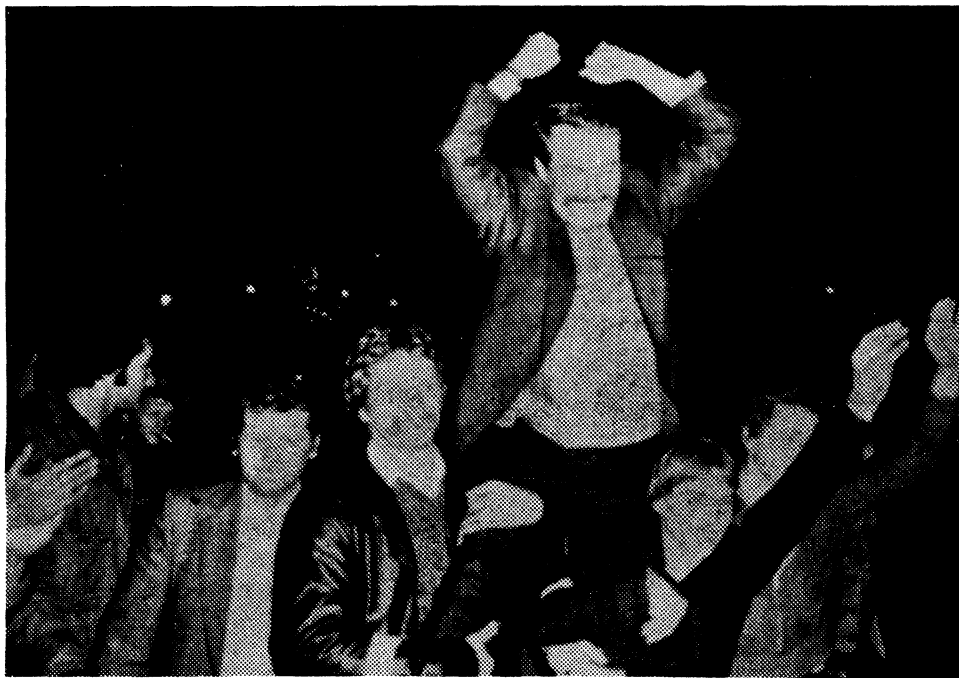


THE MILITANT

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

Poland: a victory for workers' power

Inside: eyewitness report
How Gdansk shipyard workers organized



Top, triumphant shipyard workers carry strike leader Lech Walesa. Below, Silesian coal miners. Their entry into worker revolt put Stalinist regime on the run.

By Andy Rose

SEPT. 3—Polish workers have won an historic victory: the right to organize independent, democratic trade unions, free from the control of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Warsaw regime buckled August 30 on this key issue—the strikers' "Demand No. 1"—as tens of thousands of coal miners and steelworkers in Silesia joined the mass workers' revolt.

The strikers evidently scored major gains on all of their twenty-one demands, including:

- wage increases,
- automatic cost-of-living adjustments,
- release of political prisoners,
- wider civil liberties,
- more food supplies,
- better health service,
- more day-care centers,
- liberalized maternity leaves for working women, and
- the right to a big say in all aspects of national economic planning.

Coal strike

While shipyard workers and other strikers on the Baltic Coast returned to work September 1, the coal miners' walkout spread explosively in response to the deaths of eight miners in an underground accident that day.

In addition to demanding assurances they would be covered by the government's settlement with the Gdansk and Szczecin strike committees, the miners raised their own grievances around safety and working conditions.

They called for an end to Saturday work, abolition of a round-the-clock shift system, "repair of worn-out mining equipment," and "an end to the robbery-like coal extraction policy."

By September 2 more than 200,000 workers were on strike in Silesia, Poland's industrial heartland, shutting down nineteen coal mines and thirteen other facilities. The Silesian strikers set up a coordinating committee, as the

Baltic Coast workers had earlier done, with headquarters at Manifest Lipcowy mine at Jastrzebie-Zdroj.

As described in the September 3 *New York Times*, the strike headquarters "was hung with banners, posters and other accoutrements of the workers' rebellion in the north. Delegates from mines throughout the province arrived to join the protest. 'We are prepared to stay here forever until our demands are met,' one miner told reporters."

Strategic work force

Poland's huge coal reserves amount to the largest energy deposits in Europe after North Sea oil. Coal exports provide 30 percent of the country's hard currency.

The ruling bureaucracy in Poland has been driving to increase coal production—regardless of safety—in order to meet the demands of Western banks for payments on the country's \$20 billion debt.

Last year the government introduced the system of three eight-hour shifts, with miners divided into brigades that work six days on, two days off. The miners explain that this set-up not only denies them regular weekends off, it sabotages safety because of inadequate time for maintenance. In the last three months of 1979, three mining disasters killed sixty-two miners.

Because of the miners' strategic place in the economy, the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy has tried to keep them pacified with above-average pay and more regular supplies of food and other consumer goods. The miners' entry into the current upsurge is sure confirmation of its depth and power.

The government promptly announced it would meet the miners' demands and dispatched a deputy prime minister to negotiate with them.

Agreement broadcast

Meanwhile, the agreement between the government and the Gdansk committee was broadcast in full on radio

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A New Stage In the Battle Against Washington's Secret Police

MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
Socialist
INSIDE

Carter, Reagan, & the KKK

According to the capitalist media, the opening of Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan's fall campaign tours was marked by their vigorous denunciations of the Ku Klux Klan.

In Detroit September 1, Reagan attacked Carter for making his first tour stop in Tusculumbia, Alabama, "down in the city that gave birth to and is the parent body of the Ku Klux Klan."

Carter replied the next day that Tusculumbia was not in fact the birthplace of the KKK. He said he resented "very deeply what Ronald Reagan said about the South and about Alabama and about Tusculumbia."

Neither capitalist candidate said a word about the fact that they both have open Klan supporters running for office in their parties. Democrat Tom Metzger, a Klan Grand Dragon in California, is running for Congress from San Diego. Republican Gerald Carlson, who has belonged to both the KKK and the Nazis, is the GOP candidate for Congress from Dearborn Heights, Michigan. These labor-hating racists feel right at home running in the Democratic and Republican parties.

Reagan, still smarting from the endorsement of his candidacy by a Klan newspaper, says he's "greatly disturbed about efforts to make the Ku Klux Klan an issue in this campaign." Carter also wishes his hooded supporters were a little less obvious.

But as long as bipartisan attacks on busing, affirmative action, abortion, and undocumented workers encourage the racist gangs; as long as Klan murderers can gun down protesters in North Carolina with the help of federal agents; as long as they can shoot trade unionists as they did in Fontana, California, in August—the Klan issue will not go away.

Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, say the Klan and how to combat it is a vital issue for Blacks and all working people.

They point to the recent anti-Klan rally in Fontana, California, as a good step forward in building the kind of movement that can isolate and defeat this reactionary scum. On August 9, 400 people marched to protest the near killing of a Black trade unionist by a racist thug. Steelworkers and Communications workers led the demonstration off. Two Steelworkers officials addressed the rally, making the point that there is no room for the Klan in a union town.

The Fontana rally gives a glimpse of the potential for a powerful anti-Klan movement. And the labor movement could do a lot more if it got out of the Democratic Party—where there's plenty of room for the Klan. Unionists need their own independent party, a labor party, to effectively fight the Klan, to end cop brutality in the Black communities, to defend women's rights and the rights of all working people.

Stalinist smear job

The *Daily World*, voice of the U.S. Communist Party, has a long record of unquestioning support for the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and those in Eastern Europe who are subservient to them. The paper continues this sorry record with its coverage of the Polish workers' revolt.

The headline in the August 30 *Daily World* declared: "Poland public opinion urges strike to end."

The only "public" it could dredge up was Cardinal Wyszynski and two small petty-bourgeois parties that exist at the sufferance of the Warsaw rulers. On the other hand, working-class opinion in Poland was clear. The strike then embraced more than 350,000 industrial and transport workers. And just as the *Daily World* scribblers were portraying the

strike as isolated, it was spreading to include another 300,000 coal miners and steelworkers.

Faced with this massive solidarity and power, the Warsaw regime was forced to concede the workers' key demands. Including independent trade unions, which the *Daily World*, a step behind, was blasting as "antisocialist" and "unacceptable."

The editorial in that day's *Daily World* asserted that fascist groups in Europe were making "new calls" for the "destruction of Poland's socialist system. . . ."

"What," the editorial inquired, "whets the revenge-seekers' appetites so?"

Answer: "It is the efforts of a small but highly-organized anti-socialist faction in the strike committee . . . which demands so-called 'free' trade unions and economic benefits set higher than Poland's economy can handle."

Does the editorial identify this "faction" or explain how it manipulated the workers to strike for "anti-socialist" demands? Of course not.

It would be difficult to do so. In fact, the very same issue of the *DW* reports the democratic decision-making during the strike. It said: "The full discussions [between the negotiating teams] are broadcast to everyone who wants to listen. . . ."

The *Daily World* should explain. Is it antisocialist for workers to demand the right to choose and run their own unions?

Is it antisocialist for workers to demand control over economic planning?

Is it antisocialist to demand an end to bureaucratic privileges?

These demands of the Polish workers are what socialism is all about.

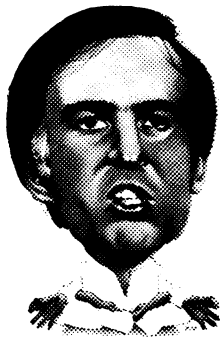
The strikers are not "against the socialist system," declared strike leader Lech Walesa. "We don't want to change the socialist ownership of the means of production, but we want to be the real masters of the factories."

And that's what the editors of the *Daily World* can't stomach. That's why they end up echoing the propaganda theme of the capitalist media, which also pretends that the Polish workers were striking against socialism.

The Polish workers reject both the Stalinist and capitalist arguments. They got rid of capitalism more than thirty years ago. Now they have taken a giant step toward getting rid of the bureaucratic caste that has been such an obstacle to their progress.

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Brown wants SWP off ballot

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8,000 new readers

That's the goal in our big fall subscription drive. Page 8.



Black protests mount

In Virginia, New Orleans, and Philadelphia, demonstrations demand action against killer cops. Page 28.



The Militant

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...Polish workers win union rights

Continued from front page

and television throughout Poland. The full text, including all the strikers' demands and the settlement terms, was also published in major newspapers.

The mood in Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk was reported to be festive as the triumphant strikers resumed work. A banner stretched across the shipyard entrance declared, "Workers of the factories unite."

"We have not won everything that we hoped for and dreamed about," said Lech Walesa, head of the Gdansk Interfactory Strike Committee. "But we have achieved as much as we could under the circumstances, including respect for certain civil rights."

Walesa declared that "just as we have shown solidarity during the strike, so too will this solidarity be maintained as we go back to work."

On September 1 Walesa opened the first office of the new independent union movement. The strike committees are to form the nucleus of these unions. The old Stalinist-controlled unions will also continue to exist.

The government agreed that the new unions can have their own publications, express their views on key economic and social questions, and study "methods of representing the working people."

The right to strike is to be guaranteed in a new labor law.

The agreement recognizes the "leading role" of the Communist Party. But Walesa told the strike delegates, "We have formed these trade unions ourselves. If you are there inside them, as I am, then you can be sure that we won't allow anybody else to have a leading role over them."

Political gains

In the settlement, the government pledged to limit censorship, already successfully defied in the course of the strike, and to allow greater access to the media, including by religious groups.

The regime pledged that the press, individuals, and citizens' groups will be "entitled to examine public documents, particularly those concerning administrations and economic plans issued by the government and its departments."

Another strike demand was for an end to privileges—such as access to special stores—for Communist Party members and cops. When this came up in final talks, the chief government negotiator said, "This is exactly what has been done already."

Negotiations were broadcast throughout the Gdansk shipyard; workers responded to his remark with laughter and whistles. Walesa cut in, "We'll be checking this. That's what the new unions are for."

One of the final demands the strikers held out for was release of all political prisoners. The accord was signed on the basis of government pledges to free those detained. Walesa warned, "If they're not out soon, we'll go back on strike . . . and now we have the right to strike."

The next day, the dissident Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) announced that all twenty-eight of its jailed members in Warsaw, Cracow, and Wrocław had been freed. The status of a few held in Torun was not yet known.

Those released included KOR leaders Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron. Wearing a t-shirt with the slogan "Solidarity"—popular garb among the strik-



New York Times



Miners' strike committee in Katowice checks list of demands

More on Poland. . .

Why Polish victory is blow to Washington and Wall Street. Page 10.
Account of 1970 upsurge. Page 26.
Trotsky on workers' revolt against bureaucracy. Page 27.

ers—Kuron held a news conference to hail the "victory for the workers."

The struggle ahead

The government, driven into headlong retreat by the power of the workers' upsurge, hopes it can limit the impact of its concessions and dissuade the new unions from challenging the bureaucracy's political control. It is sure to make fresh attempts, when it thinks the time is ripe, to whittle away the workers' gains.

In this effort the Polish Stalinists can count on tacit support from the U.S. capitalist rulers. The September 2 *Wall Street Journal* complained that the strike settlement will "fuel inflationary pressures" and fretted that "the new unions may attempt too much too quickly because of the workers' growing confidence."

An editorial the same day in the *Christian Science Monitor*, after a few paragraphs of praise for the "spirit of Poland," got down to the point. It

Continued on page 7

'Genuine representatives of working class'

Following are excerpts from the draft agreement announced August 30 between the Polish government and the Interfactory Strike Committee in Gdansk, as printed in the August 31 *New York Times*.

The activities of trade unions in Poland have not fulfilled the workers' expectations. Therefore, it is considered useful to set up new self-governing trade unions that would be genuine representatives of the working class.

We do not dispute anyone's right to stay in the old union, and in future there might even be cooperation between the two unions.

In setting up the independent, self-

governing trade unions, the Interfactory Strike Committee states that they will observe the Polish Constitution. The new unions will defend the social and material interests of working people, and they have no intention of playing the role of a political party.

They accept the principle of nationalized means of production, which is the basis of Poland's socialist system.

They recognize that the Polish Communist Party plays a leading role in the state and they do not challenge existing international alliances.

They strive to give working people appropriate means of control, to express their opinions and defend their interests.

The Government commission states that the Government will guarantee

the freedom and independence of the new unions in both structure and organization.

The existing strike committees will turn themselves into founding organs of the new trade unions. The new trade unions should have a real opportunity to publicly express an opinion on key decisions that determine the living conditions of working people, the principle under which the national income is divided into consumption and investment, how the social consumption fund (health, education, culture) is divided, the basic principles of income and wage policy, especially the principle of automatic wage indexation in conditions of inflation, long-term economic plans, and investment policy and price changes.

The Government guarantees that it

will insure that the provisions are carried out.

The workers' committee will set up a center for study of social affairs whose aim is to analyze objectively the situation of the workers, the living conditions of working people and the methods of representing the working people. It will carry out expert analyses on indexing prices and wages and will propose forms of compensation. It will also publish the results of this finding and the new unions will have their own publications.

The right to strike will be guaranteed in a law on trade unions that is being prepared. The law will determine the condition under which strikes are organized and proclaimed, methods for resolving conflicts and responsibility for infractions of the law.

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INSIDE THE LENIN SHIPYARD

How Polish strikers organized

The following eyewitness accounts of the occupation of Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk are taken from the French Trotskyist weekly, 'Rouge.' Written shortly before the strike victory, they give a vivid picture of the strike organization and sentiments of the workers.

By Jean-Yves Touvais

GDANSK, Aug. 25—Waiting. Everyone is waiting in an impressive calm. "We're going to win," they say. They're sure of their force, their unity, their rights.

There are several tens of thousands of them around the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, with their families. They are listening to the retransmission by loudspeaker of the discussions inside the factory.

They are bringing money or food for the strikers, sacks full of potatoes or tomatoes. They are going to the gates, which are covered with flowers.

Everyone kisses everyone. Everyone encourages everyone. The children are there too.

All around this immense shipyard a large crowd is waiting for the government to satisfy the demands of the 300,000 strikers in the region. A serious and silent crowd, eager for news.

From time to time, someone throws a batch of leaflets in the air. Everyone rushes forward. A little bit of shoving, but very quickly everything is back in order.

Actually, everyone will be able to read these precious leaflets, even a little bit crumpled up, even badly printed by the sole machine in the factory that only runs off a few hundred copies. Once read, you give them to the person next to you.

Strike bulletin

Since August 23, the bulletin of the strike committee appears daily. In its first issue, the Interfactory Strike Committee (MKS) writes: "We know that the government is doing everything to isolate us. It is also hiding our strike. It wants to prevent any solidarity. It says that we are antisocialist elements, that our strike is political. What we want is to discuss economic problems, our rights. We are not against the regime."

A moderate tone, corresponding to the level of general determination. But, very quickly, as an MKS delegate explained to me, it is understood that these words are already behind the consciousness of the hour.

"For us, the free trade union is the first demand. Then the political prisoners and all our rights. It's not a simple economic question. In the last analysis, if it was only a question of zlotys, everything would have been over a long time ago. But things have to change."

As soon as you discuss a little with these people, as soon as you put foot in the shipyard, that becomes obvious.

Extraordinary organization

Not just anyone can enter. Only the factory delegations and reporters can get through the gates.

The strike committee stands guard. Every visitor, after several checks, receives a pass. It allows the bearer to circulate freely in the factory.

The MKS is headquartered in the offices of the Committee for Hygiene and Safety. Students from Gdansk serve as interpreters, and you can talk with everyone.

The welcome is always warm. Four hundred delegates are permanently there in a big conference room.

Everything is clean. Not one cigarette butt on the floor. The pitchers are constantly refilled with water. A

statue of Lenin is behind the stage.

And on the table, among the flowers, sits a wooden figurine, undoubtedly made by a worker. It shows a laborer with two clenched fists.

Here is the democratic leadership of the strikes: a convention, meeting day and night. Each delegation has the name of its plant written on a piece of cardboard. There are daily shuttles between this room and the various factories. The general organization is extraordinary.

Ask anyone, and they will tell you how every striker can control this movement. For example, a young woman worker in a can factory in Gdansk, which employs 750 workers, 90 percent of them women, says:

"I've been here for six days, and the strike wasn't really decided until yesterday. First the director has proposed to meet the prefect and he designated three delegates himself, without any consultation. Obviously these discussions were useless.

"I came here, and when I went back we elected our committee. Twelve women workers, one per shop, elected by open ballot after discussion. Now there are two of us here, and we report back everything that happens twice a day. As for the director, he's disappeared."

I ask her whether her factory was occupied. She shows me a mandate from the MKS: "We are continuing to work. What we produce is useful for the strikers. We have the permission of the MKS."

In fact, there are several plants like this. The trains that serve the urban concentration of Gdansk, Sopot, and Gdynia run every ten minutes. Often, you see locomotives decorated with Polish flags in a sign of solidarity. Some are on strike, but work so that the strike can last.

Strikers and the church

The loudspeakers regularly broadcast recordings from the day before. A mass presided over in the morning by the bishop of Gdansk is followed by most of the factory. Contemplation, simplicity.

Old hymns are sung asking God for more freedom, more strength. Every evening a shorter religious service is held in front of the main gate at 5:00 p.m.

The support of the church and the pope's letter are highly appreciated. They are interpreted as unconditional support for the strike, whereas the



Strike committee printed leaflets and daily strike bulletin to keep workers and supporters informed, explain demands, refute government lies.

sermon of the bishop of Gdansk on the morning of Sunday, August 24, is more moderate. He, of course, hoped for a victory, but warned against disorder.

A young delegate explained to me for a long time the role of religion in the strike, as he saw it. "I don't believe in God. I have my personal opinion. But I don't think the workers here want the church to have a political role. It's a moral support, an individual question."

We are walking quietly in the shipyard. The sun has come back out after two days of rain. The evening is soft. Here and there, men are sleeping on the grass, or discussing in small groups at the foot of scaffoldings.

The hull of a big cargo freighter under construction is watching us. Immense, immobile cranes tear apart the sky. We go over a bridge. A group of workers waves to us.

"Here you see, the men are calm and relaxed," my companion says. "They are watching over their machines, their shops."

Everything is impeccable. You feel a quiet revolution, sure of itself.

All the delegates I asked confirmed his view of the church. They think that in the future the free trade union will play a large de facto political role, but they exclude this for the church. They only want everyone to be able to think

and believe as they see fit.

"We are very happy with the declarations of the church. That's all," a delegate from another shipyard in Gdansk says to me. He represents 3,000 workers.

I ask the same question of two women delegates from the food industry, all of whose workers are women. The same answer: "The church can help us all the time."

Do you think that one day the religious leaders should be part of the government? "No, No!" It's unanimous. It's the workers, not the church, that should run things. "You, know, the Poles are very religious, but that has nothing to do with our rights."

"All the members of the party are the same. They can't represent us in the government!"

Who then? "Our delegates, those from the free trade union!" The answer comes clearly and without hesitation.

And the parties, are they necessary? "No, the free trade union will be enough."

Gierek speech

And then, in the evening of August 24, around 8:00 p.m., the news is reported. The radio broadcasts the speech of Gierek to the party Central Committee. The change of prime ministers is announced.

Outside, in front of the main gate, three or four thousand people are listening. They are commenting from time to time, amused. Sometimes the transmission is poor.

Strike leader Lech Walesa takes the microphone, and, referring to the microphone, says, "It's on strike too." Applause. No one believes that there's anything new in these discussions.

A delegate from the main shipyard explains to me, "You know, it's like fishing. You throw out your hook with the bait on it and wait. Gierek thinks we are stupid fish. He's wrong. We discussed his speech in my factory, shop by shop, and this is everyone's point of view: The speech, the changes—a lot of hot air! That doesn't change anything."

A woman worker from a fish canning plant says, "I think that the



Strikers at Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. Slogan in middle reads: 'Justice and equality for the entire people.'

government is forced to accept our demands. We should perhaps make a few compromises, but not on the essentials. The most important thing is the free trade unions. We don't know the new prime minister. What's important is what happens here!"

The same sentiment at an electrical assembly factory that employs 1,500 workers. One worker says, "We discussed briefly last night. The governmental commission should come here! It's waiting too long. It's beginning to get on our nerves."

Sometimes the opinion is a little more moderate. Two delegates from a small cement-making factory (140 workers, 90 percent women) tell us: "I don't know the new prime minister, so I can't judge him. But I hope that Gierk is right that he is capable and that he is very familiar with the problem. He should respect us."

What is the main point that has to be satisfied? "The free trade union, of course!"

Solidarity speech

So they are waiting for the governmental commission, confident of victory. From time to time messages of solidarity are read.

Delegates bring money for the construction of a monument in memory of the dead of 1970. A plan for it is posted on the windows of the MKS room.

The number of factories that go on strike each day is no longer counted. On August 24, twenty new delegations came to enlarge the central strike committee. Each delegation is applauded.

"Soon there won't be enough room in this hall anymore," I am told.

A lot of hope is placed in solidarity from the other regions of Poland, especially from Silesia. On August 23, two workers from Tarnowskie Gory, representing committees in a dozen large factories in that region, explained, "We sent a personal letter to Gierk. If the government prolongs the strike in Pomerania [the Baltic Sea region where Gdansk is located], if it doesn't satisfy our demands, we are going out in solidarity September 1."

Another delegation from Swidnik (also in Silesia) reads an identical motion. "I hope that all the Polish miners will say the same thing," my interpreter, a delegate from an electrical manufacturing factory, tells me.

But he adds, too, "We don't want a general strike. It would be too costly for Poland. By refusing to listen to us, the government is wasting \$37 million each day. But if necessary, the whole country will be on strike."

Restore telephones!

On the evening of August 25, at 7:30, the government makes contact with the MKS by telephone and proposes an immediate meeting.

Lech Walesa demands that telephone communications be reestablished with the rest of Poland. No answer.

Walesa goes to the general delegates assembly, which votes unanimously, "No negotiations as long as we remain cut-off."

At 9:00 p.m., a new phone call from the government. "The communications have been reestablished. Can the meeting be held?"

A new precondition from the MKS: "We want you to announce that the discussion will be broadcast over the radio. We also want twenty minutes on national radio and one hour on television. Two delegates from the MKS will negotiate these conditions."

The new prime minister accepts everything, and on the morning of August 26 the governmental commission will come to the factory to talk. The radio will rebroadcast the discussion throughout the region.

Late that night, an old woman worker tells me, "I'm very proud of the Polish workers. I know all of them here. They've been waiting for that for thirty-five years. One thing is sure: I wouldn't want to be in the same place as the new prime minister, because we are going to win."

The workers state their case

By Jean-Yves Touvais

GDANSK, Aug. 26—They should arrive any minute now. For the last hour, a welcoming committee is lined up under the late summer sun. Yellow helmets trace a path through a dense and silent crowd. At the back is Gate No. 1, with its flowers and its flags.

It is 11:00 a.m., August 26. The workers of Gdansk have prepared a first-class welcome for the government [negotiating] commission. But the latter doesn't want any part of it. We soon learn that the commission, packed into a small van, is coming in discretely through Gate No. 2.

With Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Jagielski in front, it crosses the shipyard, but is recognized by the strikers, who watch it calmly and happily.

The discussion takes place in a small room in the MKS headquarters. The reporters can take pictures through the big glass partition, while the delegates follow the discussion, which is piped out into the other room and throughout the shipyard. An example of public negotiations with little parallel in the history of the international working class, but which has almost become commonplace here. Secret negotiations would be impossible.

When the public transmission is halted due to technical difficulties, anger rises inside and outside the factory, and almost breaks down the doors of the meeting room. It is thought that the government has forbidden the loudspeakers.

The deputy prime minister himself requests that everything be put back into order. He interrupts himself and begins again in a few minutes when the transmission—that is, workers' democracy—has been restored.

Everyone feels that the authorities are on the defensive, stammering, getting tangled up in technical details. Joy, even pleasure, brightens everyone's face. The minister patiently listens as the statements of the MKS are warmly applauded.

'Discuss everything'

The delegates go straight to the point: "We want to discuss everything," says Walesa, the chairperson of the MKS. "Let's begin with the first demand, the free trade union!"

The minister hesitates. Then, finally, presents the resolution of the August 24 Central Committee meeting. He adds, "In a few days there will be new elections in all the plants of the region. If they show that the MKS has the majority, well, then it will be necessary to change the union."



WALESA: 'The free trade union means control over economic decisions at every level.'

This is his answer, but he can only give his personal opinion. Actually, it is nothing new.

After the contributions of the various MKS members, the minister requests a ten-minute break that lasts one-and-a-half hours. In the end there will be agreement on the experts commission, which, without prejudicing the conclusions or committing anyone, is supposed to examine the other demands.

What this first public negotiation has revealed above all is the determination and level of consciousness of the strikers, a politicalization that is expressed perfectly by the members of the MKS Presidium. The demand for a free trade union is taking on a more and more political meaning here. This term is being used to indicate above all the hope of a progressive and conscious change, taken in hand by everyone.

Bogdan Lis, a strike leader, is very clear: "We want all the workers' rights, at all levels. [Applause from the workers.] We want guaranteed freedom of activity."

Andrzej Gwiazda, a member of the editorial board of *Robotnik* (Worker), elected to the MKS Presidium, adds, "Here the workers have shown that we are adults. The calm during the visit of the pope was one of the first demonstrations of this period."

"A new trade union independent of

the state and of the government, with its own newspaper, is the only way to get the country out of the crisis. Of course, the economic situation is very complicated. The problems exist at different levels and the workers must be listened to everywhere. Who else can say who is right if not those who work? A new trade union will avoid a lot of errors. The government can't put off its answer indefinitely."

Strike leader Florian Wisniewski, an electrician, says that if the workers have this guarantee of control they can accept certain sacrifices.

"We make unproductive investments. We spend our money badly. The workers, all the Poles, must be able to have what is necessary. Perhaps certain reforms will be difficult, but a free trade union and its control over all the economic activities of the government are the only guarantees of getting us out of this situation. We want all the economic decisions to be taken calmly and conscientiously."

Genuine workers power

Finally, and what most of the MKS delegates with whom I talked insisted on, the free trade union will have all the prerogatives of genuine workers' power.

Lech Walesa explains it using an example. He cites the case of a prefabrication plant that is producing at 50 percent capacity.

"The government decided to build another one right next to it. It's absurd. The plant is useless. Maybe the Central Committee doesn't know that, but we workers see it everyday. The free trade union means control over economic decisions at every level, local, regional, and national. We need a new plan, and that's how we'll do it."

The main thrust of the slogan for a free trade union is the idea that the working class can take responsibility for its own affairs, that it can consciously take charge.

This is what the deputy prime minister heard on August 26. This above all what all of workers' Poland is hoping for.

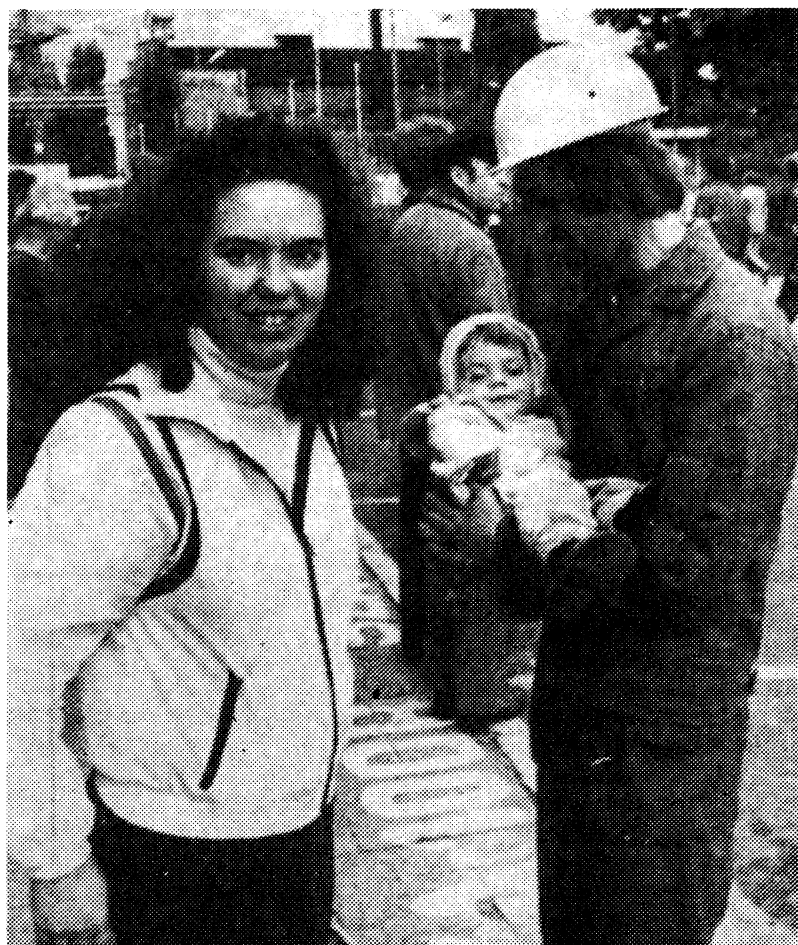
Lech Sobiescek of the MKS Presidium dotted the *i's*, amid thundering applause: "The problem that we have been talking about here concerns all of Poland. We obviously want free trade unions everywhere."

Jagielski: "That's your point of view, not mine. Here we are talking about Pomerania."

Sobiescek: "Don't try to divide us from the rest of the country. If you do that, the strike will become a general strike."



Strikers' families visited shipyards often to bring food and flowers, express solidarity.



Free the political prisoners in Bolivia!

Since the military coup of July 17, the Bolivian dictatorship led by General Luis García Meza has instituted a reign of terror.

Trade unionists, journalists, teachers, religious figures, and political leaders have been detained, tortured, and some murdered. More than 2,000 people are being held and the whereabouts of many is unknown.

During a raid on the headquarters of the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB) by the army, Juan Lechín Oquendo, COB executive secretary, was captured. It is feared that Lechín, one of the most prominent labor figures in Latin America, may have been murdered. Several union leaders are known to have been killed by their captors, including: Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, who was the general secretary of the Socialist Party-1; Oscar Sanjinez, COB general secretary; Eli-seo Clemente, a miner; and Gualberto Vega, a leader of the Trade Union Federation of Mine Workers of Bolivia.

Other trade-union leaders known to be in custody include: Simon Reyes, Max Toro, Victor Lima, Liber Forti, Armando Morales, Nicasio Choque, Noel Vasques, Arturo Villanueva, and peasant union leader Genaro Flores.

Political figures being held include Victor Sossa C. and Eduardo Domin-



Miners in Siglo XX, a center of opposition to military coup. Dictatorship has murdered several miners' leaders.

guez of the Vanguardia Comunista del POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers Party) and Loreley Ballon of the POR (Combate),

the Bolivian section of the Fourth International.

Emergency telegrams demanding the release of all political prisoners

should be sent to the Bolivian Embassy, 1625 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Send copies to the *Militant*.

El Salvador junta arrests union leaders

By Will Reissner

A strike by 1,500 electric power workers in five power plants in El Salvador was broken August 22 when government troops, backed by armored cars, seized the plants. The striking workers, who had blacked out nearly the entire country for twenty-four hours, were demanding the reinstatement of thirty-five union members fired for participating in an August 13-15 general strike.

Seventeen leaders of the power workers were seized by the troops and are now being held in jails in San Salvador, Santa Ana, and Ahuachapán. They face possible sentences of four years imprisonment. Among the prisoners is Héctor Recinos, general secretary of the powerful National Federation of Labor (CNT), which is made up of thirty unions with 50,000 members. Recinos, 34, is also a public leader of the United People's Action Front (FAPU), one of the mass organizations struggling against El Salvador's ruling military/Christian Democratic junta, which seized power in an October 15, 1979, coup. FAPU is part of the Revolutionary Democratic Front

(FDR), which comprises all the major forces opposed to the junta.

On August 19, the Salvadoran National Guard killed twelve agricultural workers near the small town of Las Delicias, 14 miles north of San Salvador. Although the military claimed the twelve were guerrillas killed during an ambush of a government patrol, residents of the area disputed that version of events. They stated that the twelve, including one woman, were in fact local rural workers, not guerrillas.

The scope of the government repression is vividly illustrated by the weekly reports issued by the Judicial Aid Committee of the Archdiocese of San Salvador, which has been constantly monitoring and investigating the mounting death toll.

In its report for the week of August 1 to August 8, the archbishop's office listed 219 people "from the popular and progressive sectors of El Salvador" murdered for political reasons in that week alone. They included 120 peasants and agricultural workers, eighteen students, five industrial workers, three public employees, two high-

school teachers, two journalists, and two small merchants. The occupations of the others were unknown.

Meanwhile, the U.S. government has stepped up its military aid to the Salvadoran junta and to the armed forces in neighboring Honduras and Guatemala.

According to the August 22 issue of the London *Latin America Weekly Report*, the U.S. government has been putting considerable pressure on the Honduran and Salvadoran regimes to settle the border dispute that has kept them at odds since 1969. "US officials are unhappy," the report stated, "about the way Salvadorean guerrillas have been using the *bolsones* [demilitarized areas along the border] as sanctuaries; they believe that until the border issue is settled, the El Salvadorean and Honduran armed forces will be unable to mount joint or even complementary actions against the guerrillas."

"At the same time," the report continued, "the US authorities have been stepping up military aid shipments to Tegucigalpa, largely in response to rumours of an imminent final offen-

sive by the guerrillas in El Salvador. In the last three or four months, shipments of military hardware are believed to have reached unprecedented levels; local sources say that total US military aid to the Honduran armed forces this year . . . will far exceed the official figure of US\$5 m[illion]. Some say it may amount to US\$30 m[illion]."

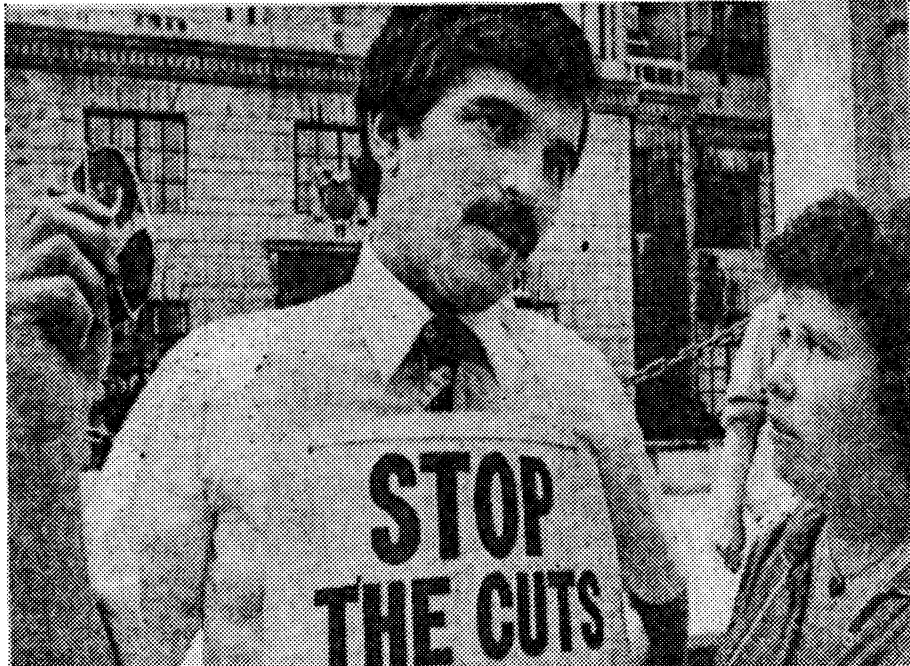
There were reports that during the August 13-15 general strike U.S. soldiers in Salvadoran army uniforms participated in military operations against strikers.

In addition, the August 26 issue of the Berlin newspaper *Die Tageszeitung* reported that, according to the FDR, five U.S. personnel were killed the previous weekend in a fight between guerrillas and government forces in the province of Morazán. If that report is true, it would mark the first known U.S. military casualties in the fighting in El Salvador.

The Pentagon has admitted that U.S. military advisers are training the Salvadoran armed forces in counterinsurgency methods.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Phila. teachers strike



Philadelphia teachers and other school employees went on strike September 1 against cutbacks, protesting city's refusal to rehire nearly 2,000 laid-off workers. Shown here is Philadelphia Federation of Teachers President John Murray.

8 Puerto Ricans jailed

Eight Puerto Rican nationalists, convicted on conspiracy and weapons charges in Chicago July 30, were sentenced August 26 to eight years and 364 days in prison.

The eight are supporters of Puerto Rican independence who are accused of belonging to the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) of Puerto Rico. They are: Carlos Alberto Torres, Alfredo Méndez, Elizam Escobar, Ricardo Jiménez, Adolfo Matos, Ida Luz Rodríguez, Dulcia Noemi Pagán, and Carmen Valentine.

The day of their sentencing, supporters and relatives demonstrated outside the courtroom against this travesty of justice, chanting anti-imperialist and proindependence slogans.

A total of eleven nationalists were arrested in Illinois on April 4. They all demanded that they be treated as prisoners of war and tried by an international court. They refused to participate in the U.S. court proceedings.

On May 23, Haydée Beltrán Torres

was sentenced to life imprisonment on charges relating to a 1977 bombing.

And on August 4, Mary Rodríguez and Luis Rosa were sentenced to thirty years on charges of conspiracy and armed robbery. The judge also slapped on several additional six-month prison terms on contempt-of-court charges stemming from the chanting of Puerto Rican independence slogans in the courtroom.

When the last eight were sentenced, the judge lamented the fact that the law prevented him from imposing longer prison terms.

Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley angrily denounced the sentences. "These fighters for Puerto Rican independence should be freed immediately," he declared. "This government witch-hunt is aimed at intimidating all supporters of Puerto Rican rights, all those protesting the Carter administration's war threats in the Caribbean, all working people in this country."

S. Africa: Black workers take the lead

By Ernest Harsch

Through the expulsion of more than 1,000 strikers and the arrest of a key strike leader, the South African authorities were successful on August 1 in breaking a strike by more than 10,000 Black municipal workers in Johannesburg. With this end to one of the largest and most militant strikes ever held in Johannesburg, the rulers of South Africa heaved a sigh of relief.

But the apartheid regime's labor troubles were far from over.

A few days later, in Secunda, hundreds of Black construction workers walked off their jobs at a vital Sasol synthetic fuel plant for the third time since December 1979. Although the police attacked a large crowd of strikers and arrested several, the workers stood firm, winning a R6.60 a week pay hike. (One rand is equivalent to US\$1.30.)

In Johannesburg, Black bus drivers, who had gone on strike a month earlier, continued to press their demands for a R35 a week raise, plus recognition of their union. Black journalists and other striking workers at the *Post* newspaper won salary increases of up to 28 percent.

And in Cape Town, a widely supported strike by hundreds of Black meat workers entered its third month.

These strikes are only the most recent in a wave of Black labor actions that has been sweeping South Africa for several months. And of particular concern to the South African rulers, the strikes have come at a time of sustained political ferment, which has witnessed the most massive student protests and ghetto rebellions since the uprisings of 1976.

As the most recent strikes were under way, the Black student protests that began in April were continuing in several parts of the country. In Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, and Grahamstown, Black student boycotts against the racist education system had totally shut down the high schools in those cities. Unrest flared in several Soweto high schools, and in Cape Town's Crossroads shantytown youths rebelled and clashed with police, resulting in five deaths.

The militancy of the Black population has become so widespread and sharp that even those Black figures who have traditionally collaborated with the apartheid regime are beginning to take their distance from it.

Botha's scheme

One of Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha's major aims in recent months has been to foster divisions within the Black population—which is composed



South African gold miners

of Africans, Coloureds (those of mixed ancestry), and Indians—through the creation of progovernment councils of African and Coloured collaborators. This scheme collapsed in August in face of almost unanimous Black opposition, even from among those he expected to cooperate with it.

The simultaneous rise in Black political and labor unrest is no mere coincidence. Increasingly, the struggles of Blacks on the shop floor are becoming intertwined with their struggles for political and social liberation.

The audacious Black student rebellions have done much to reinforce the militancy of Black workers in the factories. During the past three months, an estimated 50,000 Black workers have gone out on strike around economic and trade-union demands in every major industrial center in the country.

Auto workers, textile workers, gold miners, electricity workers, street cleaners, bus drivers, clothing workers, they have fought to maintain their living standards in face of rampant inflation. And more and more, they are fighting to organize and win recognition for their own trade unions, independent of government and employer control.

These labor actions, in turn, have strengthened the struggle of all Blacks for their liberation from white minority rule, both by example and by the greater direct participation of Black workers in the ongoing political bat-

ties. Their militancy was dramatically reaffirmed by the June 16 and 17 general strike in Cape Town, when more than 200,000 Black workers downed their tools in solidarity with the student protesters and the victims of the regime's brutal police repression.

Labor 'reform'

Increasingly, Black workers are taking the lead.

They are doing so despite Botha's new labor laws, which were designed to tighten the apartheid regime's restrictions on the Black labor movement.

In 1979, the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act was passed. It provided for the official registration of African trade unions for the first time in South Africa's history. Although billed as a "reform," it was actually intended to increase government intervention in the unions, control their activities, and prevent them from posing any real threat to the apartheid system. It also aimed to isolate and destroy the more militant and independent Black unions.

But no sooner had this new policy been put into effect, than it began to unravel.

In late 1979, hundreds of Black workers employed by the Ford Motor Company in Port Elizabeth went out on strike against the dismissal of their shop-floor leaders, who also happened to be the leaders of the most influential Black political group in the area, the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO).

The direct links between their strike action and the broader political movement against the apartheid system gave the strikers enough strength to force management to back down and

reinstate the dismissed workers. (An interview with Thozamile Botha, the central leader both of the strike and of PEBCO, appeared in the May 26 issue of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.)

Although some of the more recent strikes have been broken through police repression, others have been at least partially successful. In Uitenhage, some 3,500 striking workers at a Volkswagen auto assembly plant won a 27 percent raise in their hourly minimum wage in mid-July.

Around the country, Black workers have launched a widespread organizing drive to build strong Black unions that can represent the interests of the workers and resist the efforts of the government and employers to control them.

Johannesburg strike

The Johannesburg municipal strike was the most dramatic expression so far of the new strength and militancy of these Black unions.

On July 24, about 2,000 Black municipal workers in Johannesburg and the nearby town of Roodepoort walked off their jobs to demand higher pay. The next day the municipal authorities dismissed 1,350 of them. This provoked an even broader strike, and by July 28 some 10,000 Black sanitation, transport, gas, health, electricity, and other workers had joined in.

The strike was led by the Black Municipality Workers Union (BMWU), a new union that had been formed just the month before. By the time of the strike it had already grown to 9,000 members—about two-thirds of all Black municipal workers in the city. One of the strikers' demands was official recognition of their union.

For four days, much of Johannesburg's public services were disrupted. The workers displayed their power.

For the government, the stakes were high. If it gave in to the strikers' demands to recognize their union, workers around the country would have been emboldened to step up their own organizing drives. So the regime stood firm.

Armed police dressed in camouflage uniforms rounded up hundreds of strikers and herded them into unused mining compounds. About 1,200 were packed onto buses and deported to the Transkei and Venda Bantustans, which are desolate and isolated rural reserves. Joseph Mavi, the central leader of the BMWU, was arrested.

The Botha regime displayed the real face of its labor "reforms."

But so far, the government's hard stance has not been able to stem the growing combativity of South Africa's Black working class. As an editorial in a leading South African newspaper lamented, there are "restive times ahead on South Africa's labour front."

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

Forum backs Polish workers



Militant/Andy Rose

Two hundred people jammed the Manhattan Socialist Workers Party headquarters August 30 for a forum in solidarity with Poland. Fred Feldman, editor of *'International Socialist Review,'* hailed the workers' revolt as 'the beginning of the antibureaucratic revolution.' Because of Poland's nationalized and planned economy, he said, 'the organization of independent, democratic unions poses the question of the whole economy coming under control of the working class. . . . The fight of the Polish workers is what Marxism is all about.' Feldman called for spreading the lessons of the Polish workers throughout industry in this country.

...Poland

Continued from page 3

called for "maturity and sophistication" by the workers "as Poland is forced to come to grips with the hard problems lying ahead."

The *Monitor* said the new era "will also require austerity and labor restraint and here is where the workers themselves will be put on the line. . . . will they accept the need for labor discipline, for short-term belt-tightening. . . ?"

The "free world's hope," the editorial declared, is that the Polish workers will "combine their demonstrated political skills with a sense of responsibility."

The evidence so far is that the new Polish unions will be responsible indeed—to the needs of the working class, to the struggle against bureaucracy and privilege, to building a genuine socialist society.

Referring to the opportunities ahead for the new unions, strike leader Florian Wisniewski declared, "We shall go forward like a thunderstorm across Poland, and we shall win."

Further reading...

Books by Leon Trotsky:
The Revolution Betrayed, 314 pp., \$5.45.
In Defense of Marxism, 221 pp., \$4.45.
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Enclose \$.75 for postage.

Subscription drive set

We're out to win 8,000 new readers

By Nancy Rosenstock

For ten weeks this fall, supporters of Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president will be on a drive to win 8,000 new subscribers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Both publications are campaigning for the Socialist Workers Party candidates.

The drive will feature an introductory subscription offer: for only two dollars, eight issues of the *Militant* or five issues of *PM*.

Each new reader will also receive a free copy of the pamphlet, "How I Became a Socialist," by Andrew Pulley, in either English or Spanish.

The subscription drive will run from September 13 through November 15. The first week of the drive will be a national target week, when socialists will go all out to obtain 1,000 new subscribers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

This plan to expand the readership of the socialist press comes during the final, peak months of the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign.

The drive also coincides with a momentous international political event, the battle of the Polish workers for their economic and political rights.

The militancy of the antibureaucratic fight by Polish workers is having an impact on working people in this country, as well as internation-

The first national campaign-subscription team to hit the road this fall has already recruited six new people to the Young Socialist Alliance. Team members Stan Hills and Siobhan Duggan, of the YSA, spent five days in Gainesville, Florida, talking socialism and selling the 'Militant' and 'Perspectiva Mundial.' They passed out hundreds of brochures for SWP candidates Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann. They also spent time explaining what the YSA is all about to a group of anti-death penalty and antidraft activists. A YSA chapter has now been chartered in Gainesville.

ally, and is a continuing subject of discussion in the plants.

The eyewitness coverage of the Polish events provided by the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well as their analysis of the significance of these events, make the subscription drive all the more important.

Home-front issues

The Polish workers' recent victories are an inspiration for U.S. working people who are looking for answers to double-digit inflation, massive unemployment, the threat of war, and reinstitution of the draft.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates will be presenting working-class solutions to all these problems as they tour the country this fall.

And their supporters will be winning people to the socialist ticket by selling the special introductory subscriptions.

Campaign supporters have carried out a big drive aimed at putting the socialist candidates on the ballot in thirty states. In the course of the drive, they have talked to well over a million people about the socialist campaign and the Socialist Workers Party.

The response is enthusiastic. Socialists found deep disillusionment with the Democratic and Republican parties. They found working people were more open than ever to the ideas put forth by the socialists.

That's why Pulley and Zimmermann are winning a hearing as they speak out against the war threats in the Caribbean and Central America and defend the revolutionary developments in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada.



Selling at Caribbean Day festival in Brooklyn September 1. Socialists sold more than 400 'Militants' and twenty-seven subscriptions. Thirty-five people signed up with the Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann. Activists bought \$170 worth of Pathfinder Press literature, especially pamphlets by Malcolm X.

Campaign supporters will be focusing in on solidarity with the struggles taking place in Central America and the Caribbean as they sell subscriptions from one end of the country to the other.

Ringin' doorbells

The major focus of the subscription drive will be a door-to-door campaign in working-class areas.

Socialists who work in the steel, rail, auto, oil, and aerospace industries and in the mines will also be campaigning to sell subscriptions to their co-workers.

Campaign activists will be going to the college campuses, introducing students to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Young people will be especially interested in the socialist candidates' stand in opposition to registration and the draft and the extensive coverage of this in the pages of the *Militant* and *PM*.

The drive to increase the circulation of *Perspectiva Mundial* is particularly important.

PM is a vital tool in winning Spanish-speaking workers to the socialist campaign. *PM* plays a valuable role in getting out the truth about the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean as well as covering the events in the class struggle in this country and other parts of the world.

Armed with Spanish-language literature available from the national campaign committee, socialists will be going door to door in Spanish-speaking communities winning new readers to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Selling introductory subscriptions to Latino students and co-workers will be another focus of stepped-up *PM* sales. Socialists will also be selling subs at political events, especially solidarity meetings for Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Cuba.

Setting PM goals

Most branches of the Socialist Workers Party are taking on separate goals for *PM* subscriptions. Thorough plan-

ning and organization will have to be mapped out to ensure that each branch meets its goal. This may involve organizing separate teams that focus on *PM* subscriptions.

A highlight of the subscription campaign will be the fielding of twenty national subscription/campaign teams. These teams will try to obtain 1,000 of the total national goal of 8,000 subscriptions.

They will be breaking ground in areas where important developments have taken place in the class struggle. Teams will be going to Chattanooga, Tennessee, scene of a recent Black rebellion; to the copper mines in Arizona; to important coal mining areas of the country in southern Illinois, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia; to the Love Canal area, where working people are living through a nightmare knowing toxic waste dumps are seeping into their backyards.

Selling single copies

Throughout the drive, we want to pay attention to single-copy sales, especially at plant gates. During the past two years, we have made progress in these sales. We want to build on this during the fall subscription campaign.

Another aspect of the circulation drive will be sales of the *Young Socialist*, the monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance. This past spring we increased the collaboration of the SWP and YSA on sales of the YS. We want to continue that process this fall, in particular by increasing sales of the YS to young workers in industry. And, of course, the YSA will be in there pitching in the sales of the *Militant* and *PM*.

The final period of the 1980 socialist election campaign, coupled with the ambitious circulation plans, means that the ideas of revolutionary socialism will reach thousands of working people during these fall months.

A second national target week for sales is set to begin October 25, right before Election Day. During this week, socialists will go on a big blitz, distributing campaign brochures, selling subscriptions, and urging people to vote SWP.

Next week's *Militant* will include a scoreboard listing area circulation goals. We urge readers of the *Militant* and *PM* to join us in this effort. Clip the coupons below and we'll send you material along right away. Or contact the socialist campaigners in your area (see directory on page 27).

Order your sales kit today!

Take a regular bundle and subscription kit to sell where you work, go to school, or live. Join other readers in the fall circulation campaign!

☐ Send me the subscription seller's kit (includes sample copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, subscription blanks, copies of 'How I Became A Socialist' by Andrew Pulley, and other socialist campaign literature).

☐ I want a weekly *Militant* bundle of _____ copies. (Cost to you is 45 cents each. You will be billed at the end of the month.)

☐ I want a biweekly *Perspectiva Mundial* bundle of _____ copies. (Cost to you is 45 cents per copy.)

Name _____

Address _____

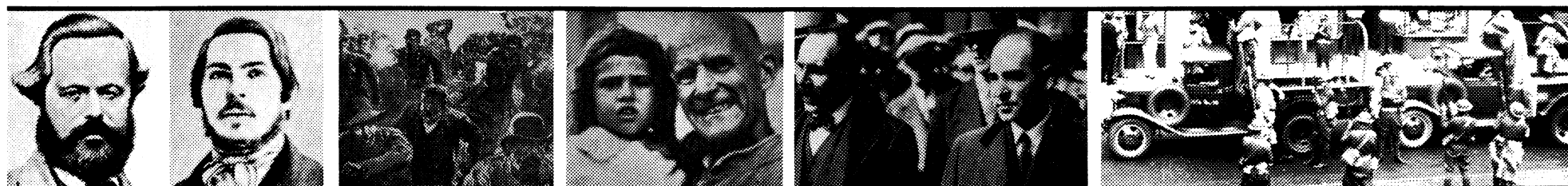
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

Send to: Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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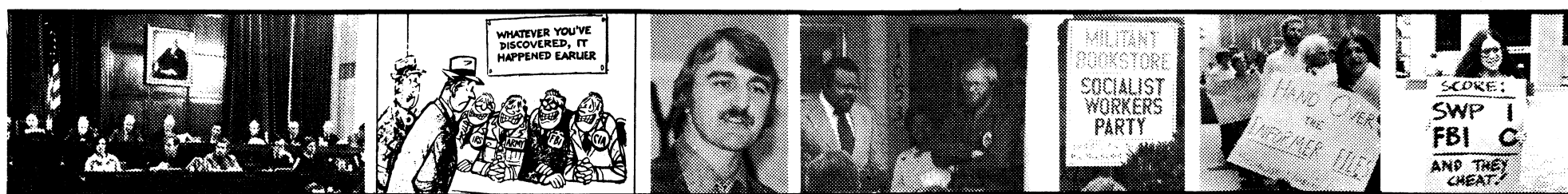
A New Stage



In the Battle



Against Washington's



Secret Police

'The Late Trial at Cologne'

By Frederick Engels



THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Polish revolt: blow to Washington, Wall St.

As they opened their fall campaigning, both James Carter and Ronald Reagan sought to wrap themselves in the flag—the Polish flag. But as the Democratic and Republican candidates praised the heroic struggle of workers in Gdansk and Szczecin, their smiles were even more strained than usual. For they know all too well that the strike victory in Poland is no help to them in their job of convincing American workers to accept austerity, sacrifice, and preparations for war. No help at all.

"The working men and women of Poland have set an example for all those who cherish freedom and human dignity," Carter said in Tusculum, Alabama. But just let some working men and women in this country try it.

Last year shipyard workers in Newport News, Virginia, struck for nearly three months for the right to a union of their choice—the same key demand as in the Polish shipyards. Club-swinging police and attack dogs were unleashed to disperse their pickets and invade their union headquarters. The Newport News workers finally won union recognition and a contract. But it was no thanks to Carter, who never offered so much as a word of support.

Nor has either Carter or Reagan proposed applying in this country the economic terms of the Polish strike settlement. Summing these up, the *Wall Street Journal* said the agreement "paved the way for nationwide, automatic cost-of-living increases and committed the government to costly improvements in health services, increases in the availability of day-care centers, more liberal maternity leaves for working mothers, and perhaps, the eventual lowering of retirement age for workers."

In capitalist America, such demands are "inflationary" and impossible, according to both Democrats and Republicans.

As for the Polish workers' methods in winning these gains—a mass political strike against the government, occupation of shipyards and factories, common bargaining among hundreds of factories in different industries, and open negotiations broadcast to thousands of workers—most are prohibited by law in these democratic United States.

The Polish workers are also fighting for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, for an end to privilege, and for complete public information about the economy so that workers can decide investment policy and how the national income is divided.

If such demands were placed before Carter, Reagan, or any capitalist employer, they would unhesitatingly protest, "This is communism!"

And they would be right.

The big-business news media and politicians feel they must profess sympathy for the Polish workers, because they know that's the

heart-felt sentiment of all American working people. By posing as champions of the Polish strikers, the U.S. rulers hope they can blunt the full impact and example of this working-class struggle.

They twist it to try to reinforce anticommunism by falsely identifying the repressive Stalinist bureaucracy as Marxist and communist. But the more the facts about Poland become known—what the strikers are doing, saying, and fighting for—the more such efforts fall flat. As Flora Lewis of the *New York Times* conceded in a September 2 column, "the workers were, in effect, demanding more socialism," not less. Can anyone pretend that the aspiration of the Polish workers is to hold a giant auction and sell off the publicly owned mines, shipyards, docks, steel mills, factories, and railroads to private capitalist owners?

The fact is that the Polish workers have set the most powerful example yet in any industrial country of how to fight back against the capitalist austerity drive. How can this be, in a country where capitalism was overturned in the years after World War II?

The nationalized and planned economy in Poland has made possible great advances in industrialization, modernization, and living standards. However, political power is in the hands of a Stalinist bureaucracy modeled on that in the USSR—a bureaucracy that maintains its own privileges by preventing the workers from democratically controlling economic decisions.

Bureaucratic mismanagement, waste, and inefficiency have led to economic stagnation, shortages, and inflationary pressures in Poland. Rather than turn to the organization and knowledge of the workers to deal with the problems, the bureaucracy sought a way out in huge loans from the capitalist banks. Poland's debt to Western banks has soared from \$760 million in 1971 to \$20 billion in 1979.

The Stalinist bureaucrats based their plans on the assumption that the world capitalist economy would thrive and expand for decades to come.

They counted on repaying the loans by steadily increasing exports to the West.

But world capitalism was hit with recessions in 1974-75 and 1979-80. Poland's export markets shriveled. Western banks demanded repayment, with interest in full and on time. The New York bankers and the Warsaw Stalinists agreed on where the money could come from: out of the living standards of the Polish workers. Food subsidies would be cut and prices of necessities raised. The privileges of the Polish bureaucrats would, of course, be safeguarded and even increased.

In Poland just as in New York City, just as at Chrysler, just as around the world, Washington and Wall Street demand that workers sacrifice so that the banks can continue to profit. And the Stalinist bureaucrats act as a transmission belt for the pressures of world capitalism, just as the trade-union bureaucrats in New York and in the United Auto Workers are acting to transmit and enforce capitalist demands for worker givebacks.

This was most baldly admitted in an article in the business section of the August 31 *New York Times* under the headline: "Strikes in Poland: The Risk for Western Banks." It

stated that "both the Communist authorities and the capitalist bankers recognize a convergence of interest in stability—so much so that one Western banker who asked not to be cited by name said that if the Russians actually did intervene in Poland, the nation's creditworthiness might actually increase."

Behind a facade of sympathy for the Polish workers, a *Times* editorial August 24 also signaled the real attitude of the U.S. rulers. It began by noting that what's happening in Poland is a "genuine revolution by workers." It observed that the strikers "have already formed workers' councils, the embryo of a parallel government," and pointed to the crucial role of such councils—called soviets in Russia—in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

"Recurrently, from the days of the Paris Commune in 1871 to the Hungarian Revolution in 1956," the *Times* editors continued, "workers have sought social regeneration through committees that owed little to café intellectuals." It even threw in a few kind words for Rosa Luxemburg, the famed Polish revolutionist.

Then the clincher: "What the Baltic workers are doing now in that tradition is a brave, proud and, alas, probably hopeless gesture," the *Times* said. "... In present circumstances, Washington can do little to help the Polish strikers."

To its mass audience of students, teachers, and white-collar workers, this editorial tries to convey that the cause of the Polish workers is noble but hopeless. To its ruling-class audience on Wall Street, in the government, and in the capitalist "think-tanks," the real message will be clear: *This movement in Poland is the movement of our historic class enemy.*

When the *Times* says it's too bad we can't "help" the Polish strikers, its capitalist readers are immediately reminded of how they "helped" the Paris Commune—by drowning it in blood. Of how they "helped" the Russian soviets—by sending nineteen foreign armies to try to crush them. Of how they "helped" Rosa Luxemburg—by arranging for her murder.

The message is: We the capitalists can't give that kind of help in Poland today. We're not in a strong enough position in the world to do it. So we had better hope the Polish government and Moscow can do the job.

The gains won by the Polish strikers are grim news indeed for world imperialism, no matter how much the capitalist media try to pretend otherwise. The Polish workers have set an example for their brothers and sisters around the world of how to use working-class power. They have told the world that workers must see into every aspect of the economy and make the decisions, that's the way to solve economic problems.

The Polish struggle shows the true face of Marxism and communism, a face that will be attractive to American workers. It will help break down anticommunist prejudice, not heighten it. It makes it harder for Washington to get workers to support the draft and the war drive, harder to whip up hatred against the workers states.

Like the rising working-class struggles from El Salvador to South Africa, Poland shows that capitalism's day has passed. Stalinism, which once looked so powerful, is in decline. The future lies with the workers of the world.

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ISR cover photos. Left to right. Top row: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Haymarket massacre, Sacco and Vanzetti, National Guard raid on Minneapolis Union headquarters 1934. Middle row: Franklin Roosevelt, J. Edgar Hoover, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, James Kutcher, Fidel Castro, Malcolm X, SWP files suit against government. Bottom row: Watergate hearing; Cartoon on FBI cover-ups; FBI spy Edward Heisler; Andrew Pulley, left, and campaign supporters; demonstrations against FBI spying.



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A New Stage In the Battle Against



Militant photos by Robert Allen, Glenn Campbell, and Diane Wang

Washington's Secret Police

By Larry Seigle

The following is based on a report by Larry Seigle, a member of the Socialist Workers Party Political Committee, presented August 7 at the Socialist Educational and Activists Conference in Oberlin, Ohio.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are opening a new stage in our fight against the FBI. Important new battles are going to be fought in connection with our lawsuit. Because of what is coming in the months ahead, this campaign will become a more prominent and central part of our activity. And there will be new opportunities to build the party and YSA because of our role in this historic fight against the secret police.

1848: The Fight Begins

This case has a long history, much longer than we usually think of. Like so much of what we are discussing at this conference, our fight against the FBI has its roots in the period around 1848, when the modern communist movement began in Europe. That was when the industrial working class first entered the political arena as a class, with a vanguard consciously charting a course in its historic interests. And the ruling classes responded with, among other things, the unleashing of police spies, agents provocateurs, and political frame-ups.

Our court fight today continues the fight waged by Marx and Engels, beginning in 1848, against the series of frame-ups of leaders of the Communist League, including successful defenses of Marx himself. These led up to the notorious Cologne trial in 1852, carried out in the wake of the defeats of the 1848-49 revolutions. All the police methods we see today came to light there: the accusation of illegal conspiracy based solely on political ideas and activities, the false testimony of informers, mail covers, and police forgeries. I think even the original "black bag job" took place in preparation for that frame-up.

Our fight today has many parallels with the fight by the German Social Democratic Party against the Anti-Socialist Laws in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The party fought for the right to function openly, as a legal party. And it refused to begin acting as a conspiratorial

society even when forced into illegality.

Our war with the FBI today is in a direct line of descent from the fight that the Bolshevik Party and the entire Russian workers movement waged against the Okhrana, the tsars' FBI, which fielded an army of informers against the working-class movement. When the Russian workers finally got their hands on these informer files—it took a revolution to do it—they found records of almost 40,000 agents provocateurs. That was the first time in history that the entire account of a secret police operation, including its spy and disruption efforts, fell into the hands of the working class.

Our fight against the political police also has, of course, a long tradition in this country. It includes the national campaign against the execution of the Haymarket frame-up victims, the battles against the Pinkertons and other labor-spy outfits, and struggles against police and KKK racist terror against Blacks, Mexicanos, and Asians. Another early chapter was the crusade by the Wobblies, the Industrial Workers of the World, to establish their right to free speech on the street-corners. It was a pre-World War I equivalent of our fight today to establish the right to petition in shopping malls.

Our heritage also includes the fight against the arrest, trial, and imprisonment of Eugene Debs and other antidraft and antiwar fighters in World War I. It includes the fight against the anticommunist and anti-immigrant witch-hunt and deportations known as the Palmer Raids (named after then-Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer). It includes the fight against the monstrous frame-up and murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, and countless other cases of political persecution aimed at the working-class movement.

Preparing for World War II

All of this forms part of the pre-history of the current battles with the secret police. Things didn't begin to take shape as we know them today until the end of the 1930s, on the eve of the war. This is when our case begins.

Roosevelt was replacing the New Deal with the War Deal, as the imperialists prepared to subject humanity to the second world slaughter. As the U.S. capitalists got ready for war against their rivals abroad, they also prepared their offensive against the working class and against Blacks and Chicanos at home. Their aims were to silence all opponents of the war drive, to channel all motion toward a labor party back into the two capitalist parties, and to make working people

accept the necessity of sacrifice. All struggles for improvements in wages and working conditions, or for an end to racial discrimination and segregation, had to be subordinated to the needs of the imperialist war.

Because they knew there would be opposition to this course, the employers decided on a big expansion of the FBI, unleashing it as a political police force. Before this period the FBI was not primarily a political police force. For five years or so after World War I it had assumed this function, beginning around the Palmer Raids. But by the mid-'20s, after widespread protests over FBI actions, and with the decline of the labor radicalization, the capitalist government decided against a federal secret police agency. They relied instead on city and state cops, who had set up "bomb squads" and "radical divisions," and on their intimate connections with the network of private detective agencies.

These private cop operations had already amassed considerable experience in running spies and provocateurs against the labor movement, Black groups, and radical organizations. Moreover, they were less restricted than the federal government in the crimes they could commit with impunity.

Among these antilabor outfits was the Pinkerton Detective Agency. It got started in the 1870s when Allen Pinkerton succeeded in infiltrating labor spies into the organization of Pennsylvania coal miners known in the capitalist press as the "Molly Maguires." On the basis of falsified testimony from Pinkerton finks, nineteen coal miners were hanged and many others sentenced to long years in prison.

In 1936 there were some 230 private labor-spy outfits providing stool-pigeons and other services to the corporations. There was at least one spy in each of some 41,000 union locals then organized, it was estimated.

The FBI is Unleashed

But with the rise of the CIO and the deep-going labor radicalization, the rulers knew that their war drive would require this whole operation to be centralized, upgraded, and brought directly under federal government control. In September 1936, J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI, acting under instructions from President Franklin Roosevelt, informed all FBI offices that "the Bureau desires to obtain from all possible sources information concerning subversive activities being conducted in the United States by Communists, Fascists and representatives or

advocates of other organizations advocating the overthrow or replacement of the Government of the United States by illegal methods."

By 1938, the Foreign Agents Registration Act was passed and Congress set up the Special Committee on Un-American Propaganda Activities (the "Dies Committee"), forerunner of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The thought-control Smith Act and the Voorhis Act would be adopted in 1940. On September 6, 1939, Roosevelt issued a public statement instructing "all police officers, sheriffs, and other law enforcement officers in the United States promptly to turn over to the nearest representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation any information obtained by them relating to espionage, counterespionage, sabotage, subversive activities and violations of the neutrality laws." The FBI established a General Intelligence Division in Washington, hired more agents, and began expanding its political informer network. The next year, FBI field offices were instructed to recruit or place informers in each of the nation's "war plants." By 1942, 23,476 finks were reporting on labor and radical activities in 4,000 factories and mills.

Although we didn't then know the secret moves that were being made to expand the FBI, we saw the results immediately. In the Teamsters union in Minneapolis and throughout the central states region, union militants began to be framed up, arrested, and convicted. In each case, the prosecutors relied on testimony from informers and agents provocateurs. In his books *Teamster Politics* and *Teamster Bureaucracy* Farrell Dobbs records the direct intervention by the FBI, beginning with the 1939 frame-up of Teamster leaders in Omaha, Des Moines, and Sioux City, Iowa.

Smith Act Trial

This antilabor police offensive culminated in the 1941 Smith Act trial in Minneapolis, in which eighteen leaders of the Teamsters union and of the Socialist Workers Party were convicted and imprisoned for our political ideas. The government had three objectives.

First, to purge the labor movement of rebels who wouldn't buy Roosevelt's war drive and militarization, and who were campaigning against it.

Second, to wipe out the stronghold of union democracy represented by the Minneapolis Teamsters, whose leadership was spreading class-struggle methods throughout the Midwest and educating workers in the need for political independence.

Third, to drive the Socialist Workers Party underground, to make it impossible for our party to function openly, to make us give up our public existence and accept illegality.

Although with the outbreak of the war the capitalists were able to accomplish a good measure of success on the first two, they totally failed in their third objective.

So the large-scale entry of the FBI into the political arena began around 1938, the same year our party was founded. They have been harassing us ever since. All we can say in our defense is that we have been harassing them for an equal period of time—and now, finally, we are getting the better of it.

After the Smith Act convictions all of this continued. During the war, the *Militant* was banned for a time from the mail. After the war came the antilabor, anticommunist witch-hunt, beginning with the establishment by the Truman administration of the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations, an official government blacklist. Our party appeared on it from the beginning. We saw the long, vindictive government effort to victimize our comrade Jimmy Kutcher. Passports were denied to SWP leaders in an attempt to disrupt not only our party but the Fourth International, by preventing us from presenting our point of view at meetings of the International. Our comrades were witch-hunted out of the maritime industry.

In the early 1960s three YSA members were indicted for sedition in Bloomington, Indiana. In 1969 several of our comrades and other GIs were arrested for antiwar organizing at Fort Jackson, South Carolina. It took a nationwide defense campaign to free the Fort Jackson Eight. One of those young GIs, who became an undying foe of the political police, was Andrew Pulley.

These political police operations have continued right down to today with the Immigration Service's attempt to deport Héctor Marroquín—a move which we say, with total confidence, will not succeed!

Watergate & Capitalist Democracy

All of this brings us to 1973, when our suit against the FBI was finally filed, a century and a quarter after the fight got underway. Sometimes it's easy to forget how far we have come in the seven years since we first took the FBI to court, and how much we and others who have fought alongside us have accomplished.

In 1973 many of the crimes of the FBI were still secrets. We did not know in 1973 that the FBI was routinely—just about on a weekly schedule—burglarizing the headquarters of the party and homes of SWP members. We suspected they might be doing something like that, but we didn't know it. And of course, we had no evidence. We had no proof. We had never heard the term "mail cover," nor had we any idea what it consisted of or how it worked. We had no indication that the FBI tape recorded all of our conventions. I, for one, never even suspected they systematically pawed through our garbage cans, in what we now know is termed a "trash cover."

No one outside of the government had ever heard of the FBI conspiracy called the "SWP Disruption Program," or any of the other Cointelpro operations. No one knew how much the FBI had hounded Martin Luther King; that they had vowed to eliminate Malcolm X; that they had waged a war of disruption, infiltration, and frame-up against the American Indian movement and the Black Panther Party; that they had used their agents provocateurs to disrupt the Communist Party by planting evidence smearing loyal CP members as agents—a technique known in the FBI as "putting the snitch jacket on."

No one knew then that the FBI had been intimately involved in the preparation for the murderous police raid on the Black Panthers in Chicago, when the cops emptied their guns into the body of Fred Hampton as he lay sleeping in his bed.

White House Plumbers

None of that was known back in 1973. That was the height of Watergate. Every day the newspapers were full of revelations about the outrageous acts and criminal deeds of Nixon and the White House "plumbers" against the Democratic Party, liberal groups, and critics of Nixon's Vietnam war strategy. The Watergate crimes were presented to the American people by the capitalist press and politicians as a terrible aberration caused by an evil and unbalanced Richard Nixon.

We had the TV spectacle of the Congressional Watergate hearings, where the bipartisan orgy of hypocrisy broke all previous records. The Democrats and Republicans joined hands in "rescuing the Constitution" from the would-be tyrant Nixon. In reality they were engineering the real Watergate cover-up: the pretense that normal capitalist government functioning has nothing in common with the methods of the Nixon gang.

The labor bureaucrats tagged along, echoing the refrain that workers' rights would be secure if only Nixon were removed. The Communist Party and the entire petty-bourgeois left also accepted the framework presented by the ruling class. With more radical-sounding verbiage, they threw themselves into the debate over whether Nixon should be forced to resign or be impeached. Some of the more impressionable even went so far as to confuse bringing down Nixon with bringing down the government.

Class Perspective

Our response was the opposite. We rejected the notion that Nixon alone was the problem. We said Watergate-style crimes show the evolution of the institutions of capitalist rule and the two capitalist parties that sit on top of them. We said that the decisive question is how to advance the labor movement, the Black movement, the Chicano and Puerto Rican movements, along the road toward working-class political action independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. That is the only kind of political action that can defend democratic rights against the capitalist government and its police agencies.

Our lawsuit and the campaign we launched to win support for it were part of this class perspective. They were designed to dramatize the truth of what we were saying by forcing out before the American people some of the truth about the secret police.

Our suit was also an example of how to take advantage of the contradictions that occur under bourgeois democracy and use them to defend and expand democratic rights.

In launching our educational campaign around this case we stressed a number of points. First, we said that the measures used by Nixon's plumbers—bugging, break-ins, frame-ups, and "dirty tricks," were based on the methods the FBI and CIA have been using all along.

Second, we pointed out that their main enemy is not liberal groups like the Americans for Democratic Action or the American Civil Liberties Union—although they become victims of these methods too. The main target of the secret police is the working-class movement—the unions, the organizations of the oppressed nationalities, and socialist groups, including the SWP and the YSA.

Third, we insisted that there is a close connection between the methods and aims of U.S. imperialism abroad and the methods and aims it uses against opponents of imperialism and of capitalism at home. You can't have a government that carries out a foreign policy that tramples on human rights and human values, commits unspeakable acts of violence and even genocide, overturns elected governments, subverts democracy—you can't have a government that does all that abroad and doesn't do essentially the same thing at home.

The methods revealed by Watergate were not an aberration, we argued. Watergate merely lifted a corner of the democratic mask concealing the true face of capitalist rule. That was what had been exposed. The use of secret police, informers, agents provocateurs, frame-ups, disruption efforts, and all the other things, are not incidental to capitalist rule. They are not secondary, not optional. They are permanent, basic, and essential.

Democracy: Form and Content

This does not depend on the form of the capitalist state or the type of regime. We often say in popular explanations that the FBI uses police-state methods. This is true, of course. But the FBI methods are also the necessary methods of the political police under a bourgeois democracy. Think about this—the United States is not under fascist rule. It is not a police state. It is a bourgeois democracy. Among the most democratic of capitalist regimes anywhere in the world. Yet we have here this massive undercover repressive machine, an army of secret political police.

This undemocratic, repressive mechanism is part of the real content of capitalist democracy. That is why the workers movement must constantly fight for its rights against this mechanism, fight to uncover it and get out the truth about it.

Marx explained over and over again the difference between the democratic forms and the real content of democracy under capitalism. Bourgeois democracy, like the capitalist economy, is built on formal equality between workers and capitalists. You are free to be exploited and the capitalist is equally free to exploit you. You and Rockefeller have equal rights to go to the free market and sell what you possess in order to make your fortune. You each have the same right to sell the commodities you possess. You have only your labor power; Rockefeller has "his" oil, "his" coal, and a few other things that he has acquired from your unpaid labor.

The same inequality in content exists in the protection of basic rights, such as free speech, free press, freedom of association, equality of opportunity, and the right to privacy. These rights are, in form, guaranteed to everyone under the Constitution.

Free elections exist—for the Democrats and Republicans; workers parties often can't get on the ballot.

Free press is guaranteed—to the owners of the capitalist media; others can't afford the price to make their views known to tens of millions.

Freedom of association is guaranteed—but for the working class it is real only to the extent that the labor movement fights for and wins the right to assemble and organize unions and political parties.

Equality of opportunity exists—for those with money, education, and training. For Blacks and Latinos, for women, "equality of opportunity" is a hoax.

The right to privacy is guaranteed to the capitalists. Their financial records, true earnings, real holdings, and speed-up plans are

shielded from public examination by laws protecting "business secrets" and corporate records. But the workers know no privacy from the bosses and their government, who amass files on our personal lives, our jobs and incomes, our political activities, even our opinions.

Beneath the forms of freedom and equality, the reality is that under capitalism all the social, economic, and political questions are decided by a tiny minority, with total contempt and disregard for the rights and needs of the great majority.

1973: 'It's Better to be Plaintiffs'

We said all these things when we launched the suit. And we said something else, too. This was an audacious move. It was even more audacious than we fully grasped at the time, because we underestimated how far we could take it.

Our decision to proceed was based on sizing up

They always lose. And they deny themselves the opportunity to use the courtroom to take advantage of some of the contradictions between the letter and reality of justice under capitalism and, most importantly, as a forum from which to reach working people with their ideas and explain the justice of their cause. We reject this ultraleft approach.

Some of the best and most effective propaganda has been made by revolutionary fighters from the prisoner's dock. Marx, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Trotsky, Cannon, and Castro are among the examples. What we saw was an opportunity to fight for our rights in court not as defendants but as prosecutors of the FBI and CIA and the whole rotten gang. And we can now say, to paraphrase actress Mae West: we have been defendants and we have been plaintiffs, and all in all, being plaintiffs is better.

So we proceeded. We had the good fortune to have as our chief attorney Leonard B. Boudin, without question the most able and dedicated Bill of Rights attorney in the country, who has been the general counsel for the Socialist Workers

through the lies about Vietnam, they had lived through the police brutalization of the minority communities, they knew about the lies and continual cover-ups about Watergate.

Under this pressure, deepgoing tactical divisions persisted within the ruling class. And as a result the stories about the real crimes of the CIA and the FBI began to come out. The tales about Nixon's plumbers paled in comparison. Assassinations, reactionary coups all over the world, "destabilization" operations, payoffs and bribes to corrupt politicians and bloody dictators on five continents. And similar methods in this country. This had to follow. If you conspire to assassinate Fidel Castro and sabotage the Cuban revolution, you're going to do whatever you can get away with to the defenders of the Cuban revolution in this country. It makes total sense that the same people would conspire to assassinate Malcolm X. Massive disruption programs, blanket surveillance, wholesale violations of the Bill of Rights. It all began to emerge.

It would be a foolish exaggeration to say that our suit caused this to happen. Broader forces,



WASHINGTON'S TARGETS. 1886, Haymarket bombing is used to frame up and execute leaders of struggle for eight-hour workday. 1943, Socialist Workers Party and Teamster leaders are taken to prison for opposing imperialist war. 1964, Malcolm X is assassinated, FBI role still unknown. Fidel Castro, target of countless CIA assassination attempts.

the shift that was occurring in the relationship of class forces on a world scale, and the long-term tactical problems and divisions that this would keep producing for the capitalist class. The move we were making in 1973 could not have been made with success twenty, ten, or even five years earlier. We had to go through the Vietnam War, the end of the long economic expansion, and Watergate and all that went with it, before we could consider doing what we have done.

What was involved was a small party of revolutionary Marxists going up politically and legally against the secret police. Taking them on directly and aggressively. We know that a small group, with the right ideas, with the right degree of self-confidence, and with the right timing, can have a huge impact. A small organization acting in a bold way in the interests of an entire class can set an example and inspire broader forces to move. We decided that this was a good time to go after the FBI. And everything we said then is more true now.

In taking this initiative, we had to reject two arguments. The first was that by taking on the secret police we might provoke them into going after us. It would be like waving a red flag at the bull. The answer to that is we are always waving a red flag at the bull. And if the bull isn't coming after us in every way it can get away with at the moment, we're not doing something right, because that is the nature of us and that is the nature of the bull.

Promote Illusions?

Second, a question was raised by some critics of the party, as well as a few friends. Won't this initiative just promote illusions in the bourgeois courts? Can a revolutionary Marxist party really utilize the courts to advance our aims?

The answer to that is there is nothing new about using the bourgeois courts. Marxists have been in and out of courts ever since 1848. The working-class movement long ago rejected the approach of the syndicalists, such as the IWW—an approach being used today by, for example, the accused members of the Puerto Rican FALN indicted in Chicago—of turning your back on the judge and the court, refusing to put up a defense because you reject the authority of the capitalist courts. These are people we admire for their courage and for their dedication to a cause we support, but not for their courtroom strategy.

Party and Young Socialist Alliance for many years.

We sat down with our legal staff and drew up what lawyers call a complaint, in which you outline your case. In the complaint we charged that the government, the FBI, and other secret police agencies have been involved in a conspiracy since 1938 to disrupt the SWP. (Remember, we had never heard of the "SWP Disruption Program" at that time.) We charged that this conspiracy involved the use of informers, burglaries, blacklists, wiretaps, bugs, mail openings, and other illegal acts. We charged that the cops collaborated with right-wing terrorists in physical attacks against the party and the YSA. We put into this complaint everything that we could think of, everything that the history of the workers movement since 1848 shows that the secret police do.

We filed the suit on July 18, 1973. At first it didn't make a big splash. It seemed to most people to be peripheral to the exposés about Nixon's gang. It took some time before people saw that the lurid activities of the plumbers were peripheral to the illegal war against us and others that has been waged for decades by the entire non-plumber, "legitimate," secret police apparatus.

Bombshell

But we now know that inside the government, in the Justice Department, at the FBI, inside the White House, our complaint hit like a bombshell. Because as it turns out, *it was all true*. Exactly, precisely, true. Every "wild accusation" that we put in the complaint hit home.

The government's response, we now know, was to set in motion an entire new conspiracy. A conspiracy to cover up the truth. Coordinated moves were undertaken to counter the suit. Government officials lied repeatedly in court. They plotted to obstruct the suit, to defy court orders, to disguise even the documents that they had to turn over, to censor out the relevant parts.

Politically, they were trying desperately to confine the revelations to the Nixon White House. "Nixon's the one," they said. Get rid of Nixon and everything will be fine. But by the time they got rid of Nixon, they couldn't contain it. There was too much: too many crimes, too widespread distrust of the methods and objectives of the government, of the institutions of capitalist rule. The American people had gone

including the deep public loss of confidence in the truthfulness of the capitalist government, were responsible for it. But it would be equally foolish to underestimate the central role that our initiative played in forcing all this to light. Because of the timing, because of the aggressive ways we pursued it, because we were so right about the charges and had the goods on the FBI, because we correctly judged the scope of the shift in the world relationship of class forces against the American exploiters and the resulting tactical divisions and disorientation, we played a central role all the way through this.

One of our main contributions was inspiring other victims, especially leaders of the Black movement, to do the same thing, to fight back against the FBI. We also charted important new constitutional ground, in a case that has already gone three times to the court of appeals and twice to the Supreme Court—before even coming to trial.

'Venting' the FBI & CIA

The ruling class faced a tough problem. The FBI and the CIA were becoming discredited. Millions of people no longer believed that they told the truth or that they were in the business of defending democracy. This was a problem because the capitalist class *must have* an effective political police force. They had to find a way to strengthen the FBI and the CIA, to refurbish them, to make them operational once again.

So they decided, just as they had been compelled to do at a certain point with Nixon, to cut their losses. They opted for letting some of the truth come out, so as to be able to cut short the disclosures, reverse the process, contain it, and put the secret police back into fighting condition. They decided it was necessary to temporarily "vent" the FBI and the CIA. And that's when the big revelations took place in 1975 and 1976.

Sensational congressional hearings were held. There were revelations in the press day after day. And a substantial part of this involved our party. Revelations in our case got big coverage. We were on national network news a number of times. The courtroom where our suit was being heard in New York became an arena in which at least part of the truth was laid before the American people. The SWP and YSA became known throughout the country, to millions, as organizations that know how to fight, that understood the

importance of democratic rights, and that are not afraid to take on the FBI.

This added up to an historic gain for our movement in this country.

One of the obstacles the ruling class had to overcome was resistance inside the ranks of the FBI itself to this new course. Some FBI agents refused to quietly take the rap for the crimes. "We were just carrying out the assignments you gave us," they said. And a little more of the truth came out this way. Sometimes the rulers even had to play a little rough with the FBI, to turn it into the kind of political police force they need for the 1980s.

Just like attack dogs, these FBI agents trained in the 1940s, '50s, and '60s didn't respond well to unaccustomed commands to heel. Many couldn't restrain themselves. They kept talking like it was still the 1950s. So there was a bit of housecleaning, and it wasn't all amicable. In fact some of it was literally bloody.

Of course, the capitalist politicians and news media presented all of these revelations with their own twist. It's all in the past, they said. It's all over. Finished. Nixon's gone. J. Edgar Hoover is safely in his grave. The "turbulent times" of the 1960s are behind us.

New Cover-ups

Then, in the autumn of 1976, came a new turning point. The attorney general publicly announced that he was directing the FBI to terminate its investigation of our movement after nearly forty years. This is part of the new cover-up, a lie built on top of other lies. They never ended the investigation. They shuffled some papers and relabeled some files. They made some tactical retreats. We made them back off a little, but only temporarily. And the FBI certainly doesn't think we are less of a threat to them than before.

After this announcement, all of a sudden, there was an end to the publicity about our case. Newspaper, television, and wire service reporters all told us that word had come down from their editors, "no more big play to the SWP case." And, like magic, the revelations on the FBI and CIA crimes were no longer topics of interest to the big news media. That's the "free press" in action.

We were able to break through the news blackout on more than one occasion because such important things kept happening. Especially the contempt-of-court citation against Attorney General Griffin Bell for defying a court order to hand over to our attorneys a representative sample of eighteen informer files. But even then there was no editorial outcry about how bad it was that the nation's top law-enforcement officer was openly defying the court. None pointed out that Bell's challenge to the Constitution was more serious than any move Nixon ever made. Nixon never openly refused to comply with a court order.

Instead we got the editorials in the capitalist press explaining the need for an "informer privilege." We really must have informers, to use against the drug pushers, the Mafia, and foreign agents, they argued. Bell was painted as courageous for defying the law for this sacred principle. He was willing to risk jail for his beliefs, they said. He was even compared to Martin Luther King!

And, of course, Bell was eventually upheld by the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court. The judges based their ruling on a novel but simple legal doctrine: the attorney general is above the law! Another lesson in bourgeois equality before the law.

Role of Liberals

In this campaign to restore faith in the FBI and CIA, to make them stronger and more effective, to convince people that the crimes are over, a crucial role was assigned to the liberals. This was easier because after 1976 the Carter administration, a Democratic Party administration, was in office. The Carter Justice Department went to work to get the liberal ACLU, and others who speak in the name of civil liberties, to cooperate in this process. They all agreed that new "restraints" must be put on the FBI and CIA.

They came up with new controls on wiretapping, for instance. The liberals said, "Wiretapping is bad. But sometimes you do need wiretapping because you have organized crime and foreign agents and drug smugglers," and so on and so forth. So they agreed on a reform: no wiretapping without a court-approved warrant. Then they said, "But you can't expect every judge to under-

stand all these sensitive cases, so we'll set up a special court to issue the wiretap warrants. And, of course, this court can't be public, because people being wiretapped would know about it, so we'll do it in secret. We'll have a secret court."

And they set one up.

There is today a secret federal wiretap court. You can't find out who's on it. You can't find out where it is. You can't find out when the government comes to make a request for wiretaps. It is called the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court. The only thing we know is that this court has never turned down a government request for a wiretap! This is a great liberal reform. If we continue like this we may get a special informer court, to issue warrants for informers. Maybe we'll even get a special "black bag job" court, to issue warrants for FBI burglaries. Then maybe the CIA will get a special court to authorize assassinations.

Another side of this new relationship between the FBI and the liberals was being worked out more or less behind the scenes. This involved the outcome of many of the lawsuits that had been filed, almost all of them after we filed ours. The success we had and the revelations about FBI crimes led to a number of suits, many of which were modeled on ours.

After the so-called "end" to the investigation and the proclamation of new "guidelines" for the FBI in 1976, and after the Carter administration took office, these suits began to be settled out of court. We were not totally surprised by this. As we have reported in the *Militant* and to our conventions in the past, the government had also approached us to negotiate a settlement of our suit. We pursued this because if we can settle the case to our advantage, we want to do it. There is no political principle involved. If we can get a favorable ruling, it makes no difference whether it comes from a judge after a trial or from an agreement with the attorney general before a trial. We'll do what we can to get the most mileage along the historic line of march of our class.

When we pursued the negotiations with the Department of Justice, however, we found that they weren't really offering anything. If we would drop the suit, they would settle the case for a token amount of money and make a solemn statement that from now on they would abide by the law. But they have to say they abide by the law anyway. So this did not strike us as much.

Blessing the 'New FBI'

As it turned out, others had different reactions. A large number of out-of-court settlements have been arranged. By and large they add up to part of the cover-up.

The first tentative step in establishing this pattern was a settlement reached in December 1975 in a suit brought by the American Friends Service Committee and Philadelphia Resistance, pacifist groups that had been targeted by the FBI. The agreement includes provisions like this: The FBI will not . . .

"subject the individual plaintiffs to photographic or physical surveillance *without reasonable cause* . . .

"subject the individual plaintiffs to electronic surveillance except as specifically permitted by court order or under circumstances where such surveillance is permitted without court order under the Fourth Amendment[!]"

"enter the homes or offices of the plaintiffs or limit their freedom of movement without a warrant . . . unless such warrantless action is preceded by the existence of sufficient evidence that will support a warrantless entry or limitation of freedom in accordance with the provisions and application of the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States." (My emphasis.)

The plaintiffs were paid \$1,600 for their costs in filing the suit, and dropped all their claims.

Maybe there are circumstances here we don't know about. Maybe the case was very weak, maybe the AFSC and the Resistance group couldn't afford financially to sustain it, or maybe some other factors were involved. But the settlement itself, agreed to by the plaintiffs, is nothing more than a license for the FBI to do all it has been doing—only now with the victims' apparent consent.

Jane Fonda Settlement

More recently, in April 1979, Jane Fonda reached an agreement with the FBI to settle her case. The FBI had sought to disrupt her career and defame her because Fonda uncompromisingly spoke out against the Vietnam War and took other explicitly radical positions. The Fonda settlement is based on the "FBI Guidelines," which were put into effect in 1976. These "guidelines" are supposed to define narrower grounds for deciding whom the FBI can "investigate,"

and contain mechanisms for periodic review—by the FBI and the attorney general!—of the FBI's disruptive and spy techniques. As you might expect, the drift of the "guidelines" is that, from now on, the FBI will obey the law.

The settlement of the Fonda case states that



these guidelines "would have precluded the Domestic Security Investigation of plaintiff in the form in which it was conducted" (my emphasis). It goes on to list the following "points of understanding":

"1. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is not now conducting and will not in the future conduct a Domestic Security Investigation of plaintiff *except as may be permitted* by the Attorney-General's Guidelines for Domestic Security Investigations, effective April 5, 1976 and as they may be modified by Act of Congress or the Attorney General.

"2. Domestic Security Investigations as described in Paragraph 1 above will not employ any technique designed to impair the lawful and constitutionally protected political conduct of plaintiff or to defame her character or reputation. . . .

"4. Electronic surveillance of the oral or wire communications of plaintiff in the course of any Domestic Security Investigation shall be conducted in accordance with applicable Supreme Court law . . . and applicable Acts of the Congress. . . ." (My emphasis.)

Fonda and her ACLU lawyers agreed to drop the suit without any payment of damages, and to waive any and all claims she might have had for anything the FBI did to her. Often under capitalism, of course, you have to settle for less than what you are entitled to. The settlement in the

Fonda case, however, is quite a bad one from the standpoint of the enemies of the FBI. It is a disservice that is all the harder to accept because it is inconceivable that Fonda and the ACLU had to throw in the towel because of a lack of financial resources. It is more likely that Fonda, a liberal and a Democrat, really does have confidence in the "new FBI," believes it has a legitimate role, and wanted to do her part to add to its authority.

Chicago Suit

By far the worst settlement, from our standpoint, is one that has not yet been signed, but is now being negotiated, in the *ACLU v. Chicago* case. We are obligated not to keep silent while these negotiations are under way because this is a case in which we are among the plaintiffs. This suit (actually two suits that have been consolidated) was filed by many organizations in Chicago that were victimized by the vast campaign of terror, abuse, spying, and disruption waged by the FBI, the Chicago cops, Military Intelligence, the ultraright Legion of Justice, and other cop forces.

Among other things, this campaign included numerous terrorist attacks carried out by Legion

only does this proposed settlement contain the usual empty assertions, but it goes further. It contains language whose only purpose is to lend political credence to the FBI's new image, thus opening the way to deepening abuses and attacks.

Let me read you a few of the key passages:

"With respect to the FBI, the Attorney General's Guidelines governing Domestic Security Investigations became effective approximately six months after plaintiffs' first Complaint against the federal defendants was filed. Initially, and for several years, plaintiffs were deeply concerned by ambiguities and omissions in these Guidelines, and by serious questions as to how they would be interpreted and implemented, and indeed as to whether they would remain in effect at all. Plaintiffs had similar concerns relating to the other Guidelines and procedures promulgated by the federal defendants after the Complaint was filed.

"However, plaintiffs' extensive discovery concerning the interpretation of the Guidelines by the Department of Justice and the FBI during the four years since their promulgation has persuaded plaintiffs that the Guidelines and other post-filing laws and procedures governing the FBI afford a reasonable basis upon which to settle this litigation. In arriving at this conclusion, plaintiffs take particular note of the following:

"(1) Both in the Chicago area and nationwide, there

the same kind of information (reports on political meetings and demonstrations) obtained by the same means (informants) as had been the case before these investigations and files were 'closed'. However, plaintiffs' discovery of FBI files indicates that these objectionable dissemination and indexing practices have been discontinued since late 1977....

"(4) Plaintiffs' discovery indicates that the number of investigations under the Attorney General's Guidelines relating to Civil Disorders has been even smaller than the number of investigations under the Domestic Security Guidelines.

"(5) Plaintiffs' discovery also indicates that the FBI is conducting only a relatively small number of foreign counterintelligence investigations of domestic groups and individuals associated with them. Although the number of these investigations is somewhat larger than the number of domestic security investigations, these mainly [!] involve international terrorism and the Communist Party, U.S.A. and related groups and individuals. Plaintiffs' discovery further indicates that these investigations of the Communist Party, U.S.A. and related groups and individuals are not simply a relabeling and continuation of the 'domestic security' investigation of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which was terminated in late 1976."

This, of course, is a colossal lie. It amounts to making the victims co-conspirators in the cover-up. The ACLU and others are being drawn into this campaign to convince the American people that the "new FBI" deserves trust and confidence. We have formally notified all sides that we will not be party to this or any similar settlement.

By watching the role of the ACLU lawyers, you get a good lesson in the difference between liberals and principled civil libertarians. There are some supporters of capitalism—liberals and conservatives alike—who are consistent defenders of civil liberties, what we could call democrats with a small d. We have all met individuals of this kind, and we value their integrity and their principled stands. But they all suffer from terrible contradictions.

Those who support the Democratic or Republican parties support the deadliest enemy of democratic rights. Those whose allegiance is to the capitalist system support a system that can survive only by denying democratic rights to the oppressed and exploited. These contradictions are becoming more and more acute as the class polarization deepens and the rulers intensify their offensive against workers' standard of living and rights.

It's not just that liberals are "unreliable" allies of the workers in the fight for democratic rights today. They are our opponents. The liberal defenders of American imperialism were the architects and engineers who—during and after World War II—built the entire worldwide machinery of spying and counterrevolution that became the CIA. It was the liberals who set up the original "loyalty" programs, blacklists, and other key building blocks of the witch-hunt that led, among other things, to the cold-blooded judicial murder of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for the crime of being Communists and Jews.

The working class, with its most oppressed sectors—oppressed nationalities and women—is the social force with a real stake in defending democratic freedoms to the end. The liberals want various reforms—some that extend and some that restrict democratic rights—in order to preserve capitalism. The working class wants democratic rights protected and extended so that we can live without "Big Brother" spying on our political and personal lives, and so we can untie our hands to fight for our interests and to fight to bring a workers government to power.

So in this area, too, we can rely on a variation of the slogan of Augusto César Sandino: "Only the workers and farmers will go all the way"—in the fight for democratic rights. This is fundamentally why our party has been able to play such a prominent role, a role out of proportion to our size, in the fight against the FBI and CIA, while others with more resources have been inconsistent and hesitant.

Their Settlement Offer . . . and Ours

Now I want to report to you the latest attempts by the government to get us to go along with this pattern of betrayals of the fight for democratic rights.

From time to time we have met with officials in the Department of Justice to discuss the possibility of an out-of-court settlement. We have thoroughly pursued this possibility, and will continue to do so. If the government would recognize in legally binding form our rights as a legal political party, and would agree to a reasonable

Documents reveal how FBI misused the press
Disclosures about the misuse of the press are contained in internal documents released under a Freedom of Information Act request by the International Herald Tribune on July 23, 1973.

U.S. Socialist Party Sues Nixon, Mitchell, Etc., for \$27.5 Million
NEW YORK, July 22 (Reuters).—The Socialist Workers Party has filed a \$27.5-million suit against President Nixon, Vice President F. D. Mohr, and other officials.

INVESTIGATES BURGLARY
F.B.I. Informer Reportedly Stole Data From Socialist Workers Party Office
By JOHN M. CREW
WASHINGTON, July 27, 1976
The Justice Department's investigation into a July burglary of the Socialist Workers Party office in New York City has revealed that an informant had stolen data from the party's files.

FBI Burglar Testifies He Did A Job on Socialist Workers
By JOSEPH VOLZ
NEW YORK, July 27, 1976
A former FBI informant who testified that he had burgled the Socialist Workers Party office in New York City has admitted that he had stolen data from the party's files.

B.I. Is Linked to Thefts of Socialist Workers Reports Last Year
Following article was written by John M. Crewdson, a New York Times reporter, and Nicholas M. Horrocks, a New York Times reporter.

Judge Accuses F.B.I. of Providing 'False' Data to Socialists
By ARNOLD H. LUBASCH
A federal district judge in Manhattan declared yesterday that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had provided "false" information regarding a major investigation of the Socialist Workers Party against the FBI and other government agencies.

When socialist lawsuit was filed in July 1973, public attention still focused on Nixon and Watergate hearings, lower left. But as revelations mounted, the actions of Nixon's unofficial plumbers paled in comparison to official government crimes against socialists, labor, and Black movement. At news conference announcing SWP and YSA suit are attorney Herbert Jordan, Andrew Pulley, Leonard Boudin, and 1972 SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness.

FBI May Have to Surrender Files on Informants in Suit
Judge Calls Data 'Absolutely Crucial' to Socialist Workers Case; Agency Sees Release as Devastating
BY DONALD J. OSTROW
NEW YORK—A federal judge has ordered the FBI to turn over its files on informants in a lawsuit filed by the Socialist Workers Party. The judge called the data "absolutely crucial" to the case.

The Washington Post
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August 8, 1976

A 38-Year Probe Of Marxist Group Backfires on FBI
Agency Is Airing Its Dirty Laundry
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Justice goons, with active cooperation from Chicago cops and political police. The 113th Military Intelligence Group based at Evanston, Illinois, provided the Legion with mace, tear gas, electronic surveillance equipment, and money. Chicago cops provided protection for the raids and burglaries. In return, the Legionnaires turned over to the cops and the army the files, cords, and books they seized in the raids. In November 1969 our headquarters in Chicago was invaded by Legion members armed with clubs and mace. Several comrades were injured. Another raid targeted an apartment that was the SA headquarters in DeKalb, Illinois. Men wearing ski masks and armed with tire irons and mace attacked the comrades, beating them and robbing them. One of the potentially most deadly attacks took place two days after the brutal assassination of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. On December 6, 1969, some thirty cops, some with guns drawn, stormed into the Chicago SWP and YSA headquarters, claiming they had received "anonymous tips" that a shoot-out was in progress. Fortunately, they could find no pretext to open fire. Others were victims of similar police tactics in this period.

Now a settlement of the combined suit is being worked up by the ACLU and the Justice Department. From the draft we have seen, this is shaping up into an unconscionable betrayal. Not

has been a dramatic reduction in the number of FBI domestic security investigations since the Guidelines were promulgated. . . .

"(2) This significant reduction in the number of domestic security investigations reflects in large part the manner in which the Attorney General, his Office of Intelligence Policy and Review (and formerly the Investigation Review Unit), and the FBI have interpreted and implemented the Guidelines for Domestic Security Investigations.

"The Attorney General initiated the implementation of the Guidelines by disapproving ten of the first nineteen full domestic security investigations of organizations upon which he made a determination. Among the domestic security investigations he discontinued were those of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party, U.S.A. . . .

"(3) Even though most domestic security investigations were thus 'closed' under the Guidelines, plaintiffs were nonetheless deeply troubled by the FBI's practice—which continued in the Chicago Field Office until at least mid-1977—of routinely disseminating informants' reports to 'closed' or 'dead' domestic security files on persons named in the reports, and/or indexing such persons to the reports. The result of this practice was that the FBI continued to amass domestic security files and index cards on persons who could not be 'investigated' under the Guidelines. Plaintiffs discovered a number of 'closed' and 'dead' domestic security files in the Chicago Field Office which, during 1976 and until mid-1977, continued to be expanded by

payment in compensation for its past crimes, we would settle. Keeping this case alive is enormously expensive, and consumes considerable resources. A settlement would avoid the additional burdens of a trial and, inevitably, years of appeals before a final judgment would take effect. We also know we may have to settle for less than we are entitled to, or would like to get. For all of these reasons, we have seriously pursued the concrete possibilities of a negotiated settlement.

The most recent discussion took place in July. At this meeting, the government officials encouraged us to go along with the pattern of settlements I have just described. Everyone else is accepting this pattern, they said. We just don't understand why you won't go along. In stressing this, they were revealing a real problem they have. They really do need us to accept the settlement pattern. Because of the legal and political role of our case, because it is so well-known, because of its sweeping character, we are a major obstacle to their whole plan. If we don't go along, the whole thing doesn't work, and may come apart.

We explained that this pattern of settlements was totally unacceptable to us. We made a counterproposal for them to consider. We submitted a draft of a settlement we could accept. It's a lengthy legal document, but it boils down to two points:

First, we want them to affirm in court that what we advocate, what we say, the ideas that we stand for, are legal and protected by the Bill of Rights. This includes our resolutions, our campaign platforms, the ideas that we promulgate, the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Castro, and so on.

Second, they must agree in court that what we do is legal, that is, putting the ideas into practice, here and abroad. Building a revolutionary party is an activity protected by the First Amendment. These two points, after all, are what this case has been about from the beginning.

There is no secret about either our ideas or our actions. The ideas we advocate are published and available for all to read and evaluate. As Marx and Engels said, we communists disdain to conceal our views. It's all up front. There are no secret plans or programs.

Our activities are no secret either because the FBI has compiled a detailed record of everything we've done for forty years. We consider that to be a violation of our rights. But since they've done it, since the detailed written record of it exists, we propose to turn it around and use it to our advantage. We defy them to come up with a single act or statement in the forty-plus years in which the FBI has been spying on every meeting, every discussion, every demonstration and rally, and has bugged every gathering of the leadership of the SWP and the Fourth International. We defy them to produce evidence of a *single* act not fully protected by the Bill of Rights.

So we said, if the government will agree, in formal court papers, to the simple proposition that every person in this country has the democratic right to advocate the replacement of capitalism with socialism and to work to bring it about, and that they can't be prosecuted or harassed or "investigated" by the FBI because they exercise that right, then we will be happy to sit down and discuss how much money the government has to give us to compensate for their past violations.

We are awaiting their response to this simple and straightforward proposal. We hope it will be positive.

An Agent Exposed

In the time I have left, I want to report three victories that we have won in the past two months.

- First is our victory in uncovering the Heisler disruption program.
- Second is the beginning of the uncovering of the ongoing conspiracy to obstruct our case and conceal the truth about the FBI's crimes from us and from the court.
- And third is our success in beating back some government moves to send our comrades to jail for contempt of court.

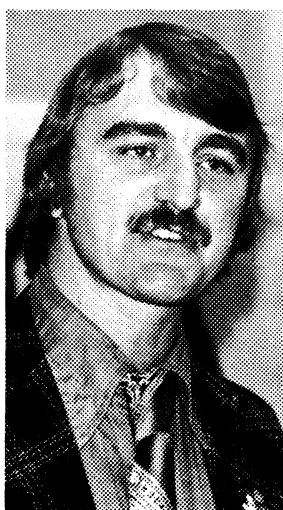
As we have already reported to the party branches and all members, Edward Heisler informed us by letter in June that he has been a paid informer for the FBI. According to his story he became an informer in 1966 and ceased being an informer in 1971. All indications are, however,

that Heisler was an agent when he joined our movement in 1960 and that he continued his disruptive activities right up until the day he acted, for reasons still unknown to us, to reveal his cop role to the party.

Edward Heisler joined the YSA in Milwaukee in 1960. He came from a working-class family. He first came to our attention when he started publicly challenging and debating an ultraright-wing outfit he had been drawn around. He moved to Chicago in the early 1960s, where he stayed for more than a decade.

In Chicago Heisler went to work on the railroad. As a member of the United Transportation Union there, he played a prominent role in the movement that developed among rail workers between 1969 and 1971 to win the right of the membership to vote on union contracts. The UTU Right to Vote Committee, of which Heisler served as secretary, won active support from thousands of rail workers, and received the endorsement of hundreds of UTU locals in the United States and Canada. At the 1971 UTU convention, delegates supporting the right to vote on contracts came within a hair's breadth of getting a majority.

In 1974 he was the party's candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois. At the SWP convention in 1975 he was elected an alternate member of the National Committee. In 1977 he was elected a



HEISLER



MALINOVSKY

regular member of the National Committee, and reelected again in 1979, our last convention.

In 1975 Heisler moved to New York and worked on the staff of the party's 1976 presidential campaign committee. During 1977 he worked out of the SWP national office as a member of the national trade-union coordinating committee of the party.

At the end of 1977 he was assigned by the party to go back into industry. He moved to Chicago. Heisler requested and we agreed that he was to have no assignments and no contact with the Chicago branch because he said he feared he had been blacklisted on the railroad and wanted to maximize his chance of getting hired. He reported that he was unable to get a job on the railroad. After about a year, he moved to Los Angeles, where he also failed to get back on the railroad. In Los Angeles for the past year and a half, under the guise of one medical problem after another, he has been relatively inactive.

What are the lessons of this experience for the party? These lessons aren't fundamentally new. The working-class movement, and the communist wing of the workers movement in particular, has faced finks and provocateurs since 1848. We have been through this before. Marx and Engels wrote about the police agents' dirty work, and explained in depth what type of people they are, how they are hooked. Marx described the anti-working-class, lumpen, and bohemian attitudes they develop and milieus they are attracted to, and the forms of their corruption. (See *Collected Works*, Marx and Engels, Progress Publishers, 1978, Volume 10, pp. 311-325; and *The Cologne Communist Trial*, Karl Marx, International Publishers, 1971.) They haven't changed. Not a bit.

Security Policy

The first and most immediate lesson concerns our policy prohibiting the use of marijuana and all other illegal drugs by our members. The purpose of this policy is to make victimizations and frame-ups more difficult for the cops to pull off against our members. We don't yet know all of the provocative and disruptive activities Heisler was carrying out. But we have learned that he waged a campaign, until the day we

expelled him, to undermine our security policy. He worked at this energetically, persistently, with vim and vigor.

We have learned a lot about Heisler since the party expelled him, from comrades and from friends not in the party. What we know so far points to a major disruption effort by the FBI around the marijuana question.

Heisler selectively talked to comrades, trying to convince them that our security policy isn't really what we say it is. He told them that some leaders of the party smoke pot, and that others know they do and wink at it. No names, of course, were ever given.

He privately argued that the prohibition on drug use and on socializing with others while they are using drugs cannot and should not be applied universally in the party. He insisted, for instance, that "valuable trade-union comrades" should not be thrown out of the party for violating discipline on this. He argued, in private, when given the slightest encouragement, that the policy itself was not necessary, that it was the result of overcautious and rigid thinking in the Political Committee. He said most workers smoke dope, so what's the big deal?

The more we learn about Heisler's actions as an agent provocateur in our ranks, the more it becomes clear that promoting a breakdown in our policy against use by party members of illegal drugs was his major disruption angle. Why? Because he was not able to act as a provocateur on other political questions.

So far as we know, he never came up to some comrade, privately, and argued that our position against individual terrorism was too "rigid." He never said, "Hey, why don't you and I toss a few molotov cocktails at the army recruiting station on the way home tonight?" He never said, "Say, why don't we get together sometime and cast a vote for some liberal Democrat? Lots of people in the plants do it. Hey, it feels good. . . ." He would have been nailed in an instant. So he worked the dope front.

Heisler did us some damage, to the extent he was able to confuse a small number of comrades about our security policy. But the outcome has greatly strengthened the party. The entire party is stronger now in understanding why our ban on use of illegal drugs is necessary and correct, and why it is and must be universally applied.

If you think about this whole experience, there is an apparent paradox that has to be explained. How is it that a traitor like Heisler was able to carry out useful party work, including in the mass movement and as a candidate and party spokesperson?

What about the UTU right-to-vote campaign, in which Heisler played a prominent role. How do we explain that? Was the Right to Vote Committee off the mark politically? No. Heisler helped organize a campaign, along the lines the party decided on, to strengthen the union. He carried out other campaigns of the party as well. The Right to Vote Committee wasn't the FBI's creation. It wasn't their line. The FBI is not for democratizing the unions. The strategy and tactics Heisler followed were the strategy and tactics of the party, worked out by the members we had in the UTU, the leadership of the Chicago branch, and the Political Committee.

Heisler was bound by the program and discipline of the party in his political work. Mostly he was bound by the understanding of the comrades of our political line. In order to stay in the party—to "earn" his pay as an informer—he had to, by and large, carry out in public the program of the party. He was hemmed in.

This was all explained by the Bolshevik Party, and in particular by Lenin. They had plenty of experience with enemy agents in their ranks. The classic case involved a man by the name of Roman Malinovsky. Malinovsky was a worker, a member of the Bolshevik Party, and an agent in the service of the Okhrana. With Lenin's support he got elected to the Central Committee operating inside Russia, in the underground. And in 1912, when elections were held to the Duma, the parliament under the czar, Lenin proposed that Malinovsky be among those nominated by the Bolsheviks. He was, said Lenin, a worker and a diligent member of the party. Malinovsky was nominated and elected. Later, after the revolution, when the Okhrana files were opened and the whole Malinovsky story was revealed, the Bolsheviks learned that the cops had been so anxious to have Malinovsky elected that they helped him out by arresting his opponents!

Malinovsky was elected head of the Bolshevik fraction in the Duma. As a result, he became a

chief spokesperson for the Bolsheviks. The Duma fraction played a very important role in this period. The party itself was outlawed and had to function in illegal and semilegal ways. But the deputies to the Duma had a different legal standing. They were, to some degree, protected. They functioned openly. They had offices, something like congressional offices.

As a result, much of the organizational work of the party was carried out through the Duma members. Underground workers from all over Russia came to their offices. Money collected for the election campaigns was turned in. Subscribers to *Pravda*, the party paper, were handed in to the fraction. Many of the arrangements for routine illegal functioning were handled in this way. And, of course, through Malinovsky, names were turned over to the cops. Untold numbers of Bolsheviks were victimized. Many were killed as a result of his treachery.

The speeches given by the Duma deputies could be published and legally distributed afterward. Malinovsky, as head of the fraction, gave many of the important speeches. But he was not able to say what he wanted. Lenin and Zinoviev, in exile, wrote out in advance many of the key speeches and they were smuggled into the country. At first, Malinovsky would take the text of the speech to the cops, and they would sit down and try to edit it. Softer this point, drop that point, reduce the effectiveness of the text. Then Malinovsky would bring the speech to the fraction, and say, "I think we should soften this point, drop that point," and so on. The fraction said, "No! You give the speech the party has prepared. That's our line." So he had to. He had no choice.

The political education and discipline of the fraction, and of the party in general, was such that this police agent couldn't divert it. He couldn't change the line. He was forced to move in step with the party and effectively promote the political positions of the party. The program of the party and the Leninist concept of revolutionary centralism meant that even an enemy agent in the strategic position Malinovsky attained was trapped. He was locked in a steel trap more powerful than the Okhrana—a Leninist party. He did damage, but he couldn't alter the course of the party.

Lenin Draws the Lessons

That course, as we know, led to a workers and peasants government before 1917 ended. After the February 1917 revolution, many of the informer files were uncovered, and the role of Malinovsky finally exposed. He had fled the country after a couple of years in the Duma. Rumors about Malinovsky had circulated widely for some time, and Lenin insisted, in the absence of any proof, on defending Malinovsky. He explained that rumors like those did more harm to the party than any agent provocateur. Lenin had denounced the Mensheviks and other enemies of the Bolsheviks who persisted in circulating unsubstantiated rumors.

Lenin drew the lessons of this experience after the truth about Malinovsky's employment by the Okhrana finally came out:

"It is obvious that by helping to elect an *agent-provocateur* to the Duma and by removing, for that purpose, all the competitors of the Bolshevik candidate, the secret police were guided by a vulgar conception of Bolshevism, or rather, a distorted caricature of Bolshevism. They imagined that the Bolsheviks would 'arrange an armed insurrection.' In order to keep all the threads of this coming insurrection in their hands, they thought it worth while departing from their own standpoint and having Malinovsky elected both to the Duma and to our Central Committee.

"But when the police achieved both these aims they found that Malinovsky was transformed into a link of the long and solid chain connecting in various ways our legal base with the two chief organs by which the party influenced the masses, namely *Pravda* and the Duma fraction. The *agent-provocateur* had to protect both these organs in order to justify his vocation. . . .

"Malinovsky could and did ruin individuals, but he could neither hold back nor control the growth of the Party nor in any way affect the increase of its importance to the masses, its influence over hundreds of thousands of workers (through strikes, which increased after April 1912, etc.). . . ."

In explaining the cops' "distorted caricature of Bolshevism," Lenin was restating a point made by Marx and Engels. In an 1850 article dealing with police spies and conspiracies, they wrote: "A true revolution is the exact opposite of the ideas of a *mouchard* [police spy], who like the 'men of action' sees in every revolution the work of a small coterie." (Marx-Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. X, p. 314.)

Just consider what this episode reveals about the power of the Socialist Workers Party. Our party is so strong that even an enemy right in the midst of the party, in the national office, on the national committee, couldn't affect the political course of the party. We now know he caused us problems, but the problems were small compared to the overall work of the party. We used him; he was little able to use us.

The Heisler episode offers a gauge of where we are in constructing the kind of party we need. We measure up pretty well. The political homogeneity of the party, the discipline of the party, loyalty to the party comes only from one source: the understanding each and every member has of our program, and the confidence we have in that program, in our class, and in ourselves. That is where our strength lies. And that is the strength that Heisler and the FBI ran up against.

More Government Lies

As soon as we received the information on Heisler's true identity, we moved immediately to bring this to the attention of Judge Thomas P. Griesa, who is presiding over our suit in federal court in New York. On June 25 we submitted all the information we had to Judge Griesa. We demanded that the FBI provide us, immediately, with the entire contents of all files the government has on Heisler. The exposure of Heisler has caught the FBI and the government attorneys in yet another outrageous series of courtroom lies.

In the course of the lawsuit, several years ago, we had selected from the leadership of the party a list of thirty-five comrades and demanded the government files on each of them. The government ostensibly complied. Heisler was one of the thirty-five. But the government didn't turn over all the files on Heisler. They didn't tell us he was on their payroll. They didn't tell the judge. An outright lie and a flagrant cover-up.

Now they have been caught in that lie, and we are going to use this as a club to crack them over the head a few more times. Judge Griesa, as soon as he learned he had been lied to once again, ordered the government to conduct an investigation to find out who, by name, was responsible for the decision to conceal Heisler's true identity from the court.

And he ordered them to turn over immediately all files on Heisler. They have not done so. We have been told that in the Chicago FBI field office alone there are forty-six thick volumes of Heisler's informer files. Not counting Milwaukee, where he first infiltrated the movement. Not counting New York, where he was working in the national office. Not counting FBI headquarters in Washington, and not counting the army files, CIA files, or anything else.

We have been given only a handful of these so far, although we were supposed to be given them all immediately. The few we have been given include the most heavily censored files we've ever gotten—and that says a lot. Entire pages and sections of the files have been blanked out. The conclusion we draw from this is that we are onto something very important. We'll fight to get those uncensored files, to get the whole story on Heisler.

'Bag Jobs' & Dead Bodies

The second victory we scored recently was forcing the government finally to cough up a document bearing the delicately worded title: "Summary of Inquiry Into the Nondisclosure of FBI Bag Jobs in the Socialist Workers Party Litigation."

The background to this is as follows: When we filed our suit in 1973, we charged that, among other things, the FBI had conspired to commit burglaries against our headquarters and the homes of our members. The government denied this charge in court, in sworn statements. They denied it repeatedly. However, in 1976, as a result of the process I described earlier, the FBI was forced to admit that yes, after all, there had been burglaries, known in FBI jargon as "black bag jobs." They had to admit that their previous denials were lies. At that time, Judge Griesa demanded to know who was responsible for the lies; he demanded an investigation. The results of this investigation were finally produced the week after Griesa exploded in anger over the Heisler episode, when he found he had been lied to again. So, you can see, many things were set in motion by the Heisler disclosure. There may well be more we don't yet know about.

I hope we can publish this "Non-disclosure"

document. It is an important part of the record of this entire period, and it has facts that have not come to light anywhere else.

It shows the extent to which our case sent shock waves throughout Washington when it was filed. It describes meetings in the White House over how they were going to respond to this. It shows some of the bureaucratic squabbles that reflected the ruling-class debate over how much to let come out. And it gives an indication of the role that our case played in blowing the lid off this whole thing.

In addition, it provides proof of deliberate and naked obstruction of justice on the part of the FBI.

Attempt to Limit Case

It details, for example, how the government attorneys tried to harass us with demands for information about the SWP, in an attempt to make us limit the scope of the case. According to the report, the sole purpose of "several hundred questions . . . designed to explore the history and past ideology of the SWP . . . was to encourage the plaintiffs to agree to limit discovery to a relatively recent time period, hopefully a period beginning sometime after 1966. In that way, disclosure of bag jobs could be avoided, since J. Edgar Hoover had ordered the abandonment of the technique [they claim—L.S.] on July 19, 1966."

There is yet another feature of this document, which relates to a strange phenomenon about our case that we first noticed a few years ago. Key individuals in the FBI started dying. First, one or two. We didn't pay much attention to it. But it continued.

One time we were taking a deposition, sworn testimony out of court, from one FBI official. The completion of this deposition had to be postponed. He died before he could come back for the second session.

The most dramatic demise was that of William C. Sullivan. Beginning in 1961, Sullivan was the FBI's chief of "domestic intelligence," the man in overall command of all the operations against us and others. But he had a falling out with Hoover and retired from the FBI. After his forced retirement, he started talking—and he knew plenty. He told a congressional committee under oath that the FBI had not a single piece of evidence of any illegal actions committed by the SWP. He began doling out pieces of information to news reporters. He met privately on several occasions with Syd Stapleton, a leader of the SWP in charge of work on this suit. In 1977, Sullivan was shot to death in what was officially termed a "hunting accident." It's also known as "terminate with extreme prejudice."

This report turns up a few more bodies. And they die at the most interesting times. The investigators trace one very important meeting about our case to the White House, to the office of J. Fred Buzhardt. You may remember him from Watergate. He was Nixon's White House counsel. It turns out he was the only one who could answer a vital question. Buzhardt also had information, this report indicates, about a number of "bag jobs" against the SWP that took place after 1969, *three years after* the FBI supposedly stopped using this technique. But, the document reports, "approximately 48 hours before Buzhardt was to have been interviewed in this inquiry, he died suddenly."

This is, all in all, a true cover-up document. It ends up by blaming the deceased for all the wrongdoing, while the living are exonerated. But it does document a massive conspiracy to obstruct justice, and we will take this new opening and demand the full story, the whole truth.

Right to Withhold Names

The third victory involves a battle that we've been fighting out in court in the weeks and days leading up to this conference. A number of comrades have been called by the government to give depositions, to be examined by the government's lawyers. This is a great honor, and also great fun because you get to stare them right in the eye and tell them exactly what you think of them, under oath.

You sit in a little room, across from two attorneys. One is an Assistant United States Attorney. Like most lawyers, he relies a lot on bullying. But he is not good at dealing with our witnesses because our comrades don't get bullied and they tend to fight back. The other lawyer is the FBI's attorney, who always wears a gun on his hip, even sitting in this little room.

Many depositions have been given over the

years this case has gone on. We have always answered all their questions, being perfectly happy to tell them what our views are, what activities the party is involved in, why we are suing them, and so on. The one thing that we have not done is to give them names of party members or YSA members, or members of sections of the Fourth International who are not already prominent public members, such as officers, candidates for public office, members of the National Committee, and so on. The reason for this is very simple. They get names of party and YSA members and open files on them and harass them in various ways—and stopping that is exactly what the case is all about!

So we have exercised our right under the First Amendment not to provide those names. We've always taken this stand and the government has never fought us on it—until now. Rich Feigenberg was in New York giving a deposition. In the course of the deposition Edward Williams, the Assistant U.S. Attorney, asked him for the names of two individuals who are members of the party. Rich, as a matter of course, declined. Then all of a sudden Williams started shouting about how we had to answer the question. We still declined. Then he said, if you won't answer, the government will get a judge to order you to respond. We still stood our ground.

This is something like a grand jury proceeding. If a judge orders you to answer a question and you don't answer, you can go to jail until you do answer. So the deposition was adjourned, and the next day we were in court. Normally the judge who would hear this would be Judge Griesa, because he's the one presiding over the case. But he had just left on vacation for a month. So we had to go before an "emergency" judge. He was a typical hanging judge, who didn't see what the First Amendment had to do with any of this, and didn't want to hear any of our arguments. He ordered all of our comrades coming for the depositions to name names or else.

No Time to Back Down

Now we had to think this one over carefully. It is no small matter for comrades to run the risk of going to jail. This forced us to think out once again where we are and where we are going in this case. And the more we thought about it, the more convinced we became that this is not the time for us to be backing down on crucial issues. It is the government that is on the defensive. We distinguish between their threats and tough talk, and what they can really get away with given today's relationship of forces.

So we decided to take a cue from the Grenadians, the Nicaraguans, and the Cubans, and the courageous stand of the nineteen- and twenty-year-olds, and decided to tell them to stuff it. We have First Amendment rights. And no judge can legally require us to give up those rights.

We also evaluated what a terrible blunder, from their point of view, it would be for the Carter administration to go to the extreme length of jailing some member of the SWP for not giving names to the government. After the FBI has been caught lying time after time in court, after the attorney general himself was held in contempt and got off scot-free—it would be quite a sensation to send our comrades to jail for exercising their constitutional rights. It wouldn't go over.

L. Paltrineri was scheduled to give the next deposition. She came carrying her toothbrush and wearing a shirt with big stripes. We were ready for a fight. One part of the evidence in our case is sworn statements describing the effects of government harassment. L. had signed an affidavit back in 1974, reporting that two people in Massachusetts told her they would not contribute money to the party election campaign because they were afraid the FBI would get their names and they would be harassed. This is one of the major issues in the case.

So in the deposition, after a few preliminaries, Williams, the Assistant U.S. Attorney, asked L. if she remembered the names. She said yes.

"Give them to me," he demanded. She politely explained why she wasn't going to hand them over.

Then Williams started really screaming and hollering. He hurled a copy of the judge's order at her. Have you read this? Do you know what this means?

L. calmly explained that she had read it, but she knew it couldn't mean she had to give up her First Amendment rights.

Soon we were back in court. By this time we had Leonard Boudin there. He pointed out to the judge that the party had already established in

federal court our right not to disclose names of contributors because of potential harassment from the FBI. In fact, we are required by court order to include on all campaign literature the statement that the federal courts allow us not to disclose names of contributors. The judge, Boudin pointed out, would not want to overturn that decision without very thorough consideration. So the judge backed down, L. did not have to turn over the two names.

The next one up was Willie Mae Reid, our 1976 vice-presidential candidate. She had committed the subversive act of taking a vacation trip to Mexico with a friend who is a member of the SWP. Williams demanded the name of her traveling companion. He screamed and hollered at Willie Mae. "Don't you know you're required to answer?"

Willie Mae explained that she did not believe that the judge meant that she had to disclose the name of a comrade and friend who went on vacation with her. Williams continued with his browbeating. After a while Shelley Davis, our attorney, asked Williams if he wanted to go back before the judge on this matter. "No," he said.

The next day it was Mohammed Oliver's turn. By now we were really having fun. We were dealing with a bully whose bluff had been called. Mohammed even kept egging Williams on, trying to get him to come on and fight. Williams was just trying to get through the thing without getting into anymore trouble. He didn't ask for any names.

A Bold Fight for the '80s

This battle isn't over. More of us will be giving depositions in the coming weeks. They will keep fighting. But this little episode shows again that they are not in good shape. The situation calls for boldness on our part to wage this fight properly.

Another recent encounter with the FBI confirms this. Recently FBI agents came nosing around the apartment that Willie Mae Reid and Olga Rodríguez share in Jersey City. These G-men acted very obnoxious, very intimidating. They browbeat the building superintendent. They parked out front, they circled the block, all the rest. Then they called on the phone, demanding to talk to Olga right away.

Normally, we don't say anything to the FBI. Not pleasantries, nothing. We have nothing to say to them. And that's our policy.

In this case, however, we thought it might be interesting to see what these fellows had in mind. So Peggy Winter, our comrade who is also our attorney, and who has been helping lead this whole operation, called the FBI agent and asked if he was the one who was anxious to talk to Olga. When he said he was, she invited him to interview Olga at her attorneys' office.

All of a sudden he wasn't so sure about his schedule. He would have to see. Then Peggy called him back. He had left town. All of a sudden he lost interest in Olga. But we haven't lost interest in him. When he gets back, he'll find a subpoena from us. We are going to take his deposition, to find out why he was harassing us, why he suddenly backed off, and a few other things.

'Labor Committee' Connection

We are going to aggressively pursue some other leads, too. First, the report compiled by Judge Brietel, the "special master," on the contents of the eighteen informer files that Judge Griesa had ordered the government to give us. After Attorney General Bell refused to comply with the order, and the Supreme Court said he couldn't be held in contempt, the "remedy" worked out was for Brietel to read the files and prepare a summary that did not reveal the names of any of the informers. His report included, among other things, a finding that the FBI had conspired with the NCLC, the so-called Labor Committee, in a goon-squad assault in which comrades got hurt. So we are now demanding the *entire* file that the FBI has on the fascist NCLC.

Second, we know for a fact that there has been for decades a conspiracy between the FBI and the Immigration Service to try to deport members of our party. From the case of Carl Skoglund* to

*Carl Skoglund, born in Sweden in 1884, emigrated to the United States in 1911. He was a founder of the Communist Party in 1919 and of the Trotskyist movement in 1928. A leader of Teamsters Local 544, jailed in the 1941 Smith Act trial, Skoglund remained a leader of the SWP until his death in 1961.

the attempt to deport Héctor Marroquín, that's been a pattern. We know there are thousands of pages of documents on this and we have demanded that they be turned over to us. We will fight to get that whole story uncovered.

The FBI has been caught in lie after lie about the burglaries. They have been lying about the wiretaps and the agents provocateurs. They have been lying about everything. It turns out that the files we have been given constitute just a tiny part of the real picture. We're not going to let this slide. We will pursue them on this, on the Heisler files and wherever else they may lead us, on the burglaries, on the cover-ups, everything going back to 1938 and right up to today.

What about a Trial?

Comrades undoubtedly want to know, when are we going to wrap all this up and bring the case to trial? We have been looking forward to the trial. It will be an important event, politically and legally. Before the explosion of the Heisler affair, with all of its implications and reverberations, we believed we were finally getting close to the time that the case could be presented at trial. But, as in the past, every time we get close, some big new area opens up.

From a legal standpoint, as well as politically, it would be improper and even irresponsible to cut this process short. Vital evidence has not yet been brought to light. We want every document. We want every fact. We want everything that we are legally entitled to before we bring it all to trial and collect our compensation for it. We are now on the trail of some very important things, some big things, and we are going to press hard and keep pressing. That and not any target date for a trial has to guide us.

Our campaign around this case will be a big asset in the next period. Because tied in with the militarization drive of the ruling class is their drive to strengthen the FBI and CIA. This campaign is already under way.

Just as the rulers must try to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome," they have got to overcome the widespread distrust of and opposition to the political police. Seizing on events from Iran to Jamaica, they try to convince American workers that the CIA and FBI are necessary to "national security" and should be strengthened. They have been pressing further bills in Congress to legalize and legitimize secret-police methods, and even to prosecute anyone who reveals the names of their agents.

As part of this, we are experiencing a general step-up in incidents of FBI-type harassment. These are things we haven't seen for a while, including spying and harassment on the job, not just by the FBI and the cops but also by private detective agencies.

We have to think about this, how we're going to respond to it. It is not going to stop. It will increase. But it doesn't follow that we ought to pull back, to become more cautious, or less bold. Not at all.

From time to time, in a union or in one coalition or another, we get red-baited. When that happens, we sometimes think we must have made a mistake; maybe we were too bold. Sometimes we do make mistakes. But we can't judge whether we're doing the correct things by whether the right-wingers go after us. Sometimes—often—we get red-baited because we're doing *exactly* the right things.

The same goes for the FBI. They will be going after us because we will be doing the right things. The ruling class doesn't like the fact that socialists are starting to have an impact inside the labor movement. Gov. Jerry Brown is trying to throw us off the ballot in California, not because we made a mistake or because we didn't demonstrate enough support, but because we demonstrated *too much* support. We are doing a lot of things right now that the cops and the CIA and the FBI don't like. And we will be doing more.

Confrontation in the Caribbean

They understand the confrontation that is shaping up in the Caribbean and Central America, just as we do. They understand, as we understand, how high the stakes are. They know that politics in this country is not separate from that confrontation. The class struggle here is part of it, is affected by it, and in turn will have a decisive impact on the outcome of the showdown between U.S. imperialism and the workers and farmers of Central America and the Caribbean.

The rulers know that what's going on in El

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'The Late Trial at Cologne'

Introduction

By Cindy Jaquith

In the fall of 1852, eleven members of the German Communist League went on trial in Cologne for "treasonable conspiracy" to overthrow the Prussian government. Seven were convicted and sentenced to three to six years in prison; four were acquitted.

The Communist League had been formed in 1847 under the leadership of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Although Marx and Engels were not defendants in the Cologne trial, since they were in exile, the frame-up of the League members was aimed directly at them and their efforts to build the nucleus of the first proletarian party in history.

The article below by Engels was published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on December 22, 1852. Printed under Marx's name, the article exposes how the Prussian cops, informers, and high government officials conspired to frame up the League through burglary, forgery, and lies.

Engels also explains why the League's purpose was not to conspire against the Prussian government, and what the real aims of the communists were.

The background to the case is as follows: beginning in February 1848 a revolutionary upsurge shook Europe. At the time, the continent was still dominated by feudalism; industrial capitalism was in its infancy. Kings and big landlords ruled, blocking the rising capitalist class from political power.

Germany was not yet even a unified nation. It consisted of dozens of independent states dominated by the Prussian monarchy.

The industrial bourgeoisie aimed at overthrowing the classes in power in order to remove all barriers to the free development of capitalism. But the capitalists shrank back from the 1848 revolutions when a new, independent force entered on the scene: the industrial working class.

In Paris, the proletariat mobilized, overthrew the king, and then forced the establishment of a republic. The workers pressed for jobs and democratic rights, terrifying the new bourgeois rulers, who had never intended freedom for the proletariat, just freedom for capital.

In June 1848 a workers' insurrection in Paris was crushed. The capitalists made peace with their feudal and monarchical opponents and withdrew their bid for supreme power.

Alarmed at the role of the workers in France, the German capitalists were even more timid. While the small German proletariat fought courageously on the barricades, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats vacillated and betrayed the revolution. They and the workers were crushed by the counterrevolution in 1849.

But in Germany the workers had their own independent voice, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (New Rheinisch Newspaper), edited by Karl Marx in Cologne. Through this first workers' daily, and Marx and Engels's leading role in workers' and democratic organizations, a strong core of communists established itself in Cologne.

After the counterrevolution was consolidated, the Prussian authorities went after the Cologne Communist League, which had been forced underground.

The cops tried to smear the Communist League by claiming it had the same views as a group of ex-members who had left the League in 1850, led by August Willich and Karl Schapper.

The Willich-Schapper forces, as Marx wrote, "regard not the real conditions but a mere effort of will as the driving force of the revolution."

They wanted to turn the League into a conspiracy to make a revolution immediately, disregarding the fact that the conditions did not yet exist for the working class to take power.

In contrast to this conspiratorial view, the majority of the League, as Engels explains below, "never imagined itself capable of producing, at any time and at its pleasure, that revolution which was to carry its ideas into practice."

The League was founded on the program of the *Communist Manifesto*, which explained that it was inevitable that the capitalists would come to power as the steam engine and other advances in industry outstripped the outmoded production of feudalism.

But just as inevitable was the downfall of capitalism. As it expanded production, it would create an ever larger proletariat. The tiny minority of capitalists in power would prove themselves unfit to provide for the needs of the majority. The workers would be forced to take the mines and mills out of the hands of their private owners and end the capitalist system of wage slavery.

The job of communists was to explain this, and help prepare the proletariat for its historic task, not conspire to overthrow the still-existing monarchy. Marx explained this in his *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, printed in 1853:

"There is no doubt that . . . the members of the proletarian party would take part once again in a revolution against the *status quo*, but it was no part of their task to prepare this revolution, to agitate, conspire or to plot for it.

"They could leave this preparation to circumstances in general and to the classes directly involved. They had to leave it to them if they



Paris workers revolt in June 1848. Inset, Engels.

were not to abandon the position of their own party and the historic tasks that follow of themselves from the conditions governing the existence of the proletariat. For them the contemporary governments were but ephemeral phenomena, the *status quo* a brief stopping place and the task of toiling away at it could be left to the petty narrow-minded democrats.

"The 'Communist League,' therefore, was no conspiratorial society, but a society which secretly strove to create an organized proletarian party because the German proletariat is publicly debarred, by fire and water, from writing, speaking and meeting. Such a society can only be said to conspire against the *status quo* in the sense that steam and electricity conspire against it."

The *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* thoroughly details the classic capitalist frame-up of proletarian revolutionaries. It and "The Late Trial at Cologne" are both contained in *Marx-Engels Collected Works*, Volume 11 (available from Pathfinder Press).

By Frederick Engels

London, Wednesday, December 1, 1852

You will have ere this received by the European papers numerous reports of the Communist Monster Trial at Cologne, Prussia, and of its result. But as none of the reports is anything like a faithful statement of the facts, and as these facts throw a glaring light upon the political means by which the Continent of Europe is kept in bondage, I consider it necessary to revert to this trial.

The Communist or Proletarian party,¹ as well as other parties, had lost, by suppression of the rights of association and meeting, the means of giving to itself a legal organization on the Continent. Its leaders, besides, had been exiled from their countries.

But no political party can exist without an organization; and that organization which both the Liberal bourgeois and the Democratic shop-keeping class were enabled more or less to supply by the social station, advantages, and long-established, everyday intercourse of their members, the proletarian class, without such social station and pecuniary means, was necessarily compelled to seek in secret association.

Hence, both in France and Germany, sprang up those numerous secret societies which have, ever since 1849, one after another been discovered by the police and prosecuted as conspiracies; but if many of them were really conspiracies, formed with the actual intention of upsetting the Government for the time being—and he is a coward that under certain circumstances would not conspire, just as he is a fool who, under other circumstances, would do so—there were some other societies which were formed with a wider and more elevated purpose, which knew, that the upsetting of an existing Government was but a passing stage in the great impending struggle, and which intended to keep together and to prepare the party, whose nucleus they formed, for the last, decisive combat which must one day or another crush forever in Europe the domination, not of mere "tyrants," "despots" and "usurpers," but of a power far superior, and far more formidable than theirs; that of capital over labor.

Aims of Communist League

The organization of the advanced Communist party in Germany was of this kind.

In accordance with the principles of its "Manifesto"² (published in 1848) and with those explained in the series of articles on *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*,³ published in *The New-York Daily Tribune*, this party never imagined itself capable of producing, at any time and at its pleasure, that revolution which was to carry its ideas into practice.

It studied the causes that had produced the revolutionary movements of 1848, and the causes that made them fail. Recognizing the social antagonism of classes at the bottom of all political struggles, it applied itself to the study of the conditions under which one class of society can and must be called on to represent the whole of the interests of a nation, and thus politically to rule over it.

History showed to the Communist party, how, after the landed aristocracy of the Middle Ages, the monied power of the first capitalists arose and seized the reins of Government; how the social influence and political rule of the financial section of capitalists was superseded by the rising strength, since the introduction of steam, of the manufacturing capitalists, and how at the present moment two more classes claim their turn of domination, the petty trading class, and the industrial working class.

The practical revolutionary experience of 1848-49 confirmed the reasonings of theory, which led to the conclusion that the democracy of the petty traders must first have its turn, before the Communist working class could hope to permanently establish itself in power and destroy that system of wages-slavery which keeps it under the yoke of the bourgeoisie.

Thus the secret organization of the Communists could not have the direct purpose of upsetting the present governments of Germany. Being formed to upset not these, but the insurrectionary government, which is sooner or later to follow them, its members might, and certainly would, individually lend an active hand to a revolutionary movement against the present *status quo* in its time; but the preparation of such a movement, otherwise than by secret spreading of Communist opinions by the masses, could not be an object of the Association.⁴

1. The Communist League

2. *The Communist Manifesto*, written by Marx and Engels

3. Written by Engels in 1852; available in *Marx-Engels Collected Works*, Volume 11.

4. The Communist League

So well was this foundation of the society understood by the majority of its members, that when the place-hunting ambition of some tried to turn it into a conspiracy for making an *ex tempore* revolution, they were speedily turned out.⁵

Now, according to no law upon the face of the earth, could such an association be called a plot, a conspiracy for purposes of high treason.

If it was a conspiracy, it was one against, not the existing Government, but its probable successors. And the Prussian Government was aware of it. That was the cause why the eleven defendants were kept in solitary confinement during eighteen months, spent, on the part of the authorities, in the strangest judicial feats. Imagine, that after eight months' detention, the prisoners were remanded for some months more, "there being no evidence of any crime against them!"

And when at last they were brought before a jury, there was not a single overt act of a treasonable nature proved against them. And yet they were convicted, and you will speedily see how.

One of the emissaries of the society⁶ was arrested in May, 1851, and from documents found upon him, other arrests followed. A Prussian police officer, a certain *Stieber*, was immediately ordered to trace the ramifications, in London, of the pretended plot. He succeeded in obtaining some papers connected with the above-mentioned seceders from the society, who had, after being turned out, formed an actual conspiracy in Paris and London.

Police Theft

These papers were obtained by a double crime. A man named Reuter was bribed to break open the writing desk of the secretary of the society,⁷ and steal the papers therefrom.

But that was nothing yet. This theft led to the discovery and conviction of the so-called Franco-German plot, in Paris,⁸ but it gave no clue as to the great Communist Association.

The Paris plot, we may as well here observe, was under the direction of a few ambitious imbeciles and political *chevaliers d'industrie* in London, and of a formerly convicted forger, then acting as a police spy in Paris;⁹ their dupes made up, by rapid declamations and blood-thirsty rantings, for the utter insignificance of their political existence.

The Prussian police, then, had to look out for fresh discoveries. They established a regular office of secret police at the Prussian Embassy in London. A police agent, Greif by name, held his odious vocation under the title of an *attaché* to the Embassy—a step which would suffice to put all Prussian Embassies out of the pale of international law, and which even the Austrians have not yet dared to take. Under him worked a certain Fleury, a merchant in the City of London, a man of some fortune and rather respectably connected, one of those low creatures who do the basest actions from an innate inclination to infamy.

Another agent was a commercial clerk named Hirsch, who, however, had already been denounced as a spy on his arrival. He introduced himself into the society of some German Communist refugees in London, and they, in order to obtain proofs of his real character, admitted him for a short time. The proofs of his connection with the police were very soon obtained, and Mr. Hirsch, from that time, absented himself.

Manufactured Reports

Although, however, he thus resigned all opportunities of gaining the information he was paid to procure, he was not inactive. From his retreat in Kensington, where he never met one of the Communists in question, he manufactured every week pretended reports of pretended sittings of a pretended Central Committee of that very conspiracy which the Prussian police could not get hold of.

The contents of these reports were of the most absurd nature; not a Christian name was correct, not a name correctly spelt, not a single individual made to speak as he would be likely to speak. His master, Fleury, assisted him in this forgery,

and it is not yet proved that "*Attaché*" Greif can wash his hands of these infamous proceedings.

The Prussian Government, incredible to say, took these silly fabrications for gospel truth, and you may imagine what a confusion such depositions created in the evidence to be brought before the jury.

When the trial came on, Mr. Stieber, the already mentioned police officer, got into the witness-box, swore to all these absurdities, and, with no little self-complacency, maintained that he had a secret agent in the very closest intimacy with those parties in London who were considered the prime movers in this awful conspiracy.

This secret agent was very secret indeed, for he had hid his face for eight months in Kensington, for fear he might actually see one of the parties whose most secret thoughts, words and doings he pretended to report week after week.

'Minute Book'

Messrs. Hirsch and Fleury, however, had another invention in store. They worked up the whole of the reports they had made into an "original Minute Book" of the sittings of the secret supreme committee, whose existence was maintained by the Prussian police; and Mr. Stieber, finding that this book wondrously agreed with the reports already received from the same parties, at once laid it before the jury, declaring upon his oath that after serious examination and according to his fullest conviction that book was genuine. It was then that most of the absurdities reported by Hirsch were made public.

You may imagine the surprise of the pretended members of that secret committee when they found things stated of them which they never knew before.

Some who were baptized William, were here christened Louis or Charles; others, at the time they were at the other end of England, were made to have pronounced speeches in London; others were reported to have read letters they never had received; they were made to have met regularly on a Thursday, when they used to have a convivial reunion, once a week, on Wednesdays; a working man, who could hardly write, figured as one of the takers of minutes and signed as such; and they all of them were made to speak in a language which, if it may be that of Prussian police stations, was certainly not that of a reunion in which literary men, favorably known in their country, formed the majority.

And, to crown the whole, a receipt was forged for a sum of money, pretended to have been paid by the fabricators to the pretended secretary of the fictitious Central Committee for this book; but the existence of this pretended secretary rested merely upon a hoax that some malicious Communist had played upon the unfortunate Hirsch.

This clumsy fabrication was too scandalous an affair not to produce the contrary of its intended effect. Although the London friends of the defendants were deprived of all means to bring the facts of the case before the jury—although the letters they sent to the counsel for the defense were suppressed by the post—although the documents and affidavits they succeeded in getting into the hands of these legal gentlemen were not admitted in evidence, yet the general indignation was such that even the public accusers, nay, even Mr. Stieber—whose oath had been given as a guarantee for the authenticity of that book—were compelled to recognize it as a forgery.

Forgery Upon Forgery

This forgery, however, was not the only thing of the kind of which the police was guilty. Two or three more cases of the sort came out during the trial.

The documents stolen by Reuter were interpolated by the police so as to disfigure their meaning. A paper, containing some rabid nonsense, was written in a handwriting imitating that of Dr. Marx, and for a time it was pretended that it had been written by him, until at last the prosecution was obliged to acknowledge the forgery.

But for every police infamy that was proved as such, there were five or six fresh ones brought forward, which could not, at the moment, be unveiled, the defense being taken by surprise, the proofs having to be got from London, and every correspondence of the counsel for the defense with the London Communist refugees being in open court treated as complicity in the alleged plot!

That Greif and Fleury are what they are here

represented to be has been stated by Mr. Stieber himself, in his evidence; as to Hirsch, he has before a London magistrate confessed that he forged the "Minute Book" by order and with the assistance of Fleury, and then made his escape from this country in order to evade a criminal prosecution.

Nature of Jury

The Government could stand few such branding disclosures as came to light during the trial. It had a jury such as the Rhenish Province had not yet seen. Six nobles, of the purest reactionist water, four Lords of Finance, two Government officials.

These were not the men to look closely into the confused mass of evidence heaped before them during six weeks, when they heard it continually dinned into their ears that the defendants were the chiefs of a dreadful Communist conspiracy, got up in order to subvert everything sacred—property, family, religion, order, government and law!

And yet, had not the Government, at the same time, brought it to the knowledge of the privileged classes, that an acquittal in this trial would be the signal for the suppression of the jury; and that it would be taken as a direct political demonstration—as a proof of the middle-class liberal opposition being ready to unite even with the most extreme revolutionists—the verdict would have been an acquittal.

As it was, the retroactive application of the new Prussian code enabled the Government to have seven prisoners convicted, while four merely were acquitted, and those convicted were sentenced to imprisonment varying from three to six years, as you have, doubtless, already stated at the time the news reached you.

... Battle

Continued from ISR/page 10

Salvador, in Guatemala, in Honduras, and in Cuba, Grenada and Nicaragua is part of what's going on here. And they know where we fit in. Exactly. They don't want to see a solidarity movement in the United States. They don't want to see an antidraft movement. They don't want to see a socialist campaign of education to explain to American working people why their future lies in friendship and support to the workers and farmers of other countries.

So the fact that we are running into stepped-up harassment—and what we have seen is nothing compared to what we are going to see from the cops—doesn't mean we will pull back one bit. It doesn't mean slowing down one bit in our efforts to turn the party outward, to deepen our participation as socialists in the working-class struggles, to be more open on the job, to do more socialist petitioning and campaigning on the streets and at the plant gates, to keep driving to link arms with the Cubans and the Grenadians and the Nicaraguans and all other revolutionary leaderships around the world, to keep reaching out to the rebel youth in the plants, reaching out to the "hoodlums" in Liberty City, reaching out to the defiant antiwar draft-age youth.

In driving ahead on all of this we will be driving ahead in our battle with the FBI. Because their whole objective is to make us stop doing these things.

This fight with the political police can be a tremendous advantage to us. It is attractive to young workers who, through their own experiences, are coming to know firsthand about the cops, agents provocateurs, labor spies, political frame-ups, and all the rest. Serious working people know that solving the problems facing the working class, facing the labor movement, facing the Black struggle, the Latino struggle, the women's movement requires a new leadership. A new leadership that knows how to fight and isn't afraid to fight. That is why our campaign against the FBI will attract to our ranks those who are looking for a way to fight back.

They will see the YSA and the SWP as organizations that are not afraid to take on the FBI, that have the confidence to do it, and that know how to do it *effectively*. We are landing some blows, unprecedented blows, to the secret police and the government they serve. Many young fighters will see that a movement that can do that is a movement they will want to be part of.

5. This refers to the Willich-Schapper split from the Communist League.

6. The Communist League

7. The Willich-Schapper group

8. In 1851 members of the Willich-Schapper group were arrested in France and convicted in 1852 of plotting a coup d'état. The Prussian cops tried to link the Communist League to this case.

9. Adventurers, or swindlers

New York petitioning completed

Socialists at GM set good example

NEW YORK—The Socialist Workers Party is over the top in its drive to win a place on the New York state ballot.

With a minimum of 20,000 signatures required for its presidential ticket and senatorial candidate Victor Nieto, the party collected more than 36,000. The drive ended Labor Day weekend and was completed in three weeks.

In addition, the SWP collected well over the necessary signatures to place three congressional candidates on the ballot—Reba Williams Dixon and Keith Jones in the New York area, and Patricia Mayberry in the Albany area.

One particularly effective petitioning effort was carried through by a group of socialist workers at the General Motors assembly plant in Tarrytown, New York.

Wells Todd, one of those who sparked the campaign, told the *Militant* how they had organized their efforts to get maximum political mileage.

They began with an open letter to Tarrytown workers from Reba Williams Dixon, the SWP candidate for Congress in the Nineteenth C.D. She is a Tarrytown assembly worker.

The letter explained why the SWP

would be petitioning and why auto workers concerned with advancing their interests should support the socialist effort.

This sparked political controversy when a GM security guard stopped Todd and others from distributing the leaflet in the company parking lot. After an inquiry by the Tarrytown *Daily News*, the company asserted no such denial of the right to distribute had been made.

Socialist campaigners began passing out literature and circulating nominating petitions in the lot before going to work. They got more than a hundred signatures in the parking lot, Todd said, and, in addition, went to several bars in town after work to get more.

One Black worker coming out of the plant responded immediately when Todd told him about Dixon running and why workers needed to break with

the Republicans and Democrats.

"Yeah," he said, "We need some working-class people in the government because they're the only ones that know the problems of the people."

One young worker who signed was particularly interested in the pamphlet by Andrew Pulley, "Why Working People Need a Labor Party." He read through it on the spot. He commented that it not only told about what people need, but answered some of the questions people would have about the idea of a labor party.

He passed it on to a co-worker, and told him to keep passing it around.

The Tarrytown socialists stayed on top of the issues as they developed. When the Polish shipyard workers struck, they issued a special plant-gate statement by Dixon explaining why the Polish strikers were an inspiring example for all working people.



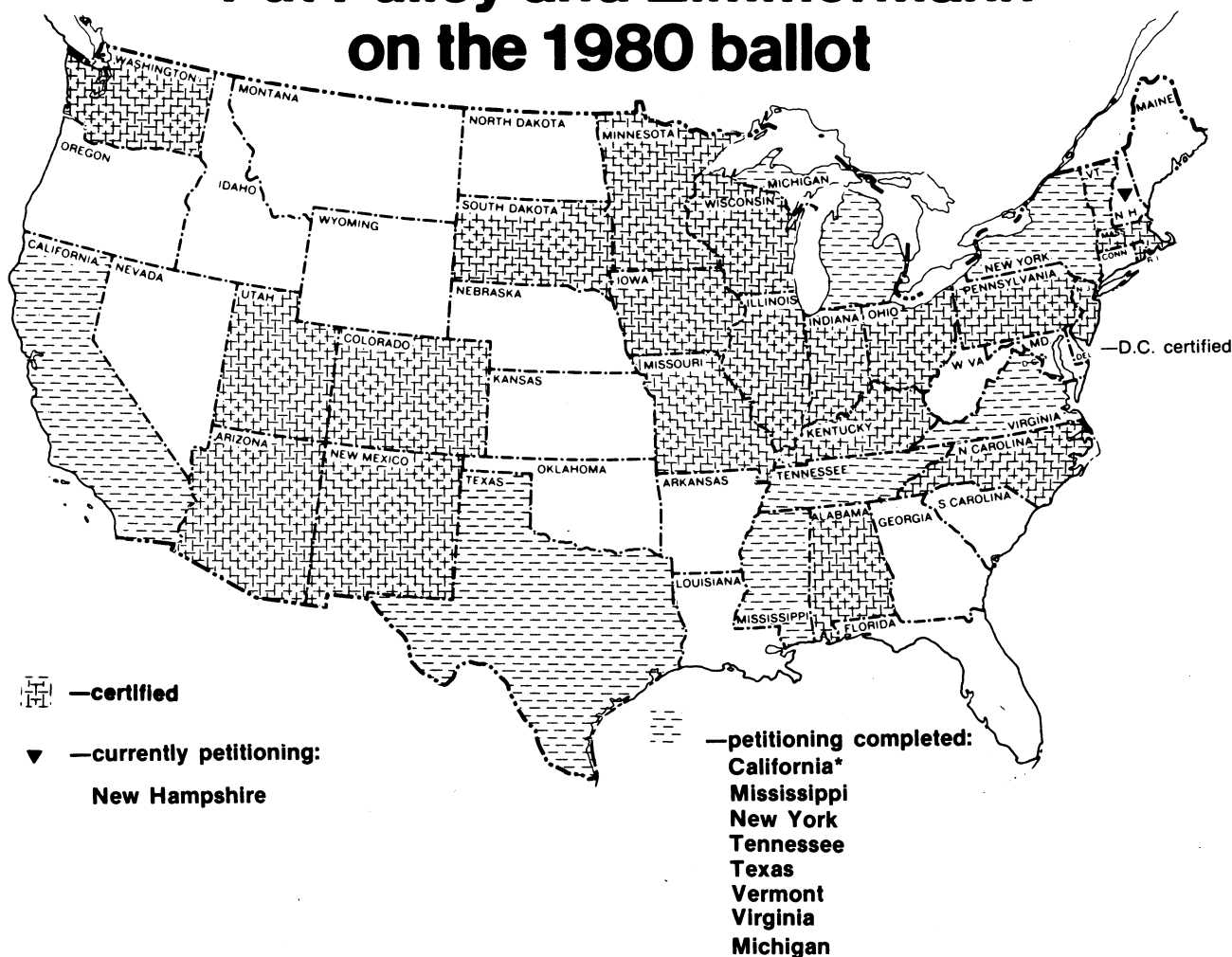
Tarrytown GM worker signs nominating petition for co-worker Reba Williams Dixon, SWP congressional candidate.

Victory in Mo. ballot fight!

ST. LOUIS—In a major victory for democratic rights, Missouri officials were compelled to yield on efforts to keep the Socialist Workers Party off the ballot, as they had succeeded in doing in several previous elections.

This time, the usual stalling on the SWP nominating petitions was begun, but protests were sufficiently widespread that the state Democratic administration finally decided the SWP petitions were valid and sufficient. Certification was announced August 28 by the secretary of state.

Put Pulley and Zimmermann on the 1980 ballot



MIAMI

Campaign Rally

Speakers:

Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president

Andrea Baron, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, Florida

Wednesday, September 10, 7 p.m.

8171 NE Second Avenue

Donation: \$3

For more information call (305) 756-8358

CHICAGO

Campaign Rally

Speakers:

Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president

Lee Artz, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, Illinois

Etta Ettlinger, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, Indiana

Saturday, September 13

5:30 p.m. reception, 7 p.m. rally

434 S. Wabash, Room 700

Donation: \$3

For more information call

(219) 884-9505 or

(312) 939-0737

Andrew Pulley

candidate for president

Sept. 5-6	Atlanta
Sept. 7-8	Winston-Salem, N.C.
Sept. 10-11	Miami
Sept. 12-13	Newport News, Va.
Sept. 14-15	Washington, D.C.
Sept. 18-20	Baltimore
Sept. 21-22	Philadelphia

Matilde Zimmermann

candidate for vice-president

Sept. 5-6	Minneapolis/St. Paul
Sept. 7-8	Indianapolis
Sept. 11-14	Chicago/Gary
Sept. 16-17	Louisville
Sept. 19-20	Seattle
Sept. 21-22	Portland

For more information call the Socialist Workers Party branch nearest you. See the directory on page 27 for phone numbers and addresses.

Pulley & Zimmermann in 1980!

California ballot fight

Why Brown wants to deny SWP's rights

By Susie Berman

On September 11, California Superior Court will hear the Socialist Workers Party case asking that the administration of Gov. Edmund Brown be ordered to place the socialist candidates on the November ballot.

Party qualifies in 3 key states

The Socialist Workers Party has been qualified for the ballot in two major northern industrial states—Illinois and Pennsylvania.

And, for the first time, the SWP presidential ticket will be on the ballot in the key southern industrial state of Alabama.

Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the party's standard bearers, were nominated for the Alabama ballot at a state convention of the SWP in Birmingham.

In Illinois, qualifying for the ballot meant collecting the signatures of 25,000 registered voters.

The Illinois party met that requirement with 7,000 to spare.

In Pennsylvania, the state requirement was even stiffer, with 48,000 signatures required. The party exceeded that requirement by 17,000.

As the map on page 21 indicates, the party is continuing to press its ballot drive in all parts of the country. One of the most recent certifications for a ballot place was won in the District of Columbia.

The SWP is running Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president. George Johnson, a laid-off auto worker, is the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate and Mark Friedman, a machinist, is the candidate for Congress in the Forty-third District running against Klan-Democrat Thomas Metzger.

The Brown administration has resorted to all kinds of trickery and law breaking to keep the socialists off the ballot. California election law, one of the most restrictive in the country, requires independent candidates to collect 101,000 signatures on petitions to qualify for ballot status. The SWP turned in well over the requirement—153,000 signatures for its presidential slate, 139,000 for U.S. Senate, and 18,000 to meet the 11,000 requirement for Friedman's campaign.

Despite this, the Brown administration claims the SWP does not have enough "valid" signatures of registered voters.

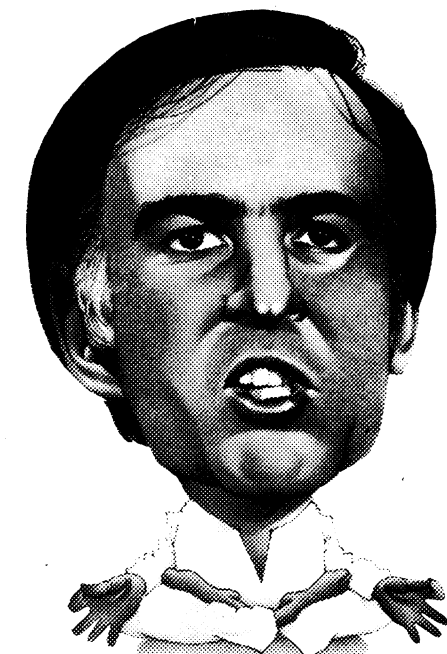
The SWP suit challenges the state's contention and demands that the socialist candidates be placed on the ballot. The suit documents case after case of signatures of registered voters being disqualified, blank spaces on petitions being counted as "invalid" signatures, and other unlawful tampering with the validation process in order to disqualify enough signatures to keep the socialists off. In addition, the state refused to comply with its own law requiring the board of elections to process the signatures within ten days after they were received.

Governor Brown is not new at trying to keep the SWP off the ballot. In 1976, the Brown administration tried to rule the socialists off after they turned in

their petitions. Brown backed down at the last minute, only after a big campaign of protest was launched throughout California and the country demanding the SWP be placed on the ballot.

Before he became governor, Brown was secretary of state—the person directly responsible for administering ballot law. Under his administration, the requirements for independent candidates were even harsher than they are today. The signature requirement of 300,000 made it impossible for socialists to get on the ballot.

In fact, 1976 was the first time in thirty-six years that any socialist candidate was able to obtain statewide



Governor Brown says small is beautiful—especially the ballot.

ballot status in California. The California requirement was lowered to 100,000 only as a result of legal challenges and tremendous political pressure.

Why is the "I'm for the little people" governor so anxious to keep the socialist slate off the ballot? Brown's job is to help maintain the two-party ballot monopoly. Like his colleagues in the Democratic and Republican parties, Brown would like to silence the discussion in the labor movement today about forging a real alternative for working people in the elections—the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions.

The California union movement has been at the center of this growing discussion. In his Labor Day speech just one year ago, John Henning, executive secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation, initiated the call for a discussion on a labor party saying, "The two-party system is no longer serving the economic and social interests of the American working people."

The need for a labor party is the perspective put forward by the Socialist Workers Party today in the elections. And this is precisely the perspective that Brown would like to keep California workers from hearing.

A big protest campaign is needed to keep the Brown administration from denying the SWP a spot on the ballot, and denying Californians their right to register their support for the socialist alternative. The SWP urges all supporters of democratic rights to send letters of protest to Gov. Edmund G. Brown, State Capitol, Sacramento, California 95814. Copies should be sent to SWP, 2864 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California 94609.

August 26 actions press fight for ERA

By Helen Kuester and Valerie Sammons

SEATTLE—A thousand people marched and rallied here August 23 in support of the Equal Rights Amendment and to honor the sixtieth anniversary of the winning of women's suffrage.

Called by the Washington ERA Coalition, the action was endorsed by more than fifty organizations, including the Seattle National Organization for Women, Church Council of Greater Seattle, Washington State Black Women's Caucus, Associated Students of the University of Washington, and

Asian Pacific Women's Caucus.

There was a significant labor response to the call for support by the coalition.

District Council 751 of the International Association of Machinists at Boeing and the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 1380 endorsed the coalition itself, as well as the action.

Many other union bodies endorsed the action and helped publicize it in their papers. Among these were: Coalition of Labor Union Women; Washington State Labor Council; Communica-

tions Workers of America Local 9102; Washington Educational Association; Washington Federation of Teachers; Pacific Northwest Chapter 82 of the Newspaper Guild; Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 8; United Steelworkers Local 1208; and United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1001.

Enthusiasm was high. Many people joined the march as it proceeded through downtown Seattle to the Freeway Park rally site.

Following spirited chants, Loraine Howell, president of Seattle NOW, addressed the crowd. Another speaker, Washington Federation of Teachers member Barbara Oterson, said that the WFT "supports the ERA and supports the boycott. As a union and as teachers we will make ourselves heard."

Diane Narasaki of the American Friends Service Committee said that her organization works for the ERA and against the draft, a violation of human rights of both men and women.

Other speakers included Patricia Robinson-Martin, director of the city's Office of Women's Rights; Mary Nell Bockman, Socialist Workers gubernatorial nominee; Republican nominee Bruce Chapman; Pam Dowel of the disabled rights movement; and others.

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK—Nearly a thousand women and supporters of women's rights marched down Fifth Avenue and rallied in Bryant Park August 26.

The placards and chants of the marchers showed more of a fighting mood than an air of celebration: "What do we want? ERA! When do we want

it? Yesterday!" and "Hey Hey, Ho Ho, the Hyde Amendment has got to go!" expressed two of the major themes of the action.

The action was called by a coalition of women's rights organizations. Participating groups included several branches of the National Organization for Women, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, Women Office Workers, Catholics for a Free Choice, Ms. Magazine, National Congress of Neighborhood Women, and many others.

Former congresswoman Bella Abzug was parade grand marshal and a featured speaker. Among seventeen other speakers were Arlie Scott of NOW and Gloria Steinem of Ms. Magazine.

Marches, walkathons, and rallies around the country marked the anniversary of the August 26, 1920, victory for women's suffrage. Most focused on the demand for passage of the ERA.

In Denver, more than 400 people, including a group of rail workers, participated in a walkathon and a rally that raised \$36,000 for the ERA.

About 200 people walked ten miles on the Atlantic City, New Jersey, boardwalk August 24. Among the participants were Diane Hauser, president of the newly chartered Southern New Jersey Coalition of Labor Union Women, and Joanne Pietro, secretary of Northern New Jersey CLUW.

In the Los Angeles area, about 900 supporters of ERA marched in fundraising walkathons at Venice and Laguna beaches August 26. A spokesperson for NOW said the events raised nearly \$41,000 for the ERA ratification movement.



Militant, spirited demonstration in Seattle included good representation of trade unionists.

Socialist campaign supporters launch fall fund drive with \$75,000 goal



Andrew Pulley, right, talks with Coca-Cola workers in Grenada during a tour there in July.

By Duncan Williams

The nine weeks remaining before the November elections will be the most active and intense of the 1980 Socialist Workers presidential campaign. This final drive got off to a running start at the recent Socialist Activists and Educational Conference in Oberlin, Ohio.

At a rally August 8, more than 700 supporters pledged over \$52,000 to the campaign of Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice president.

Conference participants were inspired by the revolutionary developments in the Caribbean and Central America, by the massive opposition to draft registration, by the recent Black rebellions in Miami and Chattanooga, and by the response to the socialist ballot drives. They were confident that now is the best time to bring socialist ideas to the U.S. working class.

The pledges, which are to be paid by October 1, launched the campaign's \$75,000 fall fund drive in a big way.

Despite the heavy toll of inflation and layoffs, most of the contributions came from workers in the steel, auto, rail, aerospace, and oil industries.

These generous donations make it possible for the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign to initiate the following ambitious projects without delay:

Campaign teams

- Twenty teams, for one week each, will take the socialist campaign to striking copper miners in Arizona, shipyard workers in Virginia, the Black communities of Miami and Chattanooga, and other hot spots of the class struggle. They will distribute campaign literature and sell subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* as part of a national effort to gain 8,000 new subscribers. The campaign literature alone for these teams costs several thousand dollars.

- Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann have already begun their tours of the country, taking the socialist alternative to Carter, Reagan, and Anderson to thousands of people. They will visit every city where the Socialist Workers Party has a branch, as well as places where new support has been organized, such as Burlington, Vermont; Youngstown, Ohio; Charleston, West Virginia; Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; and Cedar Falls, Iowa.

- The candidates are participating in major political events of the fall. Andrew Pulley campaigned in solidarity with the Grenadian revolution at the September 1 Caribbean Day festival in Brooklyn, New York, attended by hundreds of thousands of people.

Matilde Zimmermann will travel to the convention of the National Organization for Women in San Antonio October 3-5, to present the socialist alternative to the Democrats' and Republicans' sabotage of the

Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights.

And Andrew Pulley will be attending the Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment in Pittsburgh October 10-12.

New literature

- The campaign committee has been able to produce, in the necessary quantities, new campaign literature for the fall. "Jobs, not the Draft!" is a new Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann brochure encouraging young people to attend the Young Socialist Alliance National Convention in Indianapolis, Dec. 27-30.

At the socialist educational conference, a Spanish-language edition of the pamphlet *How I Became a Socialist* by Andrew Pulley was newly available. The English version has already been one of the best tools in persuading new campaign supporters to join the YSA and SWP. Every new subscriber to the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial* will receive a copy.

Two other new publications are a brochure entitled "How to Fight Racism and Win" and Andrew Pulley's pamphlet *Why Working People Need a Labor Party*.

- Most important, the tours and fall campaigning are already translating the enthusiastic support for Pulley and Zimmermann into new members joining the YSA. For example, in the first two weeks of the New York ballot drive in late August, six young people there joined the YSA. Four national leaders of the YSA will be touring the country this fall to speak about the socialist campaign and the fight against the draft, and to win more young rebels to the YSA.

Success of spring drive

Two developments are proof that these ambitious projects, including the fund drive, are entirely realistic: the success of the \$50,000 fund drive last spring, and the enormous gains won in the socialist ballot drives over the past five months.

The spring fund drive raised \$51,000 for the national campaign, mainly from pledges at rallies where the candidates were on tour. Especially encouraging was the \$17,000 contributed by people who are not yet members of the SWP and YSA. This money came from *Militant* readers, from people who clipped coupons off campaign literature, and from co-workers on the job.

These funds went to pay for the national campaign tours, for the national teams of campaigners who participated in ballot drives in many states, and for international tours of the candidates. They made it possible to send Andrew Pulley to Grenada last summer, where he met with Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other revolutionary leaders of the New Jewel Movement. Pulley also travelled to Cuba, while Matilde Zimmermann headed a delegation of socialist candidates to Nicaragua. Spreading the

truth about the revolutions in the Caribbean is one of the central themes of the SWP's fall campaign.

But the \$51,000 raised in the national fund drive was by no means the whole story. Local campaign committees raised and spent another \$40,000, mainly in the ballot drives in thirty states.

In these drives, in addition to obtaining more than 500,000 signatures to get the socialist candidates on the ballot, campaigners distributed hundreds of thousands of pieces of campaign literature, talked to millions of people about the socialist alternative, and recruited scores of activists to the YSA.

Fall tasks

The fall fund drive, based on these victories, will require participation of all campaign supporters and the close attention of the campaign committees.

First, all pledges made at the Oberlin national campaign rally need to be paid by October 1 to cover immediate travel, printing, and other expenses of the campaign.

Second, each local campaign committee needs to plan collection and prompt payment of pledges made at local rallies during the fall tours.

Finally, now is the best time to raise funds from new sources. Every new campaign supporter, every new *Militant* or *PM* reader, in short everyone we meet while campaigning will be encouraged to join in the final effort of the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign by making a contribution to the \$75,000 fund drive.

If you would like to help, there's no need to wait. You can fill in the coupon below and send a contribution to the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Socialist Workers \$75,000 Campaign Fund

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Phone _____
Union/School/Org. _____
Make checks payable to:
Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane,
New York, N.Y. 10014.

McDuffie film turns truth upside down

It's not every TV show that gets an advance editorial recommendation from the *New York Times*.

"Miami: The Trial That Sparked the Riots," an August 27 CBS documentary, did get that special treatment.

The *Times* editorial that day urged its readers not to miss "this extraordinary and timely program."

Quite a recommendation.

However, I did become a bit dubious when I got to the part of the editorial that explained that the documentary was produced by a Harvard lawyer and "amply demonstrates that there is more to these cases than the miscarriage of justice."

This point was repeated in the film itself. The narrator, reporter Ed Bradley, advises:

"In Miami's newspapers and television reports, the McDuffie case seemed open and shut. But inside the courtroom it was a different story."

This is pure fraud.

With a pretense of objectivity, the show tries to make two points. One is that the McDuffie case was not the sickening travesty of justice it appeared to be.

The second is that cops are as much "victims" as the Black people they brutalize.

True, the film is not a total whitewash. The main facts are too widely known to permit that.

AS I SEE IT

It has been established beyond controversy that on December 17, a gang of Dade County cops bludgeoned Arthur McDuffie to death.

They had pursued McDuffie, a Black insurance executive, after his motorcycle reportedly ran a red light.

When they caught him, the cops beat in his skull with their flashlights and nightsticks.

The smashed up his motorcycle and filed a report that he suffered skull injuries when his bike went out of control.

Then the facts began coming out and the authorities were compelled to act. Indictments were issued. Three cops were given immunity

after they turned state's evidence, and five went to trial.

The prosecution permitted a change of venue from Miami to Tampa. There the cops were acquitted.

Already enraged by the exoneration of cops in other brutality cases, Miami's Black community exploded.

The Tampa trial itself had been televised and this had a powerful impact—on whites as well as Blacks. The depiction of how McDuffie was murdered was as graphic as the mockery of justice in the acquittal.

As a result, there was a new degree of understanding among Florida whites as to why the Black community rebelled.

(A Miami TV station interviewed people in a white working-class area and couldn't find one person who agreed with the verdict.)

That's the "problem" this documentary is intended to deal with.

The fullest credence is given to the legal malarkey put forward by the defense.

There were, the film advises, "baffling contradictions" in the testimony of prosecution witnesses.

"At this point in the trial," the you-are-there narrator says, "the main problem with the prosecution case is that their own witnesses are contradicting each other."

What were these "baffling contradictions"?

One was that one of the cops testifying for the prosecution said that he and McDuffie traded punches before McDuffie went down. A second cop-witness said he didn't see this happen. (The entire police assault occurred with lightning speed, an estimated minute and a half.)

One cop testified that the principal defendant, Alex Marrero, clubbed McDuffie with straight up-and-down hammer blows. Another said he beat the victim with a pendulum-like motion.

A city cop, who was on the scene, said he saw another Dade County cop beating McDuffie. The film fully presents the defense's patently fake argument that this contradicted the assertion of two other witnesses that Marrero delivered the final blows.

The point about the asserted flimsiness of the

prosecution case is then underlined by quoting from a letter written by one of the jurors.

Of course, he assured, the jury recognized that police violence occurred. But there was no solid evidence as to which ones really did it. So how could they, in good conscience, convict anyone?

This is particularly impressive when you consider that it comes from a member of an all-white jury that listened to four weeks of testimony and then "deliberated" for two hours and forty-four minutes before arriving at its "not guilty" verdict!

The film winds up with several supersensitive interviews with cops, culminating with Marrero himself.

A Black policeman philosophically explains it's like American GIs who found themselves in Vietnam "and all of a sudden are exposed to a totally different culture. . . . The same thing can happen to a police department when you take an individual who's suddenly thrust into the middle of a culture he's never been exposed to before."

A white cop waxes indignant before the camera.

"I see more racism in this area [the Black community] than I do in the entire Dade County! I have seen more racism struck upon me, simply because I'm white, or because I wear a uniform."

Finally, reporter Bradley interviews Marrero. This is one abused cop. So alienated that he doesn't even consider himself a citizen.

Reporter Bradley poses a question: "Let me ask you about police abuse. Does it happen?"

Responds Marrero: "Police abuse? I don't know, I guess anything is possible. As far as I'm concerned . . . I never observed any police abuse. As a matter of fact, I think police officers ought to be a little more tough out here. Or, if not they ought to get out, because they're going to end up dead."

According to the *Times* editorial, the film's "effective" use of videotape of the trial "becomes a truly public classroom."

Could be. Viewed carefully, it teaches how truth can be turned on its head and how, as Malcolm X explained, the criminal can be made the victim.

—Harry Ring

Tommy Lee Hines freed; may face new trial

By Nelson Blackstock

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—After spending one year and ten months in confinement for a crime he did not commit, Tommy Lee Hines was set free on August 25.

National attention has focused on events surrounding the Hines case. They included a round of actions in defense of the severely retarded Black man, the victim of patently false charges of raping white women in Decatur, Alabama, in 1978.

The Ku Klux Klan entered the government-led assault and underwent some widely reported growth in the northern Alabama area, where Blacks are a small minority. Things climaxed with an armed KKK attack on demonstrators in May of last year that left two Blacks and two Ku Kluxers wounded.

A Southern Christian Leadership Conference-called demonstration two weeks later drew 1,500 marchers from around the country.

In June the Alabama Supreme Court upheld a lower court ruling that the twenty-seven-year-old Black man was mentally incapable of understanding his constitutional rights when, according to police, he "confessed" to raping a white woman.

Hines's long ordeal is not over, however. While his conviction and thirty-year sentence was thrown out, Morgan County District Attorney Mike Moebes has vowed to retry the case as soon as possible.

Hines's attorney, Oscar Adams, Jr., told the *Militant* that the next move is now up to the prosecution. Adams then asked that the entire case be dismissed because the retarded man is not able to consult with his lawyers in preparing his defense.

County Circuit Judge Charles Crowder in Birmingham said August 29 that he expects the Hines case will be retried sometime in October.

Adams had requested the hearing at Bryce State Mental Hospital in Tuscaloosa at which doctors had said Hines was competent to be released. Gov. Bob James had ordered Hines transferred last year from prison to the hospital after doctors said he was suffering from a serious mental illness. Hines is now technically free on \$10,000 bond.

Adams took over the case when his law partner, U.W. Clemon, accepted an appointment as U.S. district judge last month. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund is sponsoring the case.

Last spring, Birmingham Police Chief Bill Meyers admitted assigning undercover cops to follow SCLC and Socialist Workers Party members to an anti-Klan demonstration in Greensboro, North Carolina, in February. He said the action was taken as part of preparations for a possible Hines retrial in this city. Meyers further said that while the unit assigned to the secret investigations has been dissolved, he is prepared to put it back into action whenever he decides it is needed.

It is the openly crude and racist nature of government action against Hines that sparked actions in his behalf in Decatur. Many see the charges against the retarded man as a form of general retribution against the Black community.

One Decatur official actually said last year that if Hines didn't commit the crime, then the Black community knows who did and should turn the culprit over to police. This fits the historical pattern whereby lynchers


have seized the first available Black man whenever a rape is charged.

Concern over Hines's safety has been voiced now that he is back in Decatur. This concern was not eased by District Attorney Moebes's statement that "I intend to continue the prosecution. I don't see how they can contend he is capable of being mentally competent to roam the streets but mentally incapable of standing trial."

Mohammed Oliver, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, has called for the

immediate dropping of all charges against Hines. "It's clear to all that Tommy Lee Hines is innocent. This shameful persecution of an innocent man must stop.

"Hines's supporters should be prepared to rally to his defense. They have the constitutional right to do that—free from secret police harassment. I demand the release of all files on Birmingham police spying on legal political activity."



Spread it around...

This brochure by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley can be ordered from the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Copies are four cents each.

Paid for by the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Oh—A spokesperson at the Great Lakes Naval Training Center explained what was really behind sailors there booing and catcalling during performances of the national anthem at the base movie house, to wit, "I don't think the sailors here are any more disrespectful than anyone else. In their haste to see the movie, they just exceed the bounds of politeness."

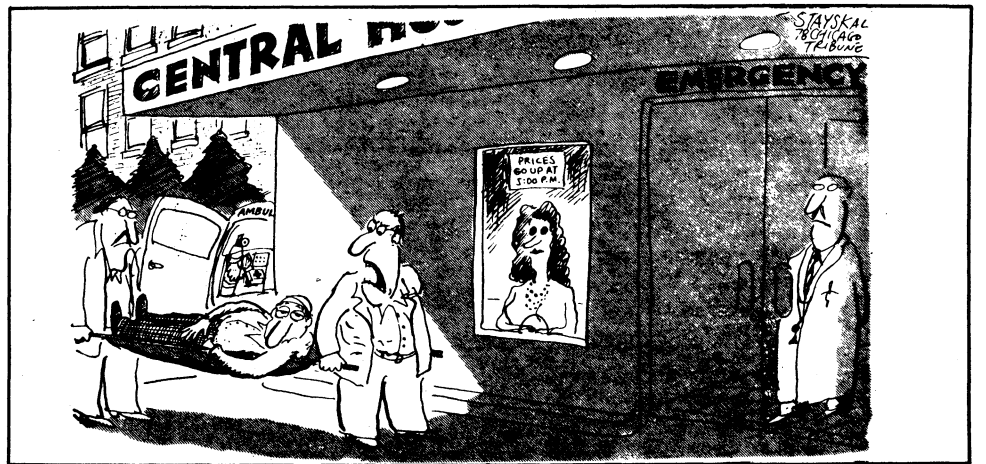
Just a twitch—An August earthquake was centered nine miles from the Livermore nuclear weapons laboratory in California. But it was only a mild one.

Cause and effect—In a guest editorial in the *American Heart Journal*, a Dr. Carl Seltzer advises that his research shows there is no proof that smoking contributes to heart disease. The good doctor's research was funded in part by the Council of Tobacco Research, a front for the coffin-nail industry.

Nonsectarian—Jesus jeans will be available in the USSR on the basis of a \$100-million contract signed with the Italian company which turns them out. One of the original ad slogans for the fast-selling item was, "Thou shall have no other jeans before me."

Pretty smart—Two professors, previously employed by the CIA and State Dept., publish a bulletin, "World Political Risk Forecast." It contains such intelligence as: There is a 29 percent chance the South Korean government will change in the next eighteen months, and a 63 percent chance unions there will become stronger. A reported 172 top corporations each fork out \$1,500 a year for this.

Tough-situation dep't—Top executive salaries increased but 10.6 percent last year as against an inflation rate of 13.3 percent. Bonus payments, how-



"What do you mean, 'What entrance fee?' . . . How long has it been since you've been to a hospital, Mac?"

ever, increased from 56.8 percent of base pay to 58.3 percent. Oil and chemical top brass led with an average take of \$454,200 as compared to utility execs who ran last, averaging but \$193,300.

Makes 'em sparkle too—If you feel self-conscious about laying out the price of Perrier's consider the advertising claim of one bubbly bottler who insists seltzer water will make your plants grow twice as fast.

By Any Means Necessary

Osborne Hart



Prime Minister Mugabe comes to Harlem

MU-gabe, *MU*-gabe, *MU*-gabe—chanted several thousand Blacks. Standing in the midst of the crowd hailing Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, I heard his name echo off the walls of the Harlem State Office Building and out across Adam Clayton Powell Boulevard and 125th Street.

MU-gabe, *MU*-gabe, *MU*-gabe.

Mugabe drew the exuberant response at a rally in his honor during the Harlem Week festivities in the renowned Black community of the same name.

The occasion of Mugabe's visit coincided with his U.S. tour and the acceptance of Zimbabwe in the United Nations. But the significance of his speaking in Harlem was much more than a tour stop.

Mugabe's presence and reception in Harlem represents the internationalism of the Black struggle in this country and its identification and solidarity with liberation struggles in the colonial and semi-colonial world—particularly with Africa. The Black struggle and its internationalist character was a recurrent theme of Malcolm X's. And Mugabe obviously recognizes and understands the links.

Referring to the struggle against the former white minority regime in his country and the role of the Afro-American struggle, Mugabe remarked, "The African people, you and I, refuse to submit." He thanked us for our "material, political, and moral

support" of the Zimbabwean people in their fight to achieve majority rule. And warned, to the enthusiasm of his audience, that Namibia and South Africa were next.

He concluded his thirty minute talk by saying, "Long live our oneness, long live our struggle." The crowd responded once again with a chorus of: *MU*-gabe, *MU*-gabe, *MU*-gabe.

It's a rare occurrence when a head of state pays a visit to a U.S. community—especially the Black community. And even rarer when that head of state calls for an end to our oppression.

In the past, others have brought their solidarity message to Harlem. Fidel Castro came in 1960. Last year, Palestine Liberation Organization representative to the United Nations, Zehdi Terzi spoke in Harlem during the time when several prominent Black leaders were visiting PLO head Yassir Arafat in the Middle East.

Mugabe's visit, like others in the past, serves as an inspiration and impetus to our struggle.

A couple of days later, Mugabe addressed the UN General Assembly. In a detailed speech, he described the Zimbabwean freedom struggle from the beginning of the settler state in 1890 to the ZANU (Zimbabwean African National Union) victory. Mugabe's point was that from the start the colonialists and imperialists had one thing in mind: "the

search for wealth." Thus for ninety years his country was plundered for profit.

The new government has launched a national rehabilitation, resettlement, and reconstruction program. The program will cost the equivalent of \$4 billion. Mere spending change of the massive profits extracted by Zimbabwe's former colonial masters and their U.S. culprits.

Zimbabwe needs aid.

And Mugabe's appeal is simple: "We would remind those of our friends who . . . made such promises of generous offers that they should now match their words with concrete action. We would also appeal to the international community as a whole to come to our aid."

One of those "friends" is the U.S., which has only given \$20 million to date. Even the *Christian Science Monitor* called it a "paltry sum" compared to the \$1 billion promised by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to entice whites to remain in the country.

Zimbabwe's demand for aid is a just one that should be granted by those who've exploited that country for so long.

For supporters of the African liberation struggle in this country, the demand on the Carter administration should be for unconditional aid to Zimbabwe.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

GRENADA: BLACK REVOLUTION IN THE AMERICAS. Speakers: Toussaint Jourdan, Caribbean journalist just back from tour of Grenada; Mark Friedman, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress. Fri., Sept. 5, 7 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

FLORIDA MIAMI

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Wed., Sept. 10, 7 p.m. 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Florida SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for

vice-president; Lee Artz, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois; Etta Ettlinger, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Indiana; others. Sat., Sept. 13, Gary reception 1 p.m., 3883 Broadway, Gary. Chicago reception 5:30 p.m. followed by 7 p.m. rally, 434 S. Wabash, Chicago. Donation for rally: \$3. Ausp: Illinois and Indiana SWP Campaign Committees; Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (312) 939-0737 or (219) 884-9509.

LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

REVOLUTION IN GRENADA. An eyewitness account. Speaker: Gilbert Dupree, leader of socialist movement in Martinique. Fri., Sept. 12, 8 p.m. 3207 Dublin. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

NEW YORK BROOKLYN

WORKING PEOPLES' STAKE IN DEFENDING

THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS. Grand opening rally for Brooklyn Socialist Workers Campaign. Speakers: Keith Jones, SWP candidate for Congress; Diane Wang, steelworker recently returned from visit to Grenada; others. Sat., Sept. 6, social hour 6:30 p.m., rally 8 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. (near Hoyt). (Habr  traducci n al espa ol.) Donation: \$3. Ausp: Brooklyn SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA WINSTON-SALEM

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president; Douglas Cooper, SWP candidate for governor. Sun., Sept. 7, 7 p.m. 216 E. 6th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee; Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

WORKERS' STRIKE IN POLAND: LESSONS FOR AMERICAN WORKERS. Speaker: Douglas Cooper, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor and

Young Socialist Alliance National Committee member. Sun., Sept. 14, 7 p.m. 216 E. 6th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OREGON PORTLAND

POLISH WORKERS FIGHT FOR UNION RIGHTS. Speaker: Curt Johnson. Sun., Sept. 14, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

WASHINGTON SEATTLE

POLAND 1980—WHAT THE WORKERS WON. Speaker: Mary Nell Bockman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Washington. Sun., Sept. 7, 7 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Poland 1970

The Polish workers' revolt in December 1970 was a direct precursor of this year's victorious strike upsurge. Provoked by bureaucratic mismanagement of the economy and government attempts to raise prices, the 1970 rebellion was centered in the Baltic ports of the Gdansk region and Szczecin. It toppled the government of Wladyslaw Gomulka, who resigned December 20, 1970, as head of the Communist Party. He was succeeded by Edward Gierek, who promised reforms.

After the events described below, strikes and clashes continued for weeks. A strike by women textile workers in February 1971 proved to be a turning point, as the government gave up its attempt to raise prices. Over the next six years the average wages of industrial workers more than doubled.

Lech Walesa and other central leaders of this year's upsurge are veterans of the 1970 strikes and of a subsequent strike wave in 1976. They drew important conclusions from their earlier experiences, especially on the futility of trusting any wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy and on the need for independent organization of the workers to safeguard their gains.

Below are excerpts from a report by Antoni Wojciechowski and Ryszard Malinowski on the first days of the 1970 revolt. It is reprinted from *Intercontinental Press*, February 1, 1971.

* * *

Discontent had been building up for a long time among the workers in the Paris Commune shipyards [in Gdansk]. The workers had been paying the price for poor management of the enterprise.

The announcement on radio and television Saturday, December 12, of the price increase was the final drop that made the cup run over. Monday morning the workers organized a mass meeting in the yards, drew up a list of demands, and dispatched a delegation to the Communist Party Regional Committee. [The delegates were arrested.]

When news of this reached the workers in the yards, they rushed to the Regional Committee offices, demanding the release of the delegates and threatening to set fire to the building in case of a refusal. This, in fact, was what happened.

The first detachments of police arrived and attacked the demonstrators with their clubs. The workers, armed with chains and reinforced by new demonstrators, resisted and took the offensive themselves. They drove the police back toward a railway viaduct and threw the police cars on the track. They seized weapons and police command cars equipped with loudspeakers, which they used all afternoon to broadcast appeals to the population.

A delegation of workers was sent to the School of Sciences to ask the help of the students.

In the evening, local television broadcast the first speech by Kociolk, the first secretary of the provincial party committee. He addressed the population in a conciliatory tone and promised the shipyard workers that he would examine their demands, calling on them to resume work the next day.

The next morning a section of the workers, putting their faith in Kociolk's vague promises, left the station to return to the shipyards. At the gate, riot police armed with machine guns were waiting.

The police opened fire. Then the massacre began. The big square was raked with bullets. The men tried to take refuge in the railway station building. By that time there were hundreds of dead and wounded.

A manhunt began. The police chased the men into the station waiting room. Maddened and desperate, the crowd seized everything it found that could be used as a weapon. After the battle, several cops were found hanging in the burned-out station.

On Tuesday the three cities of Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot were ringed by the



Szczecin, 1970: Communist Party headquarters burned by workers in protest against price hikes and Stalinist repression.

army and sealed off from the rest of the country. The army and the police combed the city. The strikes and street fighting continued until the end of the week.

As soon as the events in Gdansk became known, the workers in the Szczecin shipyards organized a meeting in their work area. This meeting was also a demonstration of solidarity with the Gdansk workers.

During it, a strike committee was formed, including party members, which drew up a list of twenty demands.

The workers reaffirmed their desire to build socialism but they demanded, above all, the resignation of Gomulka and his team. The work of the trade unions was vigorously criticized and the workers demanded the resignation of the chairman of the union organization. As in Gdansk, the workers demanded wage raises to compensate for the price increase.

The workers formed a procession with banners and red flags and, like their comrades in Gdansk, sang the "Internationale." They rallied a good part of the population behind them—workers from other factories, clerks, housewives, university and high-school students.

They reached the [Communist Party] Regional Committee building, which was surrounded by a cordon of police. A corps of marshals arose instantly from the demonstration, encircling the police, driving them back, and keeping them under surveillance.

Then, as an expression of protest, the workers decided to burn the party building. However, before setting fire to it, so as not to be accused of destroying public property uselessly, with impressive order and silence they removed all the furniture, documents, and food found inside.

In the meantime, fresh detachments of police arrived as well as army units and tanks. The battle erupted. The police headquarters was also burned.

As in Gdansk, the workers fought with heavy chains attached to steel hooks. Other workers, also as in Gdansk, rushed into the stores to get bottles for Molotov cocktails. (Some tank drivers even supplied the workers with diesel oil.) While this was going on, the worker marshals prevented looting.

The strike spread throughout the city, but it was a special kind of strike. The gas and electric workers cut off the current and gas for the residential districts where the high party and police functionaries live. But they kept up the supply to the shipyards and other parts of the city.

The shipyard workers were also supplied with food while the strikers in the city sent to the island. The sit-in strike ended on Monday, the day following Gomulka's dismissal.

Letters

Cuban emigrés

What does the American public intend to do about the blatant government violations of the human and legal rights of the Cuban people recently admitted into the country?

Several hundred are now confined here at Leavenworth and several hundred more are confined at Atlanta prison. All are imprisoned without crime against any federal laws being committed by any one Cuban permitted on American soil. Yet, while the country boasts of its great system of democracy—freedom, justice, equality for all—and attempts to boycott the Olympics because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, hundreds and hundreds of Cubans exist from day to day in cells in either Leavenworth or Atlanta, as well as in possibly other federal prisons throughout the country.

An accounting should be demanded so that the Cubans presently confined can receive the same human recognition as do other minorities among the American citizenry. (There's no claim that they will fare off any better on the streets of America than in prison. They just don't belong in prison.)

In closing, the fact that many of the Cubans are gays and petty thieves should not now be given any greater consideration in allowing them to be placed throughout the country than it was before and when the decision was made to grant entrance and hence American citizenship to these people. Now that they are here on American soil, they should be placed in homes, given food, clothing, jobs, education, and some form of financial security until they establish themselves here as proper and responsible American citizens.

A prisoner
Leavenworth, Kansas

Activist is pro-SWP

I have been in the Socialist Party for several years, but live in an area where leftist ideologies are far from flourishing. I have only recently begun reading the *Militant* since I was introduced to it at the various D.C. and Harrisburg antinuke rallies.

I have been involved in the Susquehanna Alliance for well over a year. We have been involved in grueling

interventions to prohibit licensing of the Susquehanna Steam and Electric Station. We residents are presently paying enormous rate hikes. In 1982 there will be a 13 percent increase; '83 a 12 percent increase. This, incidentally, is the largest nuke in Pennsylvania. It is poorly constructed, located right on top of people's homes in one of the most gorgeous valleys in the state, and is the next Three Mile Island waiting to happen.

I was thrilled to pick up the phone the other day and speak to Linda Mohrbacher, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate from Pennsylvania. I can assure you I have never received a call from candidates from Democratic, Republican, Independent, Citizens, or any other damn party. Hence, you surely know where my support lies.

Jeff Urban
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Exploiting the blind


I have worked at the blind shop in this city and the blind shop in Greensboro. These shops are supposed to be non-profit organizations, that is, no money is supposed to be made off the blind workers. However, the blind worker makes very little money in these shops but they who run the shops make huge amounts of money from the products that are made.

The blind worker is not classified as a skilled worker. In this way he or she can be kept at the shop because they can find nowhere else to work. The management of the places make the claim that they have very few workers who are actually good workers. They claim they are giving these workers something to do.

These shops almost never give higher wages. Like all other capitalist management, they believe in keeping their employees down. In this way they know that they will always have slaves. The state and federal government go with the actions of these people.

Will the blind, and other physically and mentally handicapped people, take their place in society? Only if people like us will educate the public as to their plight and problems.

James Horne
Winston-Salem,
North Carolina



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Learning About Socialism

Workers revolt against bureaucracy

Ideas on coverage

I applaud the *Militant's* endorsement of a national labor party as an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties.

Perhaps reporting on other democracies that have successful labor platforms, as in Europe and Australia, would be helpful in convincing voters here of the need for our own.

Speaking of Australia, I would like to see the *Militant* report on the current social and economic conditions of the Aborigines. I would also like to see more attention given to American Indians and Eskimos as their day-to-day conditions worsen but are all but ignored by elected representatives and the media.

Chris Wolford

Salem, West Virginia

Tale of trouble

I enjoyed Harry Ring's article "Oh say does that Star Spangled Banner still wave?" in the September 5 *Militant*. It seems to me it says volumes about the problems facing the ruling class. If this is the attitude of the volunteers, they must wonder, what can be expected from the potential draftees?

Nelson Blackstock

Birmingham, Alabama

Correction

In our August 29 report on the Oberlin rally held in solidarity with the Central American and Caribbean revolutions, we incorrectly attributed a quotation used by Andrea Granados, a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador.

In her speech to the rally, she had cited the declaration, "When history cannot be written with a pen, it should be written with a rifle."

The *Militant* incorrectly attributed this to the Cuban patriot José Martí. But the statement was actually made by Agustín Farabundo Martí, an outstanding figure of the El Salvadoran revolution.

Associated with Augusto César Sandino in the Nicaraguan liberation struggle of the 1920s, Farabundo Martí was an early leader of the Communist Party of El Salvador. In 1932, a popular uprising there was crushed by a government massacre, during which Martí was executed.

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

Leon Trotsky was second only to Lenin among the leaders of the Russian revolution. Trotsky organized and led the Red Army to victory against the counter-revolutionaries and the imperialist invaders who tried to overthrow the first workers state.

In Lenin's last years they fought together against the growing bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. After Lenin's death in 1924 the fight greatly intensified. Joseph Stalin emerged as the leader of the bureaucracy.

But the fight was not at all a personal one between Trotsky and Stalin. There were big historical forces behind it. The poverty of the new Soviet state, the destruction of the civil war, and the unexpected defeat of revolutions in other countries, especially Germany and China, wore down the Russian workers. The demoralization helped the conservative bureaucrats.

Trotsky was exiled from the Soviet Union in 1929. His supporters were executed and imprisoned in the mass terror of the 1930s. Stalin's regime was so weak that to stay in power it had to use extreme terror and build up a monstrous police state.

Trotsky was killed by an agent of Stalin in Mexico in August 1940. Right up until his death, he worked tirelessly to uphold the continuity of the Marxist movement.

What happened to the gains of the 1917 revolution in Russia? What kind of society is the Soviet Union? What stance should revolutionaries take toward it?

These are some of the most difficult questions Marxists have grappled with for over fifty years.

The following excerpts are from *The Revolution Betrayed*, a book written by Trotsky in 1937.

While this book is banned in Poland as well as the Soviet Union, it is obvious that many Polish workers are arriving at similar conclusions.

The workers' upsurge in Poland is one of the most inspiring confirmations of Trotsky's confidence in the revolutionary potential of the working class.

—Stu Singer

* * *

Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat? Thus stands the question upon whose decision hangs the fate of the Soviet Union.

The vast majority of the Soviet workers are even now hostile to the bureaucracy. The peasant masses hate them with their healthy plebian hatred. If in contrast to the peasants the workers have almost never come out on the road of open struggle, thus condemning the protesting villages to confusion and impotence, this is not only because of the repressions. The workers fear lest, in throwing out the bureaucracy, they will open the way for a capitalist restoration.

The mutual relations between state and class are much more complicated than they are represented by the vulgar "democrats." Without a planned economy the Soviet Union would be thrown back for decades. In that sense the bureaucracy continues to fulfill a necessary function. But it fulfills it in such a way as to prepare an explosion of the

whole system which may completely sweep out the results of the revolution.

The workers are realists. Without deceiving themselves with regard to the ruling caste—at least with regard to its lower tiers which stand near to them—they see in it the watchman for the time being of a certain part of their own conquests. They will inevitably drive out the dishonest, impudent and unreliable watchman as soon as they see another possibility. For this it is necessary that in the West or the East another revolutionary dawn arise. . . .

This is the first time in history that a state resulting from a workers' revolution has existed. The stages through which it must go are nowhere written down. It is true that the theoreticians and creators of the Soviet Union hoped that the completely transparent and flexible Soviet system would permit the state peacefully to transform itself, dissolve, and die away, in correspondence with the stages of the economic and cultural evolution of society.

Here again, however, life proved more complicated than theory anticipated. The proletariat of a backward country was fated to accomplish the first socialist revolution. For this historic privilege, it must, according to all evidences, pay with a second supplementary revolution—against bureaucratic absolutism.

The program of the new revolution depends to a great extent upon the moment when it breaks out, upon the level which the country has then attained, and to a great degree upon the international situation. The fundamental elements of the program are already clear, and have been given throughout the course of this book as an objective inference from an analysis of the contradictions of the Soviet regime.

It is not a question of substituting one ruling clique for another, but of changing the very methods of administering the economy and guiding the culture of the country.

Bureaucratic autocracy must give place to Soviet democracy. A restoration of the right of criticism, and a genuine freedom of elections, are necessary conditions for the further development of the country. This assumes a revival of freedom of Soviet parties, beginning with the party of Bolsheviks, and a resurrection of the trade unions.

The bringing of democracy into industry means a radical revision of plans in the interests of the toilers. Free discussion of economic problems will decrease the overhead expense of bureaucratic mistakes and zigzags.

Expensive playthings—palaces of the Soviets, new theaters, show-off subways—will be crowded out in favor of workers' dwellings. "Bourgeois norms of distribution" will be confined within the limits of strict necessity, and, in step with the growth of social wealth, will give way to socialist equality. Ranks will be immediately abolished. The tinsel of decorations will go into the melting pot. The youth will receive the opportunity to breathe freely, criticize, make mistakes and grow up. Science and art will be freed of their chains. And, finally, foreign policy will return to the traditions of revolutionary internationalism.

More than ever the fate of the October revolution is bound up now with the fate of Europe and of the whole world. . . .

[*The Revolution Betrayed* is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 or from offices listed below. The cost is \$5.45 (enclose 75¢ for postage).]

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

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1609 5th Ave. N. Tel: (205) 328-9403. Send mail to P.O. Box 3382-A. Zip: 35205.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA: East Bay: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Zip: 94605. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 201 N. 9th St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA: Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

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

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Green-

mount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 546-5942. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, 4120 Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip:

45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (215) 734-4415. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 606 S. Allen St. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 1406 N. Flores Rd. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 222-8398.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133. WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

Blacks demand action against killer cops

Virginia

By Omari Musa
and Elen Lauper

MATHEWS, Va.—Nearly 300 Blacks protested August 24 against the brutal murder of twenty-three-year-old Michael Johnson here. It was the second demonstration against the Black youth's murder in as many days by residents in this rural area forty miles north of Norfolk.

Johnson, who worked for the Virginia State Highway Department, was riding in a state truck with two white co-workers just before his death August 23.

According to witnesses, Deputy Sheriff John Thornes followed Johnson into a liquor store parking lot around 3:45 p.m. Thornes had been dispatched to investigate alleged drunken driving by Johnson.

As Thornes handcuffed Johnson, a scuffle broke out. The deputy hit Johnson on the head, pulled his gun, and fatally wounded the youth in the chest.

Police claimed Johnson was beating Thornes before he fired.

However, a resident told the *Militant*, "Michael Johnson was a slightly built man who was not a violent sort of guy." Thornes, on the other hand, weighs over 200 pounds.

An angry crowd numbering 100-200 gathered immediately after the killing and marched to the sheriff's office. An impromptu rally was addressed by Beatrice Bobo, president of the Mathews County NAACP, and others. They called for a legal, peaceful march and rally for the following day.

J.M. Blake, who was part of the crowd that gathered in the parking lot after the murder, said, "The community was outraged.

"I've known Michael since he was little, and he never got in trouble. I don't think he even drank. I think Thornes should be tried for murder."

Thornes has since been indicted for murder. He is free on \$5,000 bail.

Thornes has been a cop for sixteen years. He joined the Mathews department last January. He's done stints in Newport News, Isle of Wight, and James City County, all in Virginia's Tidewater area. Violence against victims in his custody also is not new. According to an article in the August 26 *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, "Thornes quit the James City County sheriff's department in 1978 after he shot a suspect in the leg."

During the August 24 march and rally Black youths carried signs denouncing the murder. Some fifty cops turned out to try to intimidate the protesters.

Speakers at the rally held at the First Baptist Church included NAACP State Director Jack Gravely and Rev. Alvan James. Gravely said the NAACP "was seeking to find out what really happened and to see that justice is done." Racism is clearly not dead, he said.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Gravely added, "We're going to stay on top of this. Black people in this area have to organize to take care of business so that police don't feel they can do what they want where Blacks are concerned."

Gravely also said the NAACP is carrying out its own investigation and



Cop attacks Black in Philadelphia during demonstration against the murder of William Green. Angry protests are spreading against killer cops on the loose in Black communities.

has called on the Justice Department to investigate the Johnson killing.

New Orleans

By John Linder

NEW ORLEANS—On Labor Day afternoon twenty-five-year-old Lawrence Lewis, a Black, was gunned down here.

Two cops stopped Lewis in the Desire Housing Project. They claim they spotted a gun in his back pocket.

One cop, Albert Spiess, is white. The other, Michael Addison, is Black. Spiess shot Lewis.

The *Times-Picayune States-Item* interviewed residents of the housing project.

"It was cold-blooded murder," said one witness. "It was unjust. The Black guy was sitting on top of [Lewis] while the white guy had a pistol to his neck. I'm looking at this white boy just busting him upside the face with his pistol.

"And they say it was a concealed weapon. Well, if it is concealed, how can you see it?"

The following day, a crowd of 300 to 400 people gathered after police cars chased a Black driver into the same housing project. The crowd forced the cops to leave.

"The people back here are just get-

ting tired of this stuff. We want something out of life too," remarked one resident to the *Times-Picayune States-Item*. "They feel that just because they are the law they can handle you anyway they want to.

"There are kids watching what happened today. Don't you think they are asking themselves, 'Is this going to happen to me when I grow up? Are they going to let me grow up before they blow me away?'"

"We don't need them back here," another resident said. "They disrespect our people because they are the law."

As of September 3, at the request of Mayor Ernest Morial, the FBI was called in to investigate the Lewis killing. Spiess and Addison have been suspended, but no further action had been taken.

Philadelphia

By Jack Warner

PHILADELPHIA—The North Philadelphia Black community turned out more than 1,000 people August 27 to view the body of police victim William Green. Green, seventeen, was shot to death August 24 by a white cop—after a car chase—in front of at least 100 witnesses.

While no major clashes with police

were reported, this marked the third straight day of demonstrations demanding justice for Green.

The following day, city officials announced that Green's killer, Officer John Ziegler, would be fired from the force after a thirty-day suspension. An internal police department investigation determined that Ziegler went beyond official guidelines on the use of force in the shooting.

The district attorney formally charged Ziegler with unlawful homicide. Ziegler was arrested August 30.

The protests and rallies in the North Philadelphia Black community were important in bringing attention to this case.

While city officials denied they were influenced by "mob actions," they clearly feared the prospect of Philadelphia becoming another Miami.

Without these protests, the name of William Green would be just another statistic on the police blotter and Officer Ziegler would continue to patrol the streets of the Black community.

New facts in N.C. Klan trial

By Greg McCarten

GREENSBORO, N.C.—The jailer of David Wayne Matthews testified this week that Matthews, one of the Klan-Nazi murderers on trial here for the shooting deaths of five Communist Workers Party members, said soon after his arrest, "They cannot hang me for all of them. I only got three of them."

The testimony came this week along with medical examiners' reports that proved four of the anti-Klan demonstrators died from shotgun blasts from as close as ten feet.

Medical examiners also reported that at least three of the victims, Sandra Smith, Cesar Cauce, and Jim Waller, had been struck on their heads with blunt objects before being shot.

The Klan and Nazi defendants are pleading self-defense in the case. But medical examiners testify that at least one of the victims, Jim Waller, was shot in the back.

Thomas Clark became the third anti-Klan demonstrator to be found in contempt of court since the trial started.

Clark, who was wounded at the anti-Klan rally, refused to testify in court, denounced the trials, and stated that "you can't make me comply with a cover-up." Clark was then sentenced to thirty days in jail.

As the evidence mounts, the complicity between the police and the Klan and Nazis becomes exposed, as does the lie that the Klan and Nazis were just out for a Saturday of heckling. These were cold blooded, premeditated murders that happened while the cops turned their backs.

But the cover-up continues, and the victims, both dead and alive, continue to be portrayed by the government as the real criminals.