed on a trumped-up charge of murdering a grocer and executed on November 19, 1915.

Belying statements that Hill's convictions were non-political were remarks by his lawyer who at the moment) as saying, "We will crush the greedy shirkers one by one..."

Workers of the world, wake up! Break your chains, demand your rights. All the wealth you make is taken by exploiting parasites. Shall you kneel in deep submission from your cradles to your graves? Is the height of your ambition to be good and willing slaves?

Chorus

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation! Fight for your own emancipation; Arise, ye slaves of every nation. In One Union grand.

Our little ones for bread are crying. And millions are from hunger dying; The end the means is justifying, Tis the final stand.

If the workers take a notion, They can stop all speeding trains; Every ship upon the ocean, Will at their command stand still.

Join the union, fellow workers. Men and women, side by side; We will crush the greedy shirkers. With united we are standing...

The attacks on the IWW increased leading up to and during World War I. When the Wobblies took an antimilitarist stand and opposed U.S. entrance into the war. The IWW continued to lead strikes in contrast to the no-strike pledge of the American Federation of Labor.

A Tulsa, Oklahoma, paper wrote, "The first step in the whipping of Germany is to tangle the IWW's. Kill them, just as you would kill any other kind of snake."

Both Joe Hill's sense of humor and unbreakable militancy are captured in his farewell message to IWW leader Bill Haywood: "Goodbye Hill: I die like a true red. Don't waste any time mourning—organize! It is a hundred miles from here to Wyoming. Could you arrange to have my body hauled to the state line to be buried? I don't want to be found dead in Utah.

Joe Hill was one of the most talented and well known contributors to the collection of songs that became the Little Red Song Book, which later became the Union Song Book.

"Emancipation"
The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on general subject of interest to our readers. Please keep your letter brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

If You Like This Paper, Book Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St S. Tel: (334) 232-3079. Send mail to P.O. Box 3382, A. Zip: 35235.

Alcoa: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell, Zip: 35006. Tel: (205) 220-0540.


COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87102. Tel: (505) 842-7729.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 1051 SW 7th St, C. Zip: 33136. Tel: (305) 735-1850.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 709 Peaches St. N. A. Zip: 30307. Tel: (404) 877-7239.


IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352, Zip: 50613.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main, A. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 267-1041.


MIAMI: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 33136. Tel: (305) 735-1850.


NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 508 Peaches St. N. A. Zip: 87103. Tel: (505) 842-7729.

OHIO: Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 22784 Pepper Rd. Zip: 44119. Tel: (216) 879-7500.

ORANGE COUNTY: SWP, YSA, 5321 Gilmore Ave., A. Zip: 92651. Tel: (714) 256-0640.


RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 1322, Zip: 02901.


WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 967 S. University Ave, Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0005.

Behind new crackdown on human rights in Haiti

Exiled leaders: ‘Stop U.S. aid to Duvalier regime!’

By Andrea Baron and Carole Bisson

MIAMI—The Haitian government of President-for-life Jean-Claude Duvalier has rounded up, tortured and jailed at least 200 journalists, human rights activists, and opposition leaders in a sweep of arrests that began November 28. The arrests have led to the virtual silencing of all independent news coverage in the country.

The government has told those arrested that they must leave Haiti and not return. Nine have already come to the United States.


The Haitian government has asked Washington to issue visas for some of the oppositionists and journalists.

The Miami News reports that Secretary of State Edmund Muskie will issue a decision within a week. Washington is clearly backing, however.

As the December 5 New York Times noted, “The decision could have far-reaching implications if it is used as a precedent by the Haitian government to seek political asylum in the United States, where the Government has contended that the oppositionists are economic, not political, refugees.”

There are at least 25,000 to 30,000 Haitians seeking asylum in the U.S.

In addition to the arrests, an anti-government demonstration at Chez le Comte, a college in Port-au-Prince, was broken up by campus police on December 4, according to the Miami News.

A pro-government rally was staged in Port-au-Prince the same day. It consisted of secret police, military personnel, uniformed children excused from school, and people bused from the countryside.

Duvalier said there that the journalists and oppositionists were deported because they “went too far in criticizing the government and its people to the point where it bordered on subversive activities.”

Among other things, Duvalier is referring to the publicity given to the Cayo Lobos incident.

Two hundred and eight Haitians were stranded on the small island of Cayo Lobos early in November. When they were forced to return to Haiti, they refused for fear of imprisonment and murder by the police.

The incident received international news coverage and forced the Haitian government to put on a show for press from around the world. They were in Port-au-Prince to cover the return of the refugees.

The government gave out food, money, and medical attention to the refugees. However, a Miami Herald reporter noted that those dressed as Red Cross workers and refused to let reporters interview the returning refugees.

Some reporters were attacked with clubs, and police beat back a crowd of several hundred Haitians who tried to approach the unloading area.

In an interview with the Militant, Kern Grand-Pierre, one of the newly exiled journalists, explained what has happened since the return of the refugees.

Grand-Pierre is the editor of the Haitian weekly newspaper, Inter-Jeunes. On November 29 most of the staff of his paper was arrested. Grand-Pierre was in the U.S. at the time covering the presidential elections and now cannot return home.

“Now that the foreign journalists are gone,” he said, “the government is free to act. Twenty-one of the people from

Continued on page 24

Grenadian consultations Bay Area

By Jeff Mackler

Oakland—“Mr. Burke, what is the relationship of the Grenadian revolution to Cuba?”

“What does Grenada think of the People’s Revolution in Cuba?”

“What are the conditions that led the Grenadian people to revolt March 13, 1979?”

“What can Americans do to help Grenada?”

These were some of the questions put to Joseph Kanute Burke, Consul General to North America from the Caribbean island nation of Grenada.

His two-week tour of the northern California Bay Area was sponsored by the newly formed chapters of the U.S. Grenada Friendship Society in San Francisco, San Jose, and the East Bay.

Burke addressed enthusiastic audiences at seventeen public meetings in seven cities. There were extensive radio, television, and press interviews.

Burke met with a number of public officials including representatives of Congressman Ron Dellums, who was a sponsor of the new Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport; Oakland Mayor Lionel Wilson; Oakland School Superintendent Ruth Love; Oakland City Councilman Wilson Riles, Jr., and State Assemblyman Elba Harris.

The Oakland City Council and the California state legislature passed resolutions to commend Grenada for the literacy campaign and other social measures. The Oakland Board of Education has sent books to Grenada to help the literacy drive.

Burke took the opportunity of his meetings to express solidarity with the people of El Salvador. He participated in an emergency rally organized in San Francisco to protest the murders of leaders of the opposition in El Salvador.

In San Jose he addressed a rally of 250 people. His talk was translated into Spanish. He explained that the Grenadian revolution was not exported from anywhere.

“The hand that holds the iron knows the beat well,” he said. “The same people who now talk about ‘rebels,’ ‘communists,’ and ‘guerrillas’ never said a word about the oppression of our people.”

At the meetings he explained the priority given by the Grenadian government to education, health care, women’s rights, and workers’ rights. Most of the audiences he addressed were predominately Blacks and Latinos. They were particularly receptive to these reports, in contrast to the cutbacks and attacks faced in the same areas here.

Burke spoke about the important contribution the twelve Cuban medical teams have made to his country. “We lived under British rule for nearly 300 years and there was virtually no medical care for our people. Now we have free medical care for everyone.”

His meetings included colleges and high schools and Black and Latino organizations.

At San Jose City College he shared the platform with Kwame Toure, formerly Stokely Carmichael. Toure embraced Burke and spoke warmly about the Grenadian revolution.

Burke addressed a regular meeting of the San Francisco Central Labor Council. He was introduced by Secretary Treasurer Jabez.

At this meeting he explained that under the dictatorship of Eric Gairy all government workers had to belong to Gairy’s union in order to hold a job.

In Grenada today, he said, “more than 80 percent of our work force is organized. By law, employers must immediately recognize any union selected by the workers.”

He was applauded when he told the seventy union delegates that Grenada had passed laws guaranteeing women maternity benefits and equal pay for equal work.

He also addressed the executive board of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists in the Bay Area, where he discussed the history of the New Jewel Movement, the leadership of the Grenadian revolution.

He was introduced by Black Scholar magazine, which is planning an