

# THE MILITANT

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

## U.S. steps up military threats in Mideast

Washington, Tel Aviv mourn Sadat death



Rapid Deployment Force conducting maneuvers in Egypt late last year. President Reagan's drive to sell AWACs radar planes to Saudi Arabia is part of continued military build-up in Mideast.

By William Gottlieb

Spokesman for President Reagan, David Gergen, said October 6 that the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat "in no way lessens the urgency" of the administration's proposed sale of AWAC radar planes to the Saudi Arabian monarchy.

Gergen added that the planes, costing \$8.5 billion, are necessary because they would "strengthen the forces of moderation" in the Middle East. The Pentagon, following news of Sadat's death, announced that "prudent precautions" were being taken in the Middle East by U.S. military forces.

The administration's response to Sadat's death followed an October 1 speech in defense of the AWACs deal, where Reagan declared, "Saudi Arabia we will not permit to be an Iran." The president was referring to the mass revolutionary movement of workers and peasants that swept away the Shah of Iran, one of Washington's staunchest allies in the region.

Summing up the administration's attitude toward Sadat's assassination, the October 7 *New York Times* stated, "Administration officials, concerned about chaos in Lebanon, the increased subversive activity of Libya and the Soviet inroads in Afghanistan, Southern Yemen and Ethiopia, had viewed Mr. Sadat as a solid, pro-American anchor of stability in the Middle East. . . . The mood in Washington was one of shock and sad-

*Continued on page 3*

## Women's rights movement at crossroads

—PAGE 4



## Reagan fights 'crime'

Three moves this week in Washington spotlight the determination of the nation's rulers to provide new weapons to the police forces who do their bidding.

In an ominous step, the administration stepped up its attack on what is called the "exclusionary rule." This rule bars prosecutors in criminal cases from using evidence that the cops seized illegally.

This rule has become the focus of Reagan's agitation against "crime." In his speech last month to the International Association of Chiefs of Police, Reagan announced that the exclusionary rule, which has governed in federal criminal trials since 1914, is "absurd." The top cops roared approval.

Now, the head of the Criminal Division of the Justice Department, D. Lowell Jensen, has told a Senate subcommittee that the administration would look favorably on "eliminating the rule altogether." As a step in this direction, the Justice Department wants a law requiring judges to accept evidence obtained illegally as long as the cops were acting in "good faith." Jensen said this would put an end to defendants being set free because of "technical" errors by the police who, after all, are only doing their job.

What the Justice Department means by the term "good faith" can be determined from the fact that it is defending the FBI's forty-year-long campaign of spying and disruption against the Socialist Workers Party on the grounds that the agents involved have all acted in good faith, even if they did "technically" violate some law.

On the second front, Congress pressed ahead with a bill that will make it a crime to identify government informers and agents, even if the identification is based on legally obtained information. The bill, currently under consideration in the House of Representatives, would send people to prison for publishing such information even if the agents they exposed were engaged in criminal or terrorist activities on behalf of the United States government. Such immunity from exposure for CIA and FBI agents is aimed at providing them with the weapon they desperately need if they are to be able to step up their activities: secrecy from public view.

Typically, the "debate" over the bill has the liberal "civil libertarians" supporting an amendment that would brand as criminals only those who have a specific "intent to impair or impede" the work of the CIA and the FBI. Thus, the liberals would exempt the "responsible" publications of the ruling class and apply the law only to those "irresponsible" elements (like this newspaper) who want to do everything humanly possible to force a halt to crimes committed by Washington's secret police forces, and

who understand that the most effective way to do this is to expose before the whole world the truth about the activities they engage in.

Finally, the Reagan administration let it be known this week that its new draft executive order would grant the CIA and FBI still more powers to violate our rights. The still-secret draft would give the spy agencies, according to news accounts, "sweeping power" and "broad authority" to use informers and provocateurs against organizations in the United States.

According to the reports, the order would allow the CIA to engage in "covert actions" inside the United States, including infiltrating political groups and spying on people suspected of no crime.

The Justice Department refused to testify, even at a closed congressional hearing, about its interpretation of the proposed new order. The officials were "reluctant to create a legislative record on an executive branch action," the Associated Press reported.

This proposed expansion of the powers of the spy agencies to go after "subversives" and "terrorists" goes hand in hand with the moves to enhance the right of cops to engage in illegal searches against accused criminals. The rulers' campaigns against "crime," against "terrorists," and against "subversives," are all aimed at the same goal: arming the cops against the rights of the American people.



Attica, 1971

## Prisoners need the 'Militant'

The United States imprisons a higher proportion of its population than any other capitalist country and imposes the longest sentences in the world.

Currently, 349,118 prisoners languish in overcrowded U.S. federal and state prisons that

are unfit for human habitation. This represents an increase of 20,000 in just the last six months, and doesn't even include the thousands more in local jails.

These victims of a social system that creates misery and destitution are not the "animals" from the "jungle" that the big-business media and capitalist politicians make them out to be.

They are human beings caught in the vicious circle of a system whose insane drive for profit at the expense of human needs leads desperate people to commit desperate acts. They are those too poor to foot the bill for the high-priced lawyers who routinely win freedom for those rich enough to pay.

What can we expect in the future? If President Reagan has his way, schools and mental institutions shut down by the budget cuts will be reopened as prisons to house more of the millions of working people pouring through Reagan's economic "safety net." With this program, Reagan dramatically symbolizes what the rulers have in mind for the whole country.

In the 1971 rebellion at Attica prison, near Buffalo, prisoners fighting for their human dignity were shot down in cold blood on the orders of then Governor of New York Nelson Rockefeller. This action proved to the world who the real "animals" are.

Following the Attica rebellion, the *Militant* launched a special fund to pay for free subscriptions to send to prisoners who want to receive the paper. Right now, we have hundreds of readers who are behind bars; and, over the past ten years, thousands of prisoners have received the paper.

One of these subscribers recently wrote to us: "I am presently incarcerated in the Texas Department of Corrections (a massive concentration camp for the poor, jobless, and disenfranchised). Since my incarceration here I've examined myself, and the feelings I have for a system so ruthless that it locks approximately 32,000 people away in buildings that violate even sub-human life styles. They spend billions on a 'defense' budget in this country and won't even feed the poor. . . .

"The purpose of this letter is to request that I be allowed to join you in order to help with the fight from within here. . . ."

We would like to continue sending the *Militant* to people like this prisoner, but we need your help.

We are asking our readers to help us defray some of the costs of these subscriptions by contributing generously to our prisoner's fund.

No contribution is too small. Every donation will be greatly appreciated by all those victims of class injustice and racism who will be able, with your help, to keep on reading our newspaper.

## About this newspaper . . .

The newspaper you're reading reflects the views of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

Our members include steelworkers, auto workers, garment workers, coal miners, rail workers, and machinists.

We are active in our unions. We are members of groups fighting for Black rights. Latino organizations. Women's rights groups. Antiwar committees.

On September 19 we were at the Solidarity Day march on Washington, marching against the Reagan administration's austerity drive.

In recent weeks, we've been helping to build solidarity for the air controllers' strike.

At the root of the problems, we believe, is the economic system we live under. Capitalism is based on producing profits for a tiny few—rather than on the human needs of the great majority.

In place of a government by the two parties of big business, socialists favor a government run by working people.

We support the idea of a labor party based on our

unions that could represent all the victims of Reagan's attacks.

If you agree, you should be a member of the SWP.

To find out more about the party, read *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Building a Party of Socialist Workers*, a book of reports and documents of the SWP.

To join—or to get more information—fill out the coupon below.

- ☐ I want to join the SWP.  
☐ Send me a copy of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*. Enclosed is \$7.95.  
☐ Send me more information.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

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

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

## The Militant

Editors: CINDY JAQUITH  
DOUG JENNESS

Business Manager: NANCY ROSENSTOCK

Editorial Staff: Connie Allen, Nelson Blackstock, Steve Bride, Fred Feldman, Nelson Gonzalez, William Gottlieb, Sue Hagen, Suzanne Haig, Margaret Jayko, Harry Ring, Vivian Sanner, Stu Singer.

Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for air-mail rates to all other countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.



# Ireland unfree shall never be at peace

*I'll wear no convict's uniform, nor meekly serve my time, that England might make Ireland's fight eight hundred years of crime.*

These words from an Irish song summarize the conviction that led ten Irish hunger strikers to lay down their lives rather than let the British government treat them as criminals. Their sacrifice is a stirring example of the human capacity to struggle against oppression and injustice.

The oldest of these freedom fighters was only 30. None wanted to die. Their hunger strike arose out of a long struggle to win five simple demands from British authorities: the right to wear their own clothing, to associate freely, to be exempt from prison work, to receive more mail and

visits, and to get time off their sentences for good behavior.

When the British government ended special status for Irish freedom fighters in 1976, the prisoners refused to don prison uniforms. More than 400 prisoners wrap their naked bodies in blankets rather than allow the British to treat them as felons.

Prisoners on the blanket protests are denied use of toilets. They are locked up twenty-four hours a day. They get no visitors. They are humiliated and beaten by guards. Yet they will not yield!

Some have already been on the blanket for five years. Many face decades more on the blanket before their prison terms end.

Ten men are dead because Mar-

garet Thatcher's government refused to concede their demands. Thatcher and her Irish counterparts may gloat about the end of the hunger strike, but the prisoners remain unbowed.

Bobby Sands and his fallen comrades have galvanized the people of Ireland, north and south, into action. British imperialism stands exposed before the entire world.

The dead hunger strikers—seven from the Irish Republican Army, three from the Irish National Liberation Army—gave their lives for a united, socialist Ireland.

Their struggle continues. The sacrifice of these heroic fighters has inspired another generation to press forward. Ireland will be free!

Padraic Pearse, an Irish patriot lat-

er executed by a British firing squad, delivered a funeral oration for freedom fighter O'Donovan Rossa in 1915. At that funeral, Pearse said of the British occupiers:

*"The fools, the fools, the fools, they have left us our Fenian dead, and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace."*

Bobby Sands, May 5, 1981  
Francis Hughes, May 12, 1981  
Raymond McCreesh, May 21, 1981  
Patsy O'Hara, May 21, 1981  
Joe McDonnell, July 8, 1981  
Martin Hurson, July 13, 1981  
Kevin Lynch, August 1, 1981  
Kieran Doherty, August 2, 1981  
Tom McIlwee, August 8, 1981  
Michael Devine, August 20, 1981

## ...arms buildup in Mideast

*Continued from front page*

ness at the loss of a leader who had done what would have seemed impossible a decade ago."

Secretary of State Alexander Haig tried to implicate the Libyan government in the Sadat killing. He told members of the U.S. Senate that Libya had broadcast "concerted, canned and vicious" propaganda "within minutes of the assassination of Sadat. Haig was referring to Libyan broadcasts that hailed a "dawn of freedom in Egypt."

According to the October 7 New York Daily News, "the U.S. policy stand hinted that Egypt might move against Libya" and in the event of an Egyptian military attack Washington "would stand four-square behind a grieving and vengeful Egypt."

Government officials and big-business media are presenting Anwar Sadat as a "champion of peace." They point to his trip to Jerusalem and his signing of the peace treaty with Israel at Camp David, Maryland in 1979.

But this agreement brought no peace. Rather it has allowed the Israeli regime free rein to pursue its bombings against Lebanese villages and to carry out actions like its June 1981 attack on Iraq's nuclear power plant.

Millions of Arabs, threatened by Israeli aggression, felt betrayed by the Israeli-Egyptian treaty. For this reason, their response to Sadat's death was very different than Washington's.

In Lebanon, the New York Times reported that massive celebrations broke out in the streets of Beirut, especially in the Palestinian neighborhoods and refugee camps. According to the Times, people "hung posters of Mr. Sadat's predecessor, Gamal Abdel Nasser, on cars and walls. . . .

"Long-time residents of Beirut found the scene strikingly the reverse of the night in 1970 when Mr. Nasser died. Then, several recalled, Moslems wailed in grief and banged their heads against walls."

One Beirut resident commented, "This is the first genuine happiness I've seen on this side in a long time. People are saying that it is a double feast this year, that God has chosen this time to strike Sadat down." Public rejoicing was also reported in Syria, Iraq, and Libya.

Radio Teheran commented that "the mercenary dictator of Egypt" had "joined his old friend Mohammed Riza Shah."

A spokesman for the Syrian government said, "The killing of the traitor Sadat is an eloquent historical lesson for all those who betray their peoples."

Lebanese Prime Minister Shafik al-Wazzan proclaimed that "It was Camp David that killed Sadat."

The reason for the sharp divergence of reaction between the Reagan government and big-business U.S. media on the one hand, and the Arab peoples and

many Arab governments on the other, can be best explained by the late Egyptian dictator's policies.

### Washington's staunch ally

Sadat was deeply involved in supporting the military network being built up by Washington. Delivery of some \$3.5 billion in arms and equipment for Egyptian armed forces is already planned, and in April it was announced that the Pentagon is studying a five-year plan for upgrading the Egyptian military.

Sadat had asked for an additional 100 to 150 F-16 jet fighters in addition to forty he already had. He provided arms to right-wing rebels in Afghanistan and backed Washington's campaign of threats and provocations against the Libyan government of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi.

On October 1, Sadat sent his vice president to Washington to urge that U.S. arms be given to the Sudan, a country on Libya's southern border. The pretext for Sadat's "urgent" request was the claim that the Sudan was threatened by Libyan forces who went into Chad in late 1980 at the request of the Chadian government to help put down French-backed rebel forces.

Prior to his visit to Washington in August, Sadat declared, "When I see President Reagan I shall say to him that I will give the United States every facility so they can reach any Arab country on the [Persian] Gulf, so they can reach any Islamic country anywhere. . . ."

Within Egypt itself, opposition to Sadat's policies has been growing. On September 3, the Egyptian president admitted that he had 1,536 people arrested, six publications suppressed, sixty-seven journalists and sixty-four professors removed from their posts.

The conditions of the workers and peasants are worsening, as inflation rages at a rate of 30 percent a year. Sadat's promise that his peace treaty with Israel would bring prosperity to the working people of Egypt has proven to be a cruel hoax.

### 'No more Irans'

Reagan's disregard for the rights of the Arab peoples was spelled out in his October 1 speech. He declared, "There is no way, as long as Saudi Arabia and the OPEC nations there in the East—and Saudi Arabia's the most important—provide the bulk of the energy that is needed to turn the wheels of industry in the Western world. There's no way that we could stand by and see that taken over by anyone that would shut off the oil."

The U.S. military build-up and aggressive moves like the provocative shooting down of two Libyan fighter planes last August over Libya's Gulf of

Sidra, and the gigantic U.S. military commitment to Israel, reflect the president's determination to safeguard the profits of Exxon, Texaco, and Mobil.

Joining the mourning for Sadat were the rulers of Israel who had benefited so much from Sadat's policies.

While joining Washington in the mourning for the despised Sadat, the Israeli government has opposed Washington's plan to sell AWACs to the government of Saudi Arabia.

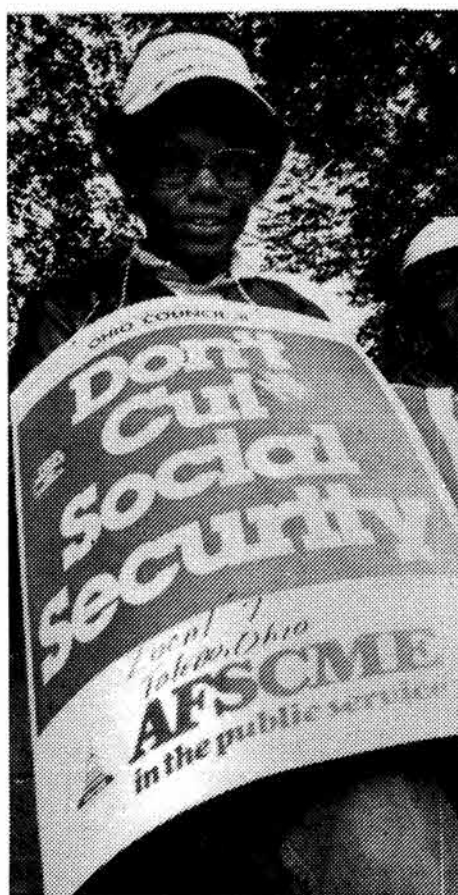
The Israeli regime fears that the Saudi military build-up could limit its own freedom of action in the region. Various members of Congress have also opposed the AWAC sale. They are asking what would happen to the AWACs in the event of a popular revolution in Saudi Arabia like the one in Iran, where billions of dollars of U.S. military equip-

ment fell into the hands of an anti-imperialist regime.

However, U.S. big business and its government have to bank on the most reactionary forces in the Arab East, like Sadat and the autocratic monarchy of Saudi Arabia, just like they backed the shah to the very end.

Senator Orrin Hatch, Republican of Utah, announced after Sadat's death that he was withdrawing his opposition to the AWAC deal. Hatch declared, "if ever there was a time to support our President, now is the time."

The bosses and their spokesmen like Hatch have little choice. The working people of the United States, however, have nothing in common with the Sadats and the Saudi monarchy. We must reach out our hands in solidarity with the workers and peasants of the Arab East.



Militant/Lou Howort

**Read  
a paper  
that takes  
sides . . .  
Your side.**

### Special 'Militant' subscription offer

**\$3 for 12 weeks**

Send to: Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

☐ \$3 for twelve weeks ☐ \$15 for six months  
☐ New ☐ Renewal  
☐ Enclosed is a contribution to the Militant.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

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



By Cindy Jaquith

On September 19 the largest pro-women's rights demonstration in U.S. history took place in Washington, D.C. Called Solidarity Day, the march was organized by the AFL-CIO to protest the Reagan administration's assault on the working people of this country.

Five hundred thousand people—workers from virtually every union, Blacks, whites, women, and men—turned out. Tens of thousands carried "ERA YES" signs, along with banners and placards demanding jobs, not bombs; Social Security; the Voting Rights Act; education.

If you were there, you couldn't help but be moved as contingent after contingent of construction workers, machinists, autoworkers, NAACP members passed by, waving their "ERA YES" signs. Or as the crowd roared with approval when rally speaker Steve Wallaert, a striking air controller, blasted government moves to "tell women what they can or cannot do" concerning abortion.

Solidarity Day told women we are not alone, we have powerful allies in our fight for liberation.

There was never a time when we needed them more. The reactionary-minded rulers of this country are waging a war against women's rights today.

This fact will be uppermost in the minds of feminists attending the October 10-12 conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

No job is more urgent for this conference than taking a sober look at what is happening to women's rights in this country—and what is happening to the women's liberation movement.

### Where do we stand?

- The ERA hasn't been ratified by a single state legislature since 1977. The Democrats and Republicans have no intention of ratifying it before the June 30, 1982 deadline.

- Women cannot obtain abortions in eight out of ten counties in the United States today.

- The "teenage chastity" bill has now become law, imposing new restrictions on young people's access to sex education, birth control, and abortion services.

- The federal budget that went into effect October 1 strips millions of women of the right to food stamps, CETA jobs, and housing subsidies. And Congress has just begun to wield the ax.

- Day care for 120,000 children has been cut.

# Women's rights movement at crossroads

These facts must be the starting point for discussion within NOW.

### Telling the truth

We must start by telling ourselves—and our allies—the truth.

The national leadership of NOW has been presenting a different picture of where we are at and what the future holds. They predict a slowing down of the attacks and victory for women in the near future.

The September issue of the *National NOW Times* carried an editorial by co-editor Toni Carabillo. Carabillo described NOW's August ERA walkathons, which raised one million dollars, as "the largest nation-wide demonstration of support in its own history [which] set new fundraising records."

Carabillo concluded: "We have a sense that the campaign for ratification is about to reach floodtide."

Another article in the same issue, written by NOW Vice-president for Action Jane Wells-Schooley, took up attacks on abortion. Under the subtitle "Strength of Women's Vote Slows Anti-Abortion Measures," Wells-Schooley said:

"Even as attacks renew on abortion rights, anti-abortion leaders still face tough going not only in the Congress, but also from the Reagan Administration which is plagued by lack of support from females."

"Simultaneously, support for the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights, both of which [Reagan] opposes, is reaching all time highs. Further pushes toward more restrictive abortion proposals by the Administration will only serve to widen the gap."

In one sense what Carabillo and Wells-Schooley say is true. The increased attacks on the ERA and on abortion

have heightened concern among supporters of women's rights.

But there is no "floodtide" for the ERA in the state legislatures and no "slowing down" of the attacks on abortion in Congress or the White House. Just the opposite is true.

Congress has been working overtime to push back abortion rights. They've passed the "teenage chastity" act and are now debating constitutional amendments to outlaw abortion.

Reagan has cut off abortion coverage for federal workers and nominated Everett Koop, a prominent anti-abortion leader, to be Surgeon General.

These attacks on abortion are bipartisan. The same is true of the ERA. The Democrats have enough votes in the state legislatures to have ratified the ERA years ago. They're still a majority in most unratified states and they're still shooting it down.

The fact is, if the politicians in office carried out what the majority wanted, we'd already have the ERA, and safe, legal abortion. We'd have won equal pay, universal child care, and many other things.

Reagan wouldn't be going ahead with the B-1 bomber, military aid to El Salvador, the draft, or the budget cuts.

But he is.

And it would be a mistake at the NOW conference to pretend the administration isn't proceeding just as fast or faster against women's rights.

Just as it would be a mistake to think we can change anything by putting more Democrats in office.

At the Solidarity Day demonstration, NOW President Eleanor Smeal projected victory over the enemies of women by 1982. How? By defeating the "new right" and the Republicans at the polls. "We will stop them," Smeal said, "be-

cause we will organize district by district, and precinct by precinct, state by state; building a political movement that cannot be denied.

"And I can safely say that the women's movement is determined to be part of a winning alliance in 1982."

### What has changed?

The perspective put forward by the NOW leadership closes its eyes to what is happening in American politics.

There is an *offensive* against the working class and the oppressed in this country today that is not going to go away.

It won't be stopped by electing Democrats in 1982.

And it certainly won't be stopped by refusing to recognize that it exists and, instead, consoling ourselves with the fact that the majority still supports women's rights.

Because the minority that rules this country *does not*—and they are driving to take back everything we have fought for and won.

We are not in the boom years of the 1960s, when the bankers and corporation heads who run this country could afford to make some concessions to the demands of women, Blacks, and others.

This is not the 1970s, when the capitalists' financial situation worsened, and they began chipping away at rights like abortion, desegregation, wages, and jobs.

This is the 1980s. The rulers are in an economic crisis where they can no longer afford to just chip away.

It means driving wages down, closing plants, repealing safety regulations, and loosening restrictions on environmental pollution.

It means breaking unions, not negotiating with them, as the air controllers' strike has shown.

It means giving the cops, FBI, and CIA a freer rein, building more prisons, and reducing democratic rights.

It means reversing fifty years of social gains won by working people, from Social Security to Medicare to food stamps.

It means giant increases in the military budget and stepped up preparations for war.

Rights like the ERA, abortion, desegregation and affirmative action are big obstacles to this offensive. Equality for Blacks or women cuts into the bosses' profits. It cuts across the race and sex divisions that keep working people divided.

The offensive is not an idea of the "new right" or the Republican party. It

## Women in Revolt

## Sandra O'Connor: whose victory?

*Militant* readers have missed the "Women in Revolt" column for several months now.

Starting with this issue, I'll be writing the column regularly.

By way of introduction—I've been active in the women's movement in New York City, am a staff writer for the *Militant*, and I coordinate the Socialist Workers Party's women's liberation work.

This week, I want to discuss the appointment of Sandra O'Connor to the Supreme Court.

The fact that it took 191 years and 101 men before a woman was put on that body says something about the depth of the discrimination against women in this country.

And the fact that it was Reagan, a staunch opponent of the ERA, abortion, and affirmative action, who finally picked a woman tells you something about the impact the women's liberation movement has had.

It also raises a question—why did he do it?

The confirmation hearings helped answer that.

"For myself, abortion is offensive to me, it is repugnant to me, it is something in which I would not engage." That's how O'Connor explained her personal view of abortion.

After admitting that it didn't affect her anyway, since she's too old to have children, and that other people have different points of view, she generously allowed that as a legislator she would permit abortions

to save the life of the pregnant woman and "possibly" under other, undefined circumstances.

As the hearings continued, a clear picture emerged: anti-abortion, antibusing, pro-death penalty, pro-"states rights", and for allowing illegally obtained evidence into court.

She's also pro-war. She testified that she's against women serving in combat, but there's nothing wrong with having a female push the button in a "safe" missile silo.

On the Equal Rights Amendment, she's kept her views deliberately ambiguous.

O'Connor's appointment was a calculated move by Reagan.

As Rep. Morris Udall (R.-Ariz.) explained, "This is incredibly smart politics. It's a real strike. You take all the groups in America and there has been none more distrustful of Reagan than the women's movement. This just cuts the ground out from under them."

Adding to Reagan's "strike" was the opposition to O'Connor by the Moral Majority and some anti-abortion groups. That served to deflect attention from O'Connor's own reactionary politics.

Leaders of women's organizations, including the National Organization for Women (NOW), testified in favor of her nomination.

An editorial in the *National NOW Times* hailed her as being "sensitive to women's rights," and said her

appointment was a "victory for the women's movement."

But this is wrong. Having her on the Supreme Court doesn't advance our struggle for equality one iota.

It makes it harder for the women's movement to win the necessary allies among Blacks, Latinos, and working people if they think women's equality means more Sandra O'Connors.

What about the claim by some in the women's movement that her appointment will help women get "equal justice" from the Supreme Court?

Just look at a few of the court's rulings this past year—upholding the constitutionality of registration and the draft; upholding the need for parental notification for minors needing abortions; ruling that divorced spouses of retired military personnel are not entitled to any of their pension—these are hardly just.

Not because there wasn't a woman on the Supreme Court, but because the court is just as much owned and operated by the ruling rich as the rest of the government institutions in Washington.

And having a woman on the bench will make it *easier* to claim that their reactionary decisions are "objective."

We will be more and more disoriented if we focus our hopes for equality on the "objective" counsel of these nine robed reactionaries of the ruling rich.

—Margaret Jayko



is the necessary policy of a class, the capitalist class.

Aspects of the offensive began long ago. The Democratic administration of Carter stepped it up. Reagan is now openly driving it through, with the Democrats giving him the majorities in Congress that he needs to put it into action.

Only by understanding what we're up against—who is our enemy and who are our allies—can women effectively fight back. Only by seeing the attacks on women as part of a broader class offensive, can NOW move forward.

That means breaking out of the framework of what the Democrats and Republicans are willing to accept and refusing to retreat an inch on the fundamental demands of the women's liberation struggle.

Take the examples of abortion and the ERA. When the ERA began to come under fire in the mid-1970s, the NOW leaders decided to step up campaigning and fundraising for Democratic Party "friends of women."

This strategy came with a price. The Democrats told women the ERA would never pass if it was linked with the "controversial" issue of abortion. NOW put the abortion issue on the back burner, and defeat after defeat occurred for both abortion and the ERA. The Hyde Amendment cutting off Medicaid for Black and other poor women sailed through with barely a peep from NOW. The ERA remained in a stalemate.

The NOW leadership drew the wrong conclusion from these defeats. They retreated further on the abortion issue and tried to make the ERA more acceptable to those who rule this country.

## NOW & draft

When Carter announced resumption of draft registration, he deliberately held out the bait of "equality" to NOW. Women should be drafted too, he argued, as a step toward equal rights and responsibilities.

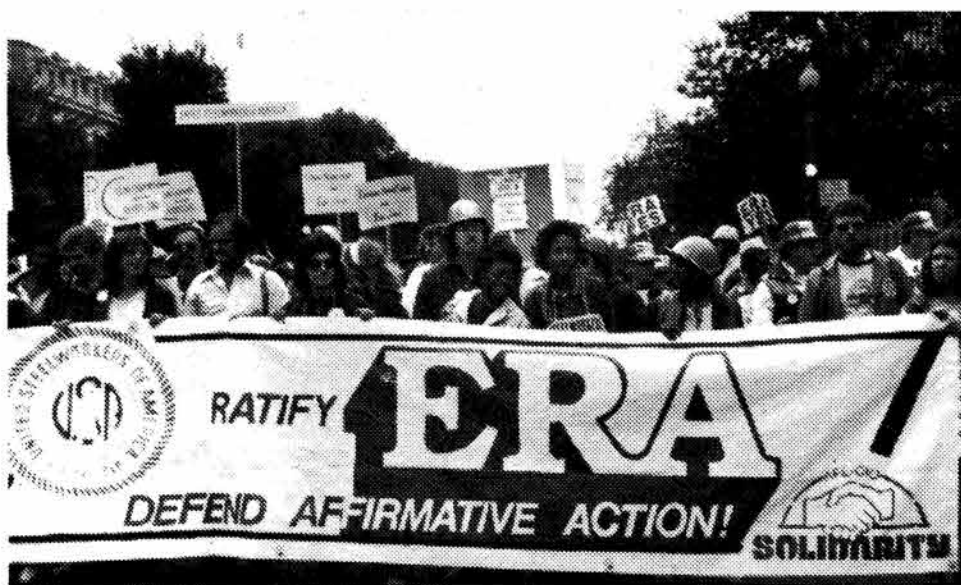
Over considerable opposition from the NOW membership, and in contrast to its line against the war in Vietnam, the NOW leadership came out for drafting women.

But they didn't stop there. In their brief before the Supreme Court, urging a draftee army that includes women, NOW argued that women in the military would improve the imperialist war machine.

"...the exclusion of women from registration disserves the goal of an effective military," the NOW brief said.

"Compulsory universal military service is central to the concept of citizenship in a democracy," it argued. "Indeed, the responsibility to bear arms in times of national peril is 'the ultimate duty of American citizenship.'"

Responding to the criticism over this stand, Smeal has explained she opposes the draft and war, but if there's going to



Steelworkers contingent at Solidarity Day march. This is kind of 'winning alliance' that can take women's movement forward.

be a draft, it should be "fair."

But this is a contradiction in terms. What can possibly be "fair" about a draft that sends young women or men to shoot down workers and farmers in El Salvador, or Iran, or anywhere else? How does drafting women advance equality when they're used to deny equality at gunpoint to the millions of oppressed women around the world?

Once you get caught in the trap of trying to win equality on the capitalists' terms—trying to prove yourself to them—a logic sets in. You begin tailoring your program to fit theirs. You even start to justify things like their need for a strong military.

NOW's position on the draft has been a devastating blow to the ERA as well, identifying a progressive amendment with one of the most hated institutions of capitalist rule, the war machine.

## Sandra O'Connor

Sandra O'Connor has now taken her seat on the U.S. Supreme Court. NOW testified in her behalf before the Senate confirmation hearings.

According to an editorial in the July/August *National NOW Times*, "The appointment of Judge Sandra O'Connor, a widely respected jurist whose record shows she is sensitive to women's rights, is a victory for the women's movement."

"Her appointment is a direct result of our constant pressure on the Reagan Administration and our work for women's equality."

The *NOW Times* position is truly astounding. As O'Connor made amply clear at her confirmation hearings, she stands against everything the women's movement stands for.

"For myself," O'Connor told the senators, "abortion is offensive to me, it is repugnant to me, it is something in which I would not engage."

The only abortions she thinks should

perhaps be legal are those done to save the life of the woman.

No wonder Sen. Orrin Hatch—one of the staunchest anti-abortion spokesmen in Congress—was full of praise for the new appointee.

"I'll be proud to see you serve on the Supreme Court," Hatch told O'Connor.

Liberal Democrats had the same reactions. Sen. Edward Kennedy said: "Every American can take pride in the President's commitment to select such a woman for this critical office."

O'Connor's not only an opponent of women's rights. Known for meting out the death sentence as an Arizona judge, she also helped initiate the death penalty statute in that state. She opposes busing and favors using illegally obtained evidence in court.

Her nomination is a victory for Reagan and the ruling class, not the women's movement. All the bigger a victory because the NOW leadership led the way in pushing for the appointment.

Think about it. The women's movement made history fighting to get women jobs as steelworkers, as longshore workers, as construction workers.

Today, we're fighting to get a hanging judge on the Supreme Court?

Is this the image NOW should project of what feminism is all about?

## Warning signal

The fact that it's now come down to promoting an antibusing, anti-abortion, pro-big business judge as a "victory" and proof that NOW still has "clout," should be a warning signal for the NOW membership. The convention ought to call the leadership to order and demand a retraction of the O'Connor endorsement.

That would be the beginning of reorienting NOW toward its real allies and toward the feminist program we started with.

Imagine if NOW were to come out and

hold a news conference blasting O'Connor and all she stands for. Imagine if we were to tell Reagan and the Democrats, "You can have your Sandra O'Connor and her pro-death penalty, anti-abortion program. She's no victory for women, and we won't help you put her over as one."

"You can have your draft. We won't help you 'feminize' it, we're joining with the majority of the people in this country who say, 'No draft, no way!'"

"We're with the majority that says ratify the ERA, stop the attacks on abortion, affirmative action, and child care."

"We're not going to push the doorbells for you anymore, answer the phones for you, or give you our votes. We're tired of subordinating our program to getting you elected."

## Can it be done?

NOW members can take inspiration from the actions of a group of Blacks who, like NOW members, have gone through the bitter experience of supporting Democrats for years only to get sold down the river.

In August some 700 Blacks held a congress to form the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

"Both major parties (the Democratic and Republican parties) have betrayed us because their interests essentially conflict with ours," the party's charter states.

The charter asserts that freedom for Blacks can only be won with a program that actively opposes "racism, imperialism, sexual oppression, and capitalism."

It's this kind of perspective—which calls the enemy by its right name and identifies with the struggles of all the oppressed—that the feminist movement needs today.

We need a perspective that places confidence in our real allies—the 500,000 who marched on Solidarity Day, the PATCO strikers, Black fighters, and the millions of working women looking for an organization that will stand up and fight.

Solidarity Day showed us who our allies are and it showed more. It was a living demonstration of what the unions could do if they broke from the Democrats and Republicans and formed an independent party, a labor party.

A labor party would fight around the issues raised on Solidarity Day—against war and the draft, against union-busting, for abortion and the ERA, for civil rights. It would mark a giant step forward for the women's liberation movement.

Building a fighting feminist organization today—one that isn't afraid to tell the truth or enter the battle—will help lead to such a party. It will bring into our ranks thousands of women like those who marched September 19, class-struggle fighters who are the future of the women's liberation movement.

# 1,000 at abortion rights rally in S.F.

By Ann Menasche

SAN FRANCISCO—Chanting "What do we want? Free choice! When do we want it? Always!" close to 1,000 abortion rights supporters marched and rallied here October 3 to protest the anti-abortion Human Life Amendment (HLA) and Human Life Bill (HLB).

Sponsored by San Francisco National Organization for Women (NOW) and supported by many other women's, labor, and political groups, this was the first abortion rights march in San Francisco since the Supreme Court legalized abortion in 1973.

Rose Smith, chair of S.F. NOW's Abortion Rights Task Force, told the crowd, "We need your support against those who would deny women the right to control our own destiny. The anti-abortion forces call themselves 'pro-life,' yet they are anti-minority, anti-gay, and anti-woman."

Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and member of the AFL-CIO Executive Committee, declared: "We in the labor

movement regard abortion as a labor issue, an economic issue, a collective bargaining issue. Women must be able to decide for themselves whether or not to have a child, so they can take advantage of the job and educational opportunities, and maintain their standard of living."

Dr. Maida Taylor, a gynecologist, said, "In the past we had thousands of women die from illegal abortions each year. I don't want to have to take care of the consequences of illegal abortion again."

Sylvia Weinstein, S.F. NOW board member and also a member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) stated, "The so-called 'pro-lifers' concern for life ends after the egg stage. Once it is born they take its food away and draft it into the army."

This successful protest confirmed the strength of the local NOW chapter, despite a red-baiting campaign conducted in the mass media by several former NOW officers, who recently resigned from the S.F. NOW board.

Despite their claim that they resigned because of "manipulation" of the chapter by members who were also in the SWP, the real reason for their action was over differing political perspectives being discussed out in the chapter. For example those members who resigned from the board all opposed having the October 3 abortion rights march, and counterposed lobbying and legislative action to it.

One of them spoke against NOW's participation in the September 19 Solidarity Day rally called by the AFL-CIO.

Some of those who walked out attempted to sabotage the abortion rights march by asking groups not to participate.

Though news coverage for the event was good—three TV and several radio stations showed up—the *Chronicle* and the *Examiner*, which had given extensive coverage to the red-baiters, were nowhere to be found.

And the campaign against the NOW chapter by the media is continuing. The September 24 issue of the San Francisco Black newspaper the *Sun-Reporter* con-

tained an article entitled "Revolution hits NOW chapter."

It quoted recently resigned NOW president Andrea Teper, accusing the SWP of "infiltrating and manipulating popular organizations."

Because of this experience, NOW members have had a thorough discussion of what red-baiting is and how it hurts the entire women's movement.

Board member Kay Wiley explained in the latest NOW newsletter, "The charges made against the SWP are ridiculous. Red-baiting, however, is a very dangerous ploy and one we cannot tolerate."

"Going to the press has given Phyllis Schlafly and the right wing cause to celebrate. Their comments made front page because of the news media's interest in feminists attacking other feminists. Let's return to the real issues and bury this prejudice. Keep the democratic process alive and well in the Women's Movement. Let's all work together to ratify the ERA and win Abortion Rights."



# Washington, D.C., conference blasts economic blockade of Cuba

By Michael Baumann

WASHINGTON—More than 150 people attended a two-day symposium on U.S. relations with Cuba held in the House and Senate September 23-24.

The symposium was sponsored by eight members of Congress and the New York-based Center for Cuban Studies. It was an important breakthrough in Reagan's own backyard at a time when his administration is attempting to isolate the revolutionary government in Cuba.

According to Sandra Levinson, director of the Center for Cuban Studies, the aim of the gathering was to open a dialogue between U.S. and Cuban officials.

Intense government pressure was exerted to prevent it from taking place, to discourage prominent participants from attending, and to black out press coverage. Nevertheless, significant gains were made.

The banner headlines in the *Washington Post* the morning of the second day of the gathering were on Reagan's decision to set up a new cold-war radio network to "tell the truth to Cuba." Many of the conference participants viewed this as a backhanded response to the significance of the gathering.

Plans for the stepped-up U.S. propaganda drive had been in the works for some time. Administration "press briefings" that resulted in the splash of publicity were seen as an orchestrated attempt to take over the day's news coverage on Cuba.

Opposition to Reagan's continuation of the trade embargo with Cuba and demands for normalization of relations dominated the conference.

Anti-embargo businessmen, senators, congresspeople, Cuban-Americans, and academic figures took part in a number



Ramon Sánchez Parodi, head of Cuban Interest section, and Minnesota State Senator George Pillsbury discuss need to end economic blockade of Cuba.



Militant/Michael Baumann

of panel discussions. Issues ranged from international reaction to the embargo, its effect on the Cuban population, Cuba's role in the world, and the future of U.S.-Cuban relations.

Two leading Cuban officials who had been invited to take part in the proceedings were prevented from doing so.

Alberto Betancourt Roa, an official of the Cuban Ministry of Trade, and Marcelo Fernández Font, former minister of foreign trade, were denied visas by the State Department and kept from entering the country.

This did not stop their message from being heard, however. Color videotapes of their scheduled remarks were presented to the symposium for discussion.

Also missing from the program, for different reasons, were representatives of the State Department. They had been invited to send officials to put forward the Reagan administration's position.

Refusing to join the debate openly, the State Department contented itself with seeding the audience with various "undercover" representatives who tried to steer discussion toward allegations of Cuban "terrorism" and "subversion."

Despite these efforts, the tone of the gathering was set by the first speaker,

Congressman George Crockett. A member of the Congressional Black Caucus from Michigan, he had just returned from Cuba.

Referring to Castro's recent speech at the Unions of Parliaments conference which blasted the Reagan administration, Crockett said he agreed with much of it. He added that Castro had done "a pretty good job of backing it up." When Castro called the Reagan administration "fascist," Crockett said, what he really meant was that it was "racist." He added that he could "not disagree" with that statement.

Opponents of the U.S. economic blockade who addressed the gathering included several who were able to provide extensive information on how the policy has damaged the American economy.

Noel Blackmann, director of the American Association of Seafood Importers, explained how preventing the importation of shellfish from Cuba artificially increases the prices paid by U.S. consumers.

Senator Lowell Weicker, a Republican from Connecticut, explained how tight restrictions on scientific cooperation make it difficult for fishermen in his state (where fishing is an important industry) to benefit from exchange of technical data with the highly advanced Cuban fishing industry.

George Pillsbury, a Republican state senator from Minnesota and director of the mammoth Pillsbury flour company, condemned the blockade as "economic idiocy."

The Cuban community in the United States was represented by Manuel Gómez, president of the Cuban-American Committee for Normalization of Relations with Cuba. He condemned both the Carter administration, which he said had "provoked the Mariel exodus" of 100,000 Cubans to the United States, and the Reagan administration for their hostile attitude toward Cuba. Gómez urged a return to "realism" by the U.S. government.

Castro heads a "stable government," he said, backed by a "broad consensus" of the Cuban population. Furthermore, he added, "a number of aspects of the Cuban model are favorable and are viewed that way throughout Latin America."

Top-ranking diplomatic officials from Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada took part in the discussions.

Ramón Sánchez Parodi, head of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, was already in the United States and could not be denied a visa. He took part in three of the panels.

Stressing Cuba's desire for normalization and trade with the United States, Sánchez Parodi also made clear that "a completely new basis is necessary for relations between Cuba and the United States." Under no circumstances, he said, "will Cuba go back to the relations of twenty years ago."

In particular, he took the opportunity to express Cuba's concern that the Pentagon's germ-warfare experts are responsible for the recent outbreak in Cuba of a deadly and extremely unusual form of dengue fever.

There is "no other logical reason" for the outbreak, he said. "This particular type of dengue fever has not appeared in any surrounding country or in Africa. It is endemic only in the south of Asia. The background of all the actions taken against Cuba in the last twenty years makes us believe that the United States is responsible."

State Department mouthpieces in the audience were particularly sensitive on this topic and devoted many of their "questions" and comments to attempts to rebut the charge.

The two other ambassadors present, Arturo Cruz, Nicaragua's ambassador to the U.S., and Desima Williams, ambassador from Grenada, hailed the example that has been set by Cuba.

"The Cuban revolution is an inspiration to the people of the Caribbean," Williams said. "We welcome Cuban economic aid. Cuba is not a threat to us but a spiritual and material inspiration."

Michael Baumann, a track laborer on Washington's Metro system, is a member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 689.

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours invites you to visit



## Cuba

Solidarity Tour — November 22-29, 1981 — eight days, \$610  
Rail and Miners Tour — February 14-21, 1982 — eight days, \$610  
Workers Democracy/May Day Tour — April 18-May 2, 1982 — fifteen days, \$960  
May Day Tour — April 25-May 2, 1982 — eight days, \$640  
Youth Tour — August 8-15, 1982 — eight days, \$425

## Nicaragua

Nicaragua Tour — November 7-15, 1981 — eight days, \$750  
Nicaragua and Cuba Tour — July 17-31, 1982 — fifteen days, \$1050

## Grenada

Third Anniversary Tour — March 7-14, 1982 — eight days, \$800

Prices include round-trip airfare from Miami, hotels (double occupancy), three meals (except for August 8-15 tour), transfers, and guide service.

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours  
410 West Street, New York, NY 10014  
(212) 242-5530

## Puerto Rican students fired on as they protest tuition increase

By Nelson González

Students at the Rio Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) are engaged in a massive struggle against the university administration and the Puerto Rican government over the recently announced tripling of tuition and other cuts in financial aid.

The tuition increase and the cuts are a direct result of the Reagan administration's austerity drive, which has hit Puerto Rico especially hard.

The fight began August 27, when a general assembly of students requested a meeting with the Council on Higher Education (CES) to demand that the tuition hike be revoked.

The CES refused to meet with the students, and Secretary of State Carlos Quirós accused the students of being "in the service of Cuba and the Soviet Union," according to *El Nuevo Día*.

Faced with this intransigence, 5,000 students voted on September 2 for the first in a series of student strikes of limited duration. These strikes culminated in a September 21 student assembly that voted to call for a general student strike.

The next day, the rector of the Rio Piedras campus, Antonio Miró Montilla, issued a declaration outlawing student assemblies, demonstrations, and other activities on campus.

The government has threatened to

use the regular police force to enforce this order, and has filled the campus with undercover police agents.

The General Council of Students challenged the order by calling for a series of demonstrations and student assemblies. The call brought out thousands of students, culminating in a massive September 29 protest that started from the campus and marched through parts of Rio Piedras to the administration building.

Fourteen strike leaders from the General Council of Students have been suspended by the administration. University cops have attacked demonstrations on the campus, arresting and beating up students. In one instance, police fired what they described as warning shots, and wounded a university employee. University police are supposedly not authorized to carry firearms.

Warrants are out for thirteen other student leaders who organized demonstrations in solidarity with the Rio Piedras students on the campus of Mayaguez.

The impact of the student mobilizations and the support they are receiving became evident on October 3 when the president of the CES, Enrique Irizarry, announced the Rio Piedras campus would be shut down, possibly for the rest of the semester.



## Voting rights at stake

# Socialists challenge No. Carolina election laws

By Steve Craine

NORTH CAROLINA—"The election laws in North Carolina and other states have been written by Democratic and Republican legislators with the intention of maintaining their monopoly on the electoral process. In the past year, as dissatisfaction with these two big-business parties has grown and discussion by labor and Black organizations is beginning around independent political action, the state is moving to make election laws still more restrictive. My lawsuit is part of a broader fight to defend the democratic rights of working people."

Socialist Workers mayoral candidate Betsey Soares made this statement to radio, television and newspaper reporters on the steps of the U.S. Court House in Winston-Salem September 23, just before she filed a suit challenging the constitutionality of the North Carolina

law that governs municipal elections.

The present law requires any candidate running for city office independent of the Democrats and Republicans to collect signatures of 15 percent of the registered voters of the city in order to appear on the ballot. In Winston-Salem this amounts to 9,752 signatures.

The suit contends that this requirement is "onerous, oppressive, burdensome, and is not necessary to serve a compelling state interest."

It is also inconsistent with provisions in North Carolina's election laws, relating to requirements for state-wide office. For example, for an unaffiliated candidate to gain ballot status for a state-wide office, 2 percent of the registered voters must sign a petition. For a new party to appear on the ballot, 5,000 signatures are required state-wide.

This is half the number of signatures required in the 1980 elections. The So-

cialist Workers Party was on the ballot in those elections.

Despite the lower number of signatures now required for new political parties, a new provision of the law, passed last spring, makes this law one of the most restrictive in the country.

A new provision forces voters who support the right of a new party to be on the ballot to register in that party and lose their previous registration. The North Carolina SWP has already announced its intention to mount a legal challenge to this undemocratic restriction. Irving Joyner, an attorney for the Wilmington Ten case, is handling the legal work for both suits.

At her news conference, Soares pointed to the massive turnout for the AFL-CIO's Solidarity Day September 19 in Washington as further evidence that people are getting fed up with the policies of the Democratic and Republican Parties. "I think this was also made clear by the results of yesterday's primary election here in Winston-Salem," she told the press. "The fact that only 18 percent of the registered voters bothered to vote shows that people in this city don't feel there's any real choice for them within the two major parties."

"My suit will affect the voting rights of all citizens. These restrictive laws

have to be wiped out to allow candidates who really represent the interests of the people to obtain ballot status," she said.

Steve Craine, a supporter of Soares's campaign and a co-plaintiff in the suit, explained that the Democrats and Republicans are not required to secure a single petition signature. "They're considered 'serious' as soon as they declare as candidates," he pointed out. "Take a look at Joe Grady, the Ku Klux Klan leader, for instance. He didn't have any support. He got less than 130 votes yesterday. But nevertheless he was given a spot on the ballot as soon as he said he wanted to run as a Republican."

The Soares campaign recently organized a successful forum September 13 in which the socialist candidate spoke on how to fight the Reagan administration's attacks on the living standards and democratic rights of working people. Five members of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 175, who had only hours before voted to end a successful strike against the Bassick-Sack company of Winston-Salem, attended the forum.

Their strike victory was seen by everyone as part of the fight against Reaganism. They had defeated the company's attempt to bust the union and won increases in wages and benefits.

## Toledo socialist polls 6,000

TOLEDO, Ohio—On the eve of the September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, Sue Skinner, gathered over 6,000 votes in Toledo's non-partisan primary. Of twenty candidates in the race, Skinner placed seventeenth. The top sixteen were nominated for the November 3 election. Although just missing a runoff spot for the November election, Skinner's vote total reflects the responsiveness to an independent labor campaign. She and SWP mayoral candidate Kurt Landefeld are continuing to run as write-in candidates. An operator for Sohio's Toledo refinery, and a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-346, Skinner declared her support for a labor party and the need for working people to mobilize for Solidarity Day.

Skinner and SWP mayoral candidate Kurt Landefeld have walked the picket line several times in support of striking air controllers here. They are also defending city workers from a two-pronged attack of layoffs and contract concessions.

Democratic mayoral incumbent Douglas DeGood had championed his record of laying off 1,100 city workers while demanding sacrifices

of cost-of-living-allowances and longevity pay. DeGood and his Republican challenger had both used the pretext of a \$7 million city budget deficit to demand a tax hike and cutbacks in city services.

Skinner and Landefeld opposed these cuts, demanding instead higher corporate taxes, elimination of outstanding loans and interest payments to the banks, and cancellation of multi-million dollar corporate tax breaks.

At a September 13 campaign rally, Skinner drew an enthusiastic response from nearly fifty campaign supporters when she said a city council made up of working people would never vote "to cheat ourselves out of needed services."

Earlier in the meeting Mike Ferner, steward for American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 544, had declared his support for the socialist candidates saying that their campaign set an example for the rest of the labor movement. He also encouraged everybody present to attend Solidarity Day.

Other speakers included Bob Burlage, Business Agent, International Association of Machinists District 57, and Seamus Metress, Prof. of Anthropology and head of an Irish freedom group, Clan Na Gael.



Betsy Soares, SWP candidate for mayor of Winston-Salem, N.C.



"Let me get this straight — you fellows are supposed to be the Good Guys —"

## Truth about FBI won't be on TV

By John Votava

SEATTLE, Washington—Forty-five people protested here September 27 against an upcoming fall TV show, "Today's FBI." The action, sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, was held in front of KOMO-TV, the ABC affiliate.

According to Susan Paynter, Seattle Post-Intelligencer TV critic, the producer David Gerber has "yielded creative control of the show to the FBI. . . . Before any filming began . . . Gerber said, FBI advisors scrutinized each word of the script." Agents demanded and got revisions "in dialogue, mood or content." When asked who would win in a dispute with the FBI, Gerber replied, "They would."

The action was held to inform the public that this show will not depict the real FBI. The real FBI was shown to have violated the civil liberties of many organizations through the Cointelpro program. In December 1980 William Webster, the director of the FBI, stated that even if agents kill someone on assignment, the FBI will

decide if their investigation is more important than prosecution of the agent. And in court testimony between April and June of this year in the lawsuit filed by the SWP and YSA against government disruption programs the FBI witnesses testified that the FBI has the constitutional right to conduct such activities against legal political organizations and that the president's oath of office supercedes the Fourth Amendment protections against illegal search and seizure.

None of this will ever be shown on TV with the FBI having final say in dialogue and content. As Paynter wrote: "As a result, their audience will, in all likelihood, be fed a full ration of propaganda in the form of entertainment programming."

In response to the picket, which was covered by all the major TV, radio and newspapers in Seattle, KOMO-TV said that ABC reserves the "final authority" on all TV shows. They did admit the FBI reviews all scripts for content and policy.



# New York elections

## What happened to the labor-Democratic coalition?

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—Three days before Labor Day, the *New York Times* did a feature story about Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York AFL-CIO Central Labor Council and organizer of the Labor Day event.

The article had added interest because it appeared during the New York primary election campaign. Van Arsdale had declared his support in the primary for Frank Barbaro, who had challenged incumbent Ed Koch for the mayoral nomination.

Van Arsdale is a veteran official of Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, long a major union in New York.

The *Times* story was headlined, "For Van Arsdale, Glory Days as Labor's Political Broker Are Now in the Past."

To indicate how much times have changed for the worse for New York labor, the article notes that it took Van Arsdale and his staff two months to get a police permit for the Labor Day parade.

Van Arsdale, the paper says, "who in bygone days could get almost anything done just by calling his



FRANK BARBARO

confidant, Mayor Robert F. Wagner, or his friend, Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, must now struggle to win permission to do what workers used to do without asking anyone."

### Coalition over

What this proves, says the *Times*, is that, "The old Democratic coalitions have collapsed. . . . Politicians from the White House to City Hall are finding they can get along quite well without people like Mr. Van Arsdale."

Various knowledgeable people are cited to confirm this.

Robert F. Wagner Jr., Koch's deputy mayor, says Van Arsdale's "access to City Hall and his importance . . . is less than it has been in previous administrations."

Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, adds: "It mirrors what has happened nationally."

It's quite true that the long-standing coalition between union officials and the New York Democratic machine has collapsed. It's worth reviewing why.

That coalition was established in the mid-1930s—in New York by Fiorello LaGuardia and nationally by Franklin Roosevelt. American capitalism was then trying to work its way out of the depression and to stymie the growing radicalism of American workers.

There was strong sentiment for independent labor political action. The function of the coalition between the major party politicians and the labor bureaucrats was to keep labor tied to the two-party system.

The generally well-paid union officials readily accepted the deal and some of them attained positions of seeming "influence," principally within the Democratic party.

### A few crumbs

In return for their services as vote-hustlers and fund-raisers, labor officials in cities like New York were given certain concessions to bring back to their members.

Recognition was granted to a number of newly organized unions of municipal employees. Minimal contract gains were doled out to existing city unions.

(More substantial gains invariably required strike action.)

Over the years, the concessions grew more and more meager. Increasingly, politicians elected with union support became more openly hostile to labor's aims.

In the mid-70s, nationally and locally, the situation got qualitatively worse.

What happened at that time is that the economic system got into a situation from which it has been unable to extricate itself. Hit by a growing inflation in an essentially stagnant economy, big business could ensure its continuing profits only by waging war to drive down the standard of living of the workers.

In New York the mounting economic difficulties expressed themselves in the famous 1975 "fiscal crisis." The worst thing in the world had happened. The city couldn't meet its payments to the bankers who annually collect billions in interest on loans made to the city in the form of bond purchases.

The municipal crisis came despite everything the "city fathers" had done to ensure a steady flow into the bankers' coffers. That is everything that could be done without interfering with business or real estate profits.

When the bond payment crisis hit in '75, this approach meant there was only one way to meet it insofar as the people who run the city were concerned. Slash away at the city budget. And do it at the expense of the working people, not the wealthy.

Since 1975 some 75,000 city jobs have been eliminated including 19,000 teachers and 2,000 of the city's 2,500 street sweepers. (Without a blush Koch recently pronounced a majority of New York's streets "reasonably clean.")

And the end is not yet. The estimated "debt service" for the current fiscal years—that is, interest payments on city bonds—is \$1.69 billion!

That means more firings, more cut-backs of necessary services.

### Van Arsdale's problem

This is the root of Harry Van Arsdale's problem.

The *New York Times* to the contrary, the labor movement is not powerless. That was underlined by the 100,000 Labor Day marchers in New York and the half million Solidarity Day demonstrators in Washington.

But the labor officialdom has proven politically powerless in the face of the attack because they persist in trying to cling to the Democratic machine.

This has left New York's labor tops in a painful dilemma in the present elections.

Some of them have plunged their heads in the sand, hoping to ride out the crisis in that position.

Albert Shanker of the Teachers union and Victor Gotbaum, New York head of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, are maintaining a neutral posture in the mayoral race.

They've surely no stomach for the ideas of a radical candidate like the Socialist Workers Party nominee, Wells Todd. They see Barbaro as a loser and they don't relate to losers. So they apparently figure that if they simply don't buck Koch maybe things won't be quite as terrible the next time around.

Van Arsdale had chosen a somewhat different strategy. Somewhat different, but not fundamentally.

### The 'real' Democrat

In the primary election, Van Arsdale secured the endorsement of the Central Labor Council for Barbaro, a five-term member of the state assembly.

Barbaro won 36 percent of the vote in the primary

and then decided to run against Koch in the general election. He chose the ballot designation, "Unity Party." But that's all it is, a ballot designation, not a new party.

As of this writing, Van Arsdale has not publicly indicated if he will ask the Central Labor Council to endorse Barbaro in the general election on November 3.

But even if he should decide to do so, the labor movement will be no closer to meeting the needs of a critical situation.



HARRY VAN ARSDALE

If ever there was a time for labor to run its own ticket in the elections, it's here and now in New York.

Koch's decision to take the Republican nomination as well as that of his own party spells out the fundamental identity between the two parties. Indeed, one only has to look at what Koch is doing in New York and Reagan nationally, to see this.

But, some in the union and radical movements argue that's precisely the point. Frank Barbaro's campaign represents a meaningful step toward independent political action led by the workers.

In a coming article we will discuss why we think this is false. For now we will simply restate Barbaro's view of the matter, and that of Theodore Kheel, the labor lawyer and mediator who is chairing his campaign.

During the primaries, a poster on the door of Barbaro's campaign headquarters declared: "Vote for Frank Barbaro—a real Democrat."

### No change

Since his decision to run against Koch in the general election, Barbaro has not said word one suggesting that he's changed his mind about being a Democrat, or that he sees the "Unity Party" as anything more than a ballot designation. (If he intended to build a new party, he would certainly end his affiliation with the Democratic party in the State legislature.)

And Theodore Kheel is quite up front about it. He describes the "Unity Party" as a "surrogate" party for the Democrats—"for people who believe in the two-party system."

What the Barbaro campaign comes down to is a move to capitalize on the hostility Koch has provoked among Blacks, Latinos, and many other workers, to carve a niche for himself in the New York City Democratic machine.

And here we go back to Harry Van Arsdale.

Despite his trade union base, and his past services to the Democrats, Van Arsdale is simply being shoved aside by the machine.

Unfortunately, he has chosen not to take the course this so obviously suggests, namely to help launch a new, real party. A mass based labor party, controlled by the union movement and its allies and with a program clearly and unambiguously in the interests of working people.

Such a party would not be a sorry "surrogate" for the Democratic party, but its mortal opponent. It would fight for the interests of working people as militantly as Koch and Reagan fight for the interests of the capitalists.

Instead, Van Arsdale hopes to put enough pressure on the Democratic machine to restore him to his old status within the party. That won't bring back what the *Times* sees as his past "glory" days. And it contributes less than nothing in terms of the needs of working people.

### Wells Todd vs. Frank Barbaro

The Casper Citron program interviewed candidates for mayor of New York, Wells Todd, Socialist Workers Party; and Frank Barbaro. The show will air Friday, October 16, at 12 midnight, on WQXR in New York. It will also be shown on the following stations around the country. Call local stations for time. Tacoma, KTUS; Baltimore, WJRO; Denver KERE; Chicago, WNIB; Indianapolis, WAJC.



# international socialist review



Militant/Marc Lichtman

## National Black Party

Emerging leadership in the struggle for liberation

The following are major excerpts from a report by Mac Warren, national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, to the thirty-first national convention of the SWP on August 5, 1981. It was given prior to the founding congress of the National Black Independent Political Party, August 21-23, in Chicago. The 'Militant' has carried reports on the congress, and in its September 25 issue began serializing the charter adopted by the congress.

### By Mac Warren

In the report "A New Rise in the Black Struggle" by Andrew Pulley, adopted by the National Committee in April 1981, we stated that, "The relative lull in the Black struggle over the past decade is coming to an end." The social and economic war against American working people has sparked a new wave of political activity and debate among Black people.

Since the beginning of January, tens of thousands of people have demonstrated and protested for Black rights. The Martin Luther King, Jr., national holiday protest of 100,000 people in Washington, D.C., January 15 was the largest Black rights demonstration in any city since 1963. There have been increasing anti-Klan protests. Thousands demonstrated against the Atlanta child killings, and millions wore green ribbons in solidarity with the embattled Black community in Atlanta.

Blacks also participated in the wave of antiwar demonstrations this spring, including the massive May 3 action in Washington, D.C. More recently, thousands have protested in Milwaukee against the murder of a young Black man by police while in their custody. There have been weekly demonstrations there, with more than 8,000 people participating last week. Planning meetings have involved hundreds of people.

Activists and organizations in the Black movement have been some of the most consistent opponents of the government's maneuvers in the various trials and lawsuits against political police activities, "red squads," and so on. Many have endorsed the suit brought by the SWP and YSA against secret police spying and have spoken at Political Rights Defense Fund rallies.

We have thrown ourselves into helping to build these recent protests against attacks on Black rights, and in some cities, have been instrumental in obtaining local union support for them. We have seen the difference it makes to have union backing behind these struggles.

Since Ronald Reagan was elected, suspicion and distrust of the government among Blacks has increased. Reagan's victory has meant an escalation of attacks on the entire working class, particularly on Blacks. The attacks on social security, food stamps, and a broad range of social services, and the blows against busing, affirmative action, and other democratic rights, are having a deep impact in the Black community. The callousness of the Reagan administration is shown by its unwillingness to even go through the formalities of having a discussion with leading figures in the Black community.

These developments are stimulating discussion and leading to greater insistence in the Black community for effective measures to beat back this offensive.

We noted in Andrew Pulley's report in April that many of these recent protests are being led by new leaders—activists who are stepping forward in response to the growing attacks on Black rights.

But major national Black rights organizations such as the NAACP, SCLC, PUSH, the National Urban League, and others are under pressure to respond to these attacks, too. It is significant that they have all voted to support and build the September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration in

Washington, D.C., called by the AFL-CIO Executive Council. Many local chapters of these civil rights organizations have chartered buses and are participating in committees to build the march.

The leaderships of these groups have begun to have discussions among themselves about how to respond to the Reagan-led offensive against Black rights. They each invited key leaders of the other groups to attend their respective conventions.

Two common themes emerged from these discussions.

The first is that there is a need for more demonstrations against the government. This is positive and welcome; but it is weakened by the second theme, which is to punish your enemies and reward your friends in the Democratic and Republican parties. Once again massive voter registration drives are projected, this time in preparation for the 1982 Congressional elections. This is the fruit of the same old dead-end strategy the leaderships of these groups have followed for decades.

Some of the AFL-CIO officials who approached these civil rights organizations about supporting the September 19 demonstration also participated in the discussions on perspectives at these conventions. While many affiliates of such major unions as the United Steelworkers, International Association of Machinists, and United Mine Workers have supported recent antiracist protests, these officials, of course, continue to set the pace on voter registration and support to liberal capitalist politicians.

The bankruptcy of this strategy has been especially exposed by the miserable performance of the liberal capitalist politicians in recent months. There is no disagreement between them and the conservatives on the need for major cuts in social services and other belt-tightening mea-

*continued on page ISR/3*



# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## U.S. talks peace, arms for war

On September 24, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko announced that negotiations on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe will begin November 30 in Geneva.

Eight days later, on October 2, Ronald Reagan held a news conference to announce a \$180.3 billion package of new nuclear weapons systems.

Reagan's proposals include production of the MX land-based missile, the Trident II submarine missile, the new B-1 bomber, and improvements to communicate with U.S. nuclear forces around the world. Also included in the new arms package is development of the Stealth bomber, which is intended to evade Soviet radar systems.

Although the two announcements, coming barely a week apart, seem contradictory, a closer look shows that both are part of the latest U.S. escalation of the nuclear arms race.

### European missile talks

Paradoxically, the Reagan administration's agreement to hold arms limitation talks on nuclear forces in Europe is aimed at insuring the deployment of 572 new missiles on that continent.

In 1979, Washington and its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) voted to de-

ploy 572 Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe targeted on the Soviet Union. From bases in West Germany, the Pershing II could hit Soviet targets in as little as four minutes, compared to nearly thirty minutes for U.S.-based missiles.

In an attempt to placate extensive opposition among working people in Europe to the new missiles, NATO described the missile decision as two-pronged: to go ahead with placement of the missiles (scheduled for 1983), while also initiating arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union.

Some NATO leaders even claimed the decision would lead to a *reduction* in arms! According to this convoluted rationalization, the increase in NATO missiles would make Moscow more eager to enter into an arms limitation agreement, which would then lead to a reduction in the overall number of missiles.

But since 1979 it has become increasingly clear that Washington is not interested in any real arms limitation talks, that it is engaged in a full-scale attempt to reestablish overwhelming nuclear superiority over the USSR.

The SALT II Treaty, which provided limits to the growth of nuclear forces, died in the U.S. Senate. Reagan, Haig, and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger their lack of interest in resuming SALT talks with the Soviets.

But to defuse the growing opposition to the missiles in Europe, European NATO leaders have been pressing Washington to begin talks with the Soviet Union.

As columnist Anthony Lewis noted in the October 1 *New York Times*, sentiment in favor of unilateral disarmament "is growing fast among our NATO allies: not only in Britain, but in Belgium, the Netherlands and, most significantly, West Germany. And a major factor in what is happening is uneasiness about the arms policies of the Reagan administration."

Lewis added that the Pentagon's arms policies could cause the fall of Helmut Schmidt's government in West Germany and could "turn the Social Democrats into an anti-nuclear and even an anti-American party. . . ."

Shirley Williams, a leading figure in the Social Democratic Party in Britain, which was recently formed from a rightist split in the Labour Party in part over its antinuclear stance, told Lewis:

"We will be able to hold many of our younger members only if they are convinced that the United States is sincerely trying to bring about a reduction of theater weapons in Europe, and ultimately general nuclear arms control."

When asked by Lewis, "Hold them for what?" Williams replied: "Hold them for the acceptance of full British membership [in] NATO."

Under such pressures, U.S. representatives have agreed to begin discussion with Moscow on November 30.

One of Alexander Haig's top advisors told *Newsweek* magazine that "we are doing this only to satisfy our European allies." A State Department official told *Time* magazine that "the Europeans would have screamed bloody murder" if no date for the talks had been set.

### Washington's real plans

The Reagan administration is not interested in arms limitation talks because it is committed to developing a first-strike nuclear capability against the Soviet Union (under the guise of catching up with the Russians).

In this regard Reagan is building on the foundation left by Carter. It was the Carter administration that drew up plans for the 572 missiles in Europe, for the Trident II missile, the MX missile, and the improved Mk-12A warhead for existing Minuteman missiles.

The decision to go for overwhelming U.S. nuclear superiority was codified in Carter's July 1980 Presidential Directive No. 59 (P.D. 59), which instructed the Pentagon to develop strategies and weapons to fight and win prolonged but "limited" nuclear wars.

With P.D. 59, the White House openly acknowledged the shift that had already been taking place from targeting U.S. missiles against Soviet cities, to aiming at the Soviet missiles themselves in order to wipe them out in a preemptive first strike.

To bring this new strategy into reality, however, the Pentagon needed new weapons systems that were accurate enough to be able to wipe out small targets like Soviet missile silos and nuclear submarines.

The MX, the Mk-12A, and the Trident II all have that capability! In addition, placing U.S. missiles in Europe four minutes from Soviet targets will increase the Pentagon's ability to launch a surprise first-strike attack.

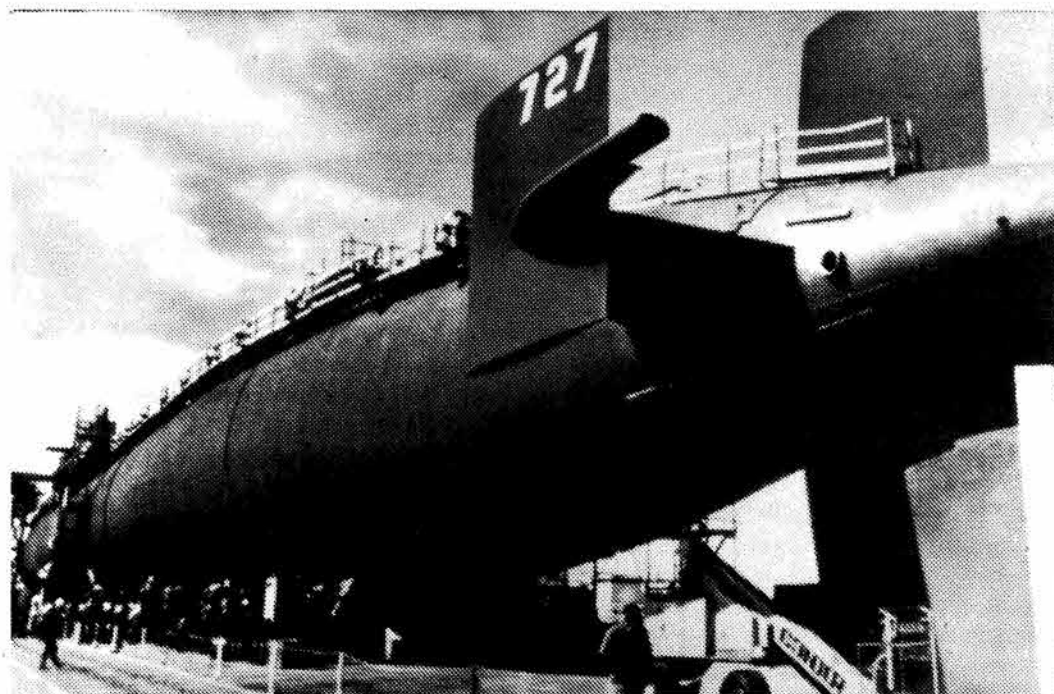
If the Reagan administration is able to carry out its arms plans, the gigantic nuclear buildup will bring the threat of "limited nuclear war" closer. But several obstacles stand in Reagan's way.

The strength of European mass opposition to NATO's missile plan, which has been heightened by Washington's recent decision to go ahead with production of the neutron bomb for use in Europe, makes it questionable whether NATO will be able to actually deploy those weapons, despite Haig's *pro forma* agreement to talk to the Soviets.

Reagan must also contend with strong antimilitary sentiment within the United States itself. That sentiment was a big factor in forcing Reagan to abandon Carter's initial plan to shuttle 200 to 275 MX missiles through vast regions of Utah and Nevada.

In his October 2 press conference, Reagan outlined a much reduced MX plan, involving placement of 100 missiles in existing silos designed for Titan and Minuteman missiles.

Nevertheless, despite opposition in Europe and the United States, the U.S. rulers are continuing to push forward with their militarization drive. This was shown by Reagan's budget speech, where he outlined new cuts in social programs and vast increases in arms spending; the Justice Department taking the first steps toward prosecuting youth who failed to register for the draft; and by Reagan's \$180.3 billion nuclear arms program.



Trident submarine

## CONTENTS

National Black Party  
By Mac Warren ..... 1

The Month in Review ..... 2

Why Is There  
a Housing Crisis?  
By William Gottlieb ..... 6

**international  
socialist  
review**

Editor: Fred Feldman  
Contributing Editor: George Novack

The *International Socialist Review* appears in the *Militant* monthly except January.

Copyright © 1981 The Militant



# ... Black Party

continued from page ISR/1

tures. They merely quibble about how much and which programs to cut. And elected Black Democrats are doing their share to help implement these cuts in major cities from Atlanta to Los Angeles and from Birmingham to Detroit.

In this general framework, the emergence and development of new organizations on a national level like the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) and the National Black United Front (NBUF) is an important advance for the Black movement and the working class as a whole.

While the NBIPP and NBUF are discussing the same issues as the NAACP, SCLC, Urban League, and the union officialdom, their point of departure is more advanced.

The layer of new Black leaders that has driven forward the NBIPP is the most advanced. It starts with the interests of the Black community, not with saving their jobs, posts, funding from the government, or with making the capitalist parties work for Blacks. Their starting point is that the capitalist system *doesn't and cannot* work for Black people. They don't put their confidence in the two-party system, in the government, or in big business. Their aim is to organize against racist injustice.

NBUF has played a big role in New York and some other cities in mobilizing the Black community in militant struggles against racist violence, cutbacks, and attacks on democratic rights. It helped build the May 3 antiwar demonstration. It identifies with revolutionary Grenada and has spoken out in solidarity with El Salvador. It contains many cadres who point to Grenada and Cuba as examples we have to follow in the United States to achieve Black liberation.

Young Black leaders coming forward in organizations such as these are attempting to chart a political course to advance the Black struggle in the United States. Despite their relatively small size, these two organizations are in the vanguard of the fight for Black rights today.

There are other developments of this type on a local level, too. The protests in Milwaukee, for example, have brought forward new young leaders, as well as figures with long experience in the Black movement, such as Howard Fuller (Owusu Sadowki) and Michael Megee. There are surely other developments that we don't yet know about. We must keep our eyes open and not assume that individuals or organizations can't change or adopt more progressive views under the hammer-blows of the ruling-class offensive.

One development that we should watch has recently occurred in Massachusetts, where Mel King, a leading Black Democrat in Boston for years, has publicly announced that he has resigned from the Democratic Party and reregistered as an independent. This reflects the impact of nearly a decade of Democratic Party responsibility for pushing through budget cuts and attacks on the rights and gains won by Blacks in the 1960s.

So we should be alert to the inevitable shake-ups and rethinking that will accompany the intensification of the ruling-class offensive and the fightback against it.

This report will focus on the NBIPP.

## Origins of National Black Independent Political Party

The NBIPP traces its roots to the first attempt at independent Black political action in 1830. The founding document of the party declares:

"In founding this party, we make common cause with the honored history of Black independent action as occurred in the first Black Convention in 1830 to the Gary Convention of 1972. Those words still ring true to our condition and our challenge:

"The Crises we face as Black People are the crises of the entire society. They go deep to the very bones and marrow, to the essential nature of America's economic, political and cultural systems. They are the natural end product of a society built on the twin foundations of white racism and white capitalism.

"A Black Political Convention, indeed all truly Black politics must begin from this truth: The American system does not work for the masses of our people, and it cannot be made to work without radical fundamental change (indeed, this system does not really work in favor of the humanity or anyone in America).

"Both parties have betrayed us whenever their interests conflicted with ours (which has been most of the time) . . ."

The leading activists who drafted the statement from which these excerpts are taken have gone through the experience of attempting to form a Black party since the 1972 Gary convention. The statement is part of a charter that was projected out of a meeting in August 1980 of the National Black Political Assembly (NBPA) in New Orleans. The NBPA is the organization that was set up at the 1972 Gary Black convention.

More than 8,000 activists attended the Gary convention in response to a call to discuss independent political action and the struggle for Black rights. But the leadership of the Gary Convention was in the hands of Black Democrats like Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher and Detroit Congressman Charles Diggs and those like Imamu Amiri Baraka, who had an orientation toward supporting "progressive" capitalist politicians. These Democrats and their supporters maneuvered against the more independent-minded activists in Gary. They said they favored a Black party but that the time was not ripe for forming one. Of course, they had no intention of ever organizing an independent Black party.

They argued that what was needed was a Black agenda and an organization, the NBPA, that would support any Black candidate who supported this agenda. The activists attending the Gary conference went back to their local areas, and many of them tried to carry out this perspective. Over the course of the eight years between the 1972 Gary convention and the 1980 New Orleans convention of the Assembly, thousands of activists became disillusioned and turned away from the Assembly. But more than a thousand activists showed up for the 1974 and 1976 meetings of the Assembly. The orientation toward capitalist politicians was reaffirmed at the 1974 meeting.

At the 1976 meeting, held in Cincinnati, the participants were told by the key leaders of the Assembly that they had the agreement of a major Black liberal politician to run for president in the 1976 elections. After a big emotional buildup by the leadership for two days, Ron Dellums, Democratic Congressman from Berkeley, was flown in. (Julian Bond demanded a million-dollar war chest, so he was ruled out.) They had even printed up "Dellums for President" posters. Dellums thanked the convention for asking him to run, but he tearfully declined nomination. Instead, he encouraged the activists to continue to work in the Democratic Party.

Dellums's speech came as a shock to most of the conference participants.

This was it! After the disaster in Cincinnati, more activists turned away from the Black Assembly.

## New Orleans Convention

The 1980 New Orleans convention of the Assembly was a break with this dead-end strategy. Manning Marable, who has been active in the NBPA since its beginning, describes the New Orleans convention in an article he wrote immediately following the convention:

"It quickly became obvious that the question of a national party for the Black Nation was on the minds of most of the delegates. The convention was electrified by a plenary speech on the subject by Ronald Daniels, National NBPA Chair and Youngstown, Ohio, political activist, in his opening convention address, 'A Black Liberation Program for the 1980s.' By Friday a major debate on the question occurred, and much of the convention's original schedule was tabled."

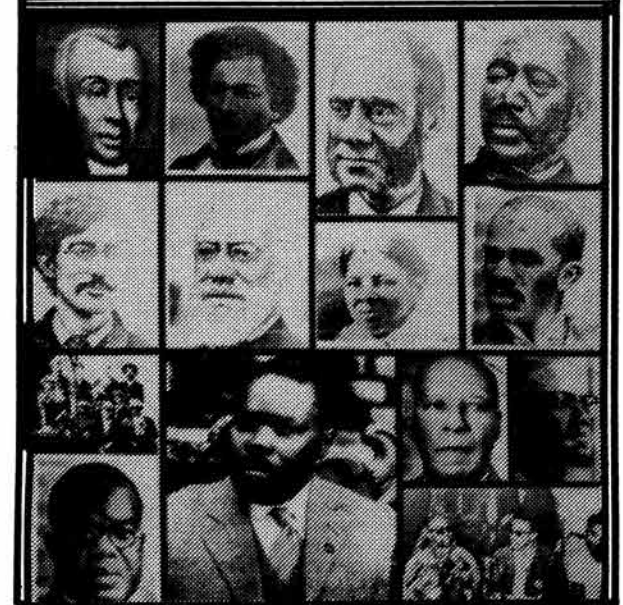
Marable goes on to explain the background to how this happened:

"Three distinct tendencies or opinions emerged on the party question. The first position was essentially the dominant tendency maintained throughout NBPA history, first articulated by the leadership at Gary—Imamu Amiri Baraka, Representative Charles Diggs and Mayor Richard Hatcher. In principle, it accepted the historic necessity of building an independent electoral political force outside both major capitalist parties. But the construction of this party was to be protracted, over a gradual period of time. Progressive Black candidates running as Democrats, as well as white electoral aspirants, had to be supported organizationally. For Father A.J. McKnight [chair of the Louisiana NBPA]



N.B.I.P.P.  
National Black Independent Political Party

1st Annual  
National Party Congress  
Chicago, Illinois  
August 21st - 23rd, 1981



**'The layer of new Black leaders that has driven forward the NBIPP is the most advanced. It starts with the interests of the Black community, not with saving their jobs, posts, funding from the government, or with making the capitalist parties work for Blacks. Their starting point is that the capitalist system doesn't and cannot work for Black people. They don't put their confidence in the two-party system, in the government, or in big business.'**

this meant endorsing the reelection of Jimmy Carter for President.

"The second view was advanced by Dr. Ronald Walters, prominent Howard University political scientist and NBPA Secretary. Walters had attended both the Republican and Democratic National Conventions this year, and had come away more convinced than ever that the opportunity existed for announcing the formation of a Black political party in 1980. The standard political alternative of the 'lesser evils' represented no real alternative at all; Black people had to have an organizational vehicle to articulate their own concerns independent of white bourgeois politics.

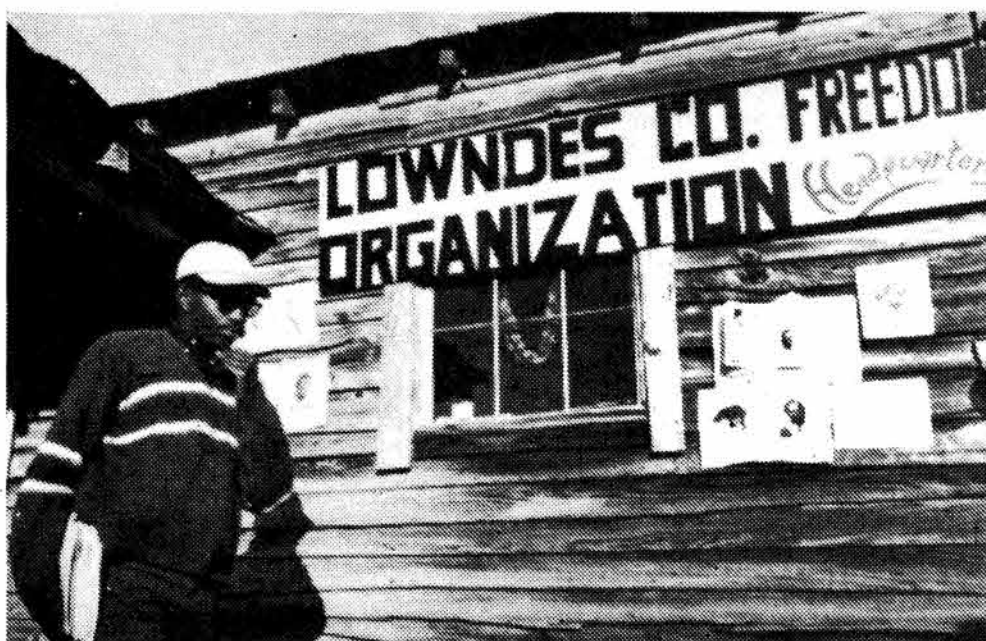
"A third tendency was represented by the opinions of Ronald Daniels; Dean Lovelace, chair of the Ohio Black Assembly; and myself. We argued that the foundations for announcing the creation of a new political party had been achieved. . . .

"On the other hand, we were not convinced up to the eve of the New Orleans Convention that some central details in forging a transitional strategy for restructuring the NBPA into a Black Party were clearly defined. The social struggles of every people mature along uneven lines of development. Certain states were ready to build an independent party; others were not."

Marable went on to explain that a compromise proposal between these three currents had been worked out that would have put off dealing with the party question until after the November elections. But a "dramatic turn of events occurred," he wrote, when Dr. Barbara Sizemore from Pittsburgh "publicly repudiated the Compromise in a fiery speech. 'The revolution is now, and not in ninety days,' she declared firmly.



## 'In founding this party v with the honored history o



From left: Lowndes County, Alabama, Freedom Organization of mid-1960s; 1973 demonstration to free imprisoned members of Black Panther Party; National B

Several leaders of the Louisiana and Texas delegations viewed this as a personal attack on their integrity; other delegates from several key states visibly moved toward the 'party now' position.

"Overnight and into Saturday morning a series of delegate caucuses were held. During Sizemore's address, I became convinced that the NBPA would lose whatever credibility it retained if it approved the Compromise resolution. The New York State caucus unanimously rejected the Compromise, and individuals decided to act as lobbyists for the 'party now.' Before the opening plenary on Saturday morning, a united bloc emerged within Washington, D.C., Ohio, New York and Pennsylvania delegations which unanimously favored the immediate creation of the party."

According to Marable, Reverend Ben Chavis then presented a substitute motion declaring the creation of a Black party and proposing a conference be held no later than 100 days. Chavis concluded his presentation by declaring, "Let it be, let it be. It is not only Nationtime, it is independent Black political party time!"

From this description, you can see that there was not unanimous agreement in favor of a Black party. The same struggle that had been waged since the 1972 Gary convention continued in New Orleans. However, the call to hold a convention in Philadelphia to organize a Black party was an important new step. And what was noteworthy was that the New Orleans meeting voted not to support any of the capitalist presidential candidates in the 1980 elections. They attacked all three—Reagan, Carter, and Anderson—and encouraged Blacks to vote "no" on all of them, or to vote for one of the small parties with progressive candidates.

This stance was a significant departure for the NBPA. "Support Carter/Defeat Reagan" advocates led a couple of the delegations at the New Orleans meeting. They attempted to defeat this proposal. But the majority of the Assembly leaders stood up to this pressure. Following the meeting, some of them wrote articles in the Black press explaining why they opposed supporting the capitalist presidential candidates.

Thad Mathis, for example, wrote an article published November 4, 1980, which stated:

"Many of our so-called leaders are asking that we abandon our interests and support Jimmy Carter on the premise that Reagan is even more conservative. This, despite the fact that the current wave of repression and economic retrenchment has been initiated during the Carter administration, and despite the fact that Carter reneged on most of the promises which he made to Black voters during the 1976 campaign. Still, we are being asked to place our faith again in a Carter candidacy! . . .

"According to these Carter apologists, anyone who doesn't support Carter is either ignorant, a fool or working for Ronald Reagan! Imagine that. Sixty to 70 percent of Black people refuse to be used as Carter's 'secret weapon' and our so-called leaders call them, 'fools'. Who's the fool?

The one who sells himself to the highest bidder or the ones who exercise their franchise based on their own interests? Although I do understand why Black Carter and Reagan supporters must attack any Black independents. Their payoffs are threatened. They've been attempting to sell something they don't own—the Black vote. . . . In fact, they are expressing much more sophistication and much more courage than their so-called leaders. They understand that voting is an important tool in the struggle for Black liberation, but not the only tool. They understand that they must not cheapen their vote through blind loyalty to candidates and/or parties that oppose their interests. They understand that they must not give up their basic democratic right to vote or not to vote. . . .

"The realities of American society and Black life dictate the need for new strategies for 1980 and beyond. The old ways and old leadership are out of step with the new realities. The political climate in the United States is such that all of the presidential candidates are looking to the right for political guidance. Little or no attention is being paid to the fundamental needs of the Black masses. . . .

"For it is a law of political life: in order to have power, you either have the capacity to give someone something or the capacity to take something away from them. . . . The objective of a vote no strategy would be to withhold five to 10 percent of the Black vote from all the presidential candidates. With the likely closeness of the 1980 election, this would be significant. . . .

"Don't be intimidated. Vote 'NO' on Nov. 4. No more promises. No more betrayals. No more sell-outs."

While we may not agree with this proposal on how to vote, there is no disagreement on the importance of not voting for the Democrats and Republicans.

### Philadelphia Convention

More than 1,500 activists participated in the Philadelphia convention November 21-23, 1980, and the discussion there was a refreshing change for those of us who had suffered through all the other Black conventions since 1972.

After some initial discussion, a delegate moved to suspend the rules. At this point the delegates took control of the meeting, and the most democratic discussion about the need for a Black party since 1972 occurred. The delegates literally ran the convention. The discussion focused around the reading of the charter. The charter is a proposed programmatic document that also includes provisions for the structure and bylaws of the NBIPP.

The heart of the charter is captured in the following section from the preamble:

"We, therefore, establish this Charter of an Independent National Black Political Party which will first be *Black* in that it seeks to organize people of African-American descent first and foremost; it will be *National* in that it will seek to organize Black people in every state and region in this country; it will be *Independent*

in that it will draw its source of support, strength and direction from Black people and not from their oppressors, in accordance with our belief in the value and dignity of our history and culture, and with charity and respect for all other peoples; it will be a *Party* in the sense that it must reflect the multi-faceted nature of the social, economic and political power which must be organized to challenge the many forms of oppression arrayed against the masses of black people.

"Our party will not be like the Democratic and Republican parties. Our party is a political organization which unites with the needs of the people and invites the people around a program. It synthesizes the desires of the people and begins to define them politically. It is aimed at altering the balance of power to affect the quality of goods and services to the people. Our party is a formation that contends for power within the socio-economic institutions.

"There are two kinds of mass parties, bourgeois and progressive. The bourgeois party exists to serve a regime that is in power which represents the interests of a minority, but claims a mass constituency, i.e. Republican and Democratic Parties. The progressive party exists to serve the interests of the working class and the poor, therefore our party will actively oppose racism, sexism, capitalism and imperialism."

The real political discussion about the NBIPP, what its goals are and what it stands for, took place around the charter discussion. After hours of discussion, it became clear more discussion on a local as well as a national level was needed in order to come to agreement. So, the original charter was adopted as a working document to be discussed and debated leading up to the founding party congress in August 1981. The delegates decided to launch a movement to build the congress, and to organize the core of a Black party leading up to it.

The politics of the meeting were radical. The speeches and comments from the floor were anti-imperialist, anticapitalist, antisexist, and antiracist. The Democrats and Republicans got little mercy from most speakers. The activists tried to clearly explain the political situation Blacks face and link it up with the general political situation in the United States and the world.

The conference decided that 50 percent of all leadership bodies must be female. This is a positive break with the traditions and norms established over the course of the last twenty years in regard to women in the Black struggle. It decided to establish caucuses for women, student/youth, and labor. This was also a step forward.

Some elements who oppose women's equality wanted a men's caucus. Some also wanted a student caucus, which they counterposed to the proposal for a youth caucus of young workers and students.

The labor caucus is significant because it meant that many of the forces at the conference were coming to grips with the fact that a majority of Black people in this country are workers and that it is important to link up with the labor movement. This decision put to rest any idea that



## we make common cause 'Black independent action'



Black Political Conventions in Gary, 1972, and Little Rock, 1974.



Militant/Mohammed Oliver

it was not important to approach Blacks as workers.

The meeting elected two leadership bodies, the National Party Organizing Committee (NPOC) and the Charter Review Committee (CRC). The NPOC is the overall leadership body responsible for organizing the discussions and preparations leading up to the party congress. The CRC has organized the discussion on the charter leading up to the congress. These bodies were entrusted to meet both jointly and separately every three months or so leading up to the congress.

We came out of the Philadelphia meeting knowing that we were part of something with real potential. This evaluation was further confirmed at the first leadership meeting held January 10 in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

### Toward the Chicago Convention

At NPOC/CRC meetings leaders of the Black party from many cities and states meet to discuss the progress they have made and to decide their projections for what to do. Attendance at the meetings averages over 100 people.

The January 10 Ann Arbor meeting reaffirmed the decisions made in Philadelphia. In addition, a place and a date were set for the party congress (August 21-23 in Chicago). This was an important test for the organization's leadership and marked a step forward in forging this relatively loose and somewhat heterogeneous group into an organization that can develop into a party. This process is uneven, since the organization in some areas is more developed than others and their experiences have been different. It's a real challenge to try to tie all these local organizing committees together and organize the necessary discussions to prepare for the convention and build the organization.

The Memphis meeting of NPOC/CRC held April 10-12 was another advance for the NBIPP leadership. Plans for the party congress were concretized, and local, state, and regional membership conferences were projected. Labor, women, and youth caucus meetings were encouraged, as well. The meeting approved a day of public meetings on or around May 19, Malcolm X's birthday, and support for the May 25 demonstration in Washington, D.C., against the killings of Black children in Atlanta.

There was the beginning of a discussion on what the NBIPP's policy should be in regard to local elections. The consensus was to set aside any decision on this until the August convention. Overall, the discussions at the Memphis meeting gave the leading activists the confidence they needed to go back and build the party congress in their local areas.

The next NPOC/CRC leadership meeting was held in Pittsburgh June 12-14. There had been two discussions on the congress and numerous ones on the charter. The task of this meeting was to decide something on both these questions.

The discussion on the founding congress was particularly important, because little was being done to build it. In addition, the proposed delegate ratio was four for each twenty-five, which would have meant a narrow congress with fewer

participants able to speak and vote. At this meeting, the NPOC/CRC instructed the Chicago chapter to get out some publicity to build the congress. A national media campaign was projected to help publicize it. It was agreed to get out a national poster and leaflet right away. One of the national coordinators volunteered to go to Chicago a month early and encouraged others to do the same. Local chapters were encouraged to get out local literature to build the congress. The delegate ratio was changed to eight for the first twenty-five and two (male, female) for each ten after twenty-five.

These steps helped get across to activists around the country that the congress was definitely going to be held and that they should bring as many people as possible to it.

The June meeting also voted to send an NBIPP fact-finding task force to Atlanta to investigate the situation there in order to prepare a report for a future NPOC meeting.

The plans for the congress were finalized at an NPOC/CRC meeting August 1-2 in Akron. This meeting also adopted a motion endorsing the September 19 AFL-CIO-called march on Washington. It decided to mobilize for the action and to distribute leaflets, set up a literature table, and carry a Black Party banner. The party will also request a speaker.

The big issue at the Chicago congress will be whether or not to continue to deepen the independent anti-imperialist anticapitalist course started a year ago, or whether the NBIPP will be diverted from this course like its predecessors. This will be a real debate. Questions will come up under the discussions on the charter, on what election policy to adopt, on maintaining the nonexclusion membership policy, and on structure and organization.

Some questions that have been left open to further discussion during the formative period since the Philadelphia convention will be settled one way or the other at the Chicago meeting.

### The NBIPP: A Political Advance

This thumbnail sketch of the evolution and development of the NBIPP helps to show where it's at right now and its potential. Its direction is toward a break from the capitalist parties and establishing an independent fighting organization for Black liberation—one that is conscious and states that imperialism and capitalism are at the root of Black oppression. The extent to which it is capable of doing this will be determined by how it meets each new challenge presented by the class struggle. It faces many tests down the road, not the least of which will be how it deals with the 1982 elections.

It is significant that in the course of the past year, the leadership that launched the NBIPP has stuck by its guns and consistently charted a course toward independent anticapitalist political action. This is the most prolonged and consistent development of its kind in fifteen years.

The NBIPP has emerged in a more favorable national and international political context than

earlier developments, such as the Freedom Now Party, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, or the Black Panther Party. And it is politically more advanced in its understanding of the need for independent Black political action. The NBIPP's predecessors faced the same problems in general that all small vanguard organizations face, particularly how to go from a small propaganda formation to a mass party or organization. This is not easy, and it's not an automatic process. The key is political clarity.

The Black Panther Party made a lot of ultraleft errors that undercut the considerable potential support it had, as well as made the effectiveness of savage police repression easier. At the same time, many of the BPP leaders were never clear on the need for a sharp break from capitalist politics and got involved in various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois electoral schemes.

The Freedom Now Party, which had its strongest base in Michigan, had illusions about obtaining a large vote in the 1964 state and congressional elections in that state. Their conception was to build the party by a show of electoral strength, rather than going through the preparatory stage of winning and educating a core of members around a common program who were committed to the party and were clear where they were going.

In the mid-1960s, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in Alabama was successful in establishing a genuine community-based organization and in placing Blacks in the leading elected positions in Lowndes County for the first time. Its limitation, however, was that its gains were limited to a single county and it wasn't part of a national movement with a perspective of developing an alternative to the capitalist parties on the national arena.

So far the NBIPP has avoided these errors.

Its starting point is to break from the Democratic and Republican parties and chart an independent course. It is attempting to assemble an organization that agrees with this perspective and is willing to advance this goal through participation in the living struggles of the Black movement. This is what has guided its course leading to the Chicago congress.

Most of the leaders of NBIPP have a long history in the Black movement. They are building on their own experiences, as well as those of others over the past two decades, in attempting to develop an independent anticapitalist Black movement. Many of them have written, spoken, and organized in the Black movement for a decade or more. They have come together in this organization and are determined to make it work. They have their own ideas about this, which is reflected in the debates in the NPOC/CRC leadership meetings.

The NBIPP is not homogeneous, and not all the forces in it agree. The article by Manning Marable referred to earlier explains that:

"Certainly there remain distinctly different approaches within the NBPA/Black Party on transitional economic strategies for the Black Nation. One tendency advances the theory of

*continued on page ISR/8*





The South Bronx today

Militant/Dick Roberts

# Why Is There a Housing Crisis?

By William Gottlieb

The United States is in the midst of a severe housing crisis. Rents and mortgages are skyrocketing. New home construction has fallen to extremely low levels.

In August, new housing starts dropped to only 937,000, the third-lowest month since World War II. At the same time, the median price of an existing single-family home rose to \$68,400, an increase of \$3,500 from a year earlier.

As rents rise, landlords are stepping up pressure to get rid of rent control laws in cities across the country. In Jersey City, New Jersey, where landlords and their supporters in public office are attempting to implement an apartment vacancy decontrol ordinance, outraged tenants have forced the measure to be put to a referendum.

The worst hit by the housing crisis are the residents of the central cities, largely Blacks and Latinos, who are forced to live in rat- and roach-infested tenements. Each winter, landlords provide less heat than the winter before. Increasing numbers of people are freezing to death as temperatures drop below the freezing point in their apartments for days at a time.

Whole city districts like New York's South Bronx have been destroyed as slumlords have hired arsonists to burn down tenements. The slumlords then collect fire insurance on buildings they can no longer rent profitably. People are sometimes killed in these deliberately set fires.

One would think that such a crisis would lead to urgent governmental action.

And, sure enough, the Reagan administration and Congress are acting on it. But not in the way you might think. They are taking active measures to intensify the crisis. Alan S. Oser sums it up in the October 2 *New York Times*:

"The not surprising news from Washington is that subsidies for housing are dropping sharply. Public housing has been particularly hard hit as its operations subsidies shrink.

"The cutbacks under the Reagan Administration and the new Congress mean that the major rehabilitations that have saved a few distressed, foreclosed buildings in Harlem and the South Bronx will no longer be possible. There will be a shift away from production programs toward those that aid the existing, occupied housing stock. But even in that area the total number of households benefited directly by Federal dollars is expected to decline."

## Roots of Housing Crisis

In part, the acute housing crisis today reflects the effects of the global economic crisis that is hitting the capitalist world market.

But the terrible effects of the conjunctural eco-

nomie crisis are only making a longstanding bad situation even worse. Housing was inadequate for working people even during the boom years that followed World War II. Even then, slums were the shame of America's cities. Many of the rural poor lived under even worse conditions.

But the housing problem goes much further back than the post-World War II years. And it is not confined to the U.S. In fact, it is a permanent feature of capitalism.

## Engels on Housing

More than a hundred years ago, Frederick Engels, Karl Marx's close friend and political collaborator, addressed this question. He did so in three series of articles that appeared in the German socialist newspaper *Volksstaat* in the year 1872. They later appeared in a pamphlet, "The Housing Question" (available Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Progress Publishers, Vol. 2, p. 25).

The general points that he makes about housing in capitalist society read as if they were written today.

Of course, the circumstances were in many ways different. Germany had just achieved its national unification. Young German capitalism was warming its hands off the booty it had grabbed from France as a result of Germany's victory in the Franco-Prussian war.

The rapid expansion of German industry, the consequent rapid increase in the demand for labor, and the movement of many workers into the cities had led to an acute housing shortage for workers. How to deal with this problem had become a major issue of the day.

Engels's first series of articles were in response to several articles by A. Mulberger. He later took up the views of Dr. Emil Sax, a liberal bourgeois economist of the day.

Engels explained that the housing shortage is rooted in capitalism itself.

He wrote: "Whence the housing shortage then? How did it arise? As a . . . necessary product of the bourgeois social order; that it cannot fail to be present in a society in which the great laboring masses are exclusively dependent upon wages, that is to say, upon the quantity of means of subsistence necessary for their existence and for the propagation of their kind; in which improvements of the machinery, etc., continually throw masses of workers out of employment; in which violent and regularly recurring industrial fluctuations determine on the one hand the existence of a large reserve army of unemployed workers, and on the other hand drive the mass of the workers from time to time on to the streets unemployed; in which the workers are crowded together in masses in the big towns, at a quicker rate than dwellings

come into existence for them under the prevailing conditions; in which, therefore, there must always be tenants even for the most infamous pigsties; and in which finally the house-owner in his capacity as capitalist has not only the right but, by reason of competition, to a certain extent also the duty of ruthlessly making as much out of his property in house rent as he possibly can. In such a society the housing shortage is no accident; it is a necessary institution and can be abolished together with all its effects on health, etc., only if the whole social order from which it springs is fundamentally refashioned."

## What is Rent?

Because a house or an apartment building is a durable commodity, the possibility exists of selling the use of it bit by bit.

During the lifetime of the house, repairs have to be made and their cost is added to the rent. The landlord may also provide heat and utilities, and their cost is also passed on.

While a grocer's stock, for example, will be quickly sold off and the money proceeds will quickly flow into the grocer's pocket, the money proceeds from renting a house return to a landlord very slowly during the life of the house. The landlord therefore demands a certain extra compensation to make up for the inconvenience of his capital being tied up in a long-term, non-monetary form.

Finally, there is urban ground rent.

Urban ground rent arises from the fact that many people want to live in cities but the amount of land available is limited.

A good example of this is New York's Manhattan Island. Manhattan is the center of New York City, and thus the center of much of the nation's—and indeed, the world's—cultural, financial, and political life.

However, the land area of Manhattan is fixed by geography. No amount of human labor can appreciably increase it.

The owners of land in Manhattan—as owners of an item in perpetual short supply relative to demand—extract extremely high rents for its use. They can also sell it for very high prices, since the value of land is determined by the rents it yields to its owners.

Since apartment buildings are built on land, the house rent includes the rent of the land the apartment building is located on.

The astronomical levels of ground rent in Manhattan explain why a tiny tenement apartment, with a bath in the kitchen, on Manhattan's Lower East Side can rent for several hundred dollars a month.

## Role of Racism

In the U.S., racism plays a special role in relation to the housing question. Blacks and Latinos make up, to an overwhelming extent, the worst-paid part of the working class. And they suffer the highest levels of unemployment. They are forced to live in the worst slums, the least desirable neighborhoods. Here, the ground rents and land values are at their lowest.

If, however, these slums are torn down (or torched), and in their place commercial buildings or luxury apartments built, the land values will soar. This phenomenon gives birth to the long cycle in urban real estate values. The big real estate interests can unload urban real estate when its value is at its peak: for example, a neighborhood with well-built but aging apartment buildings.

The real estate sharks, using their positions in the banking system, can then drive land values sharply lower. The district is redlined: that is, no mortgages are granted to renovate or build new apartments. Once-luxurious buildings degenerate into slums.

The superexploited workers and unemployed, mostly Blacks and Latinos, move in as older and better-off white residents flee. The area is transformed into a Black ghetto or Latino barrio.

As redlining continues, the slums degenerate further. Life becomes more and more miserable for the victims of capitalist exploitation and racism that are forced to live in them. The urban ground rents, and thus the value of the land, reach their lowest point.

Finally, the big real estate sharks can buy the land back for a song. The slums are torn down (or torched). In their place are erected either modern luxury apartments, including condominiums, or commercial buildings. The value of the land soars, since the neighborhood is now considered one of the most desirable in the city. The real estate magnates, for their part, can either collect the sky-high rents or sell the real estate at huge profits.



The superexploited Blacks and Latinos can't even dream of living in the new luxury apartments. They are driven into areas that are being freshly transformed into slums—the new “bad neighborhoods.”

Instead of building decent housing for the working class in the urban areas, which would eliminate slums instead of simply moving them, the building industry builds luxury housing. An example of this type of housing was described in the October 1 edition of the *New York Times*:

“It is certainly expensive. The rents for apartments at RiverTower, just off Sutton Place, start at \$1,475 a month (‘junior one-bedroom’ on the second or third floor) and go up to \$5,600 a month for a three-bedroom apartment on a top floor with a dramatic river view.”

The central cities thus consist largely of luxury apartments like RiverTower, commercial buildings, and miserable slums. There is very little decent housing built for working-class families within the cities.

### Origins of Suburbia

Instead, what decent working-class housing is built is constructed in suburban areas where land values are lower. Suburbia is therefore the inevitable result of the capitalist mode of production.

Engels described this phenomenon as it operated in the big European cities a hundred years ago:

“The expansion of the big modern cities gives the land in certain sections of them, particularly in those which are centrally situated, an artificial and often enormously increasing value; the buildings erected in these areas depress this value, instead of increasing it, because they no longer correspond to the changed circumstances. They are pulled down and replaced by others. This takes place above all with centrally located workers' houses, whose rents, even with the greatest overcrowding, can never, or only very slowly, increase above a certain maximum. They are pulled down and in their stead shops, warehouses and public buildings are erected. Through its Haussmann [French public official during rule of Louis Bonaparte. Directed work on reconstruction of Paris] in Paris, Bonapartism exploited this tendency tremendously for swindling and private enrichment. But the spirit of Haussmann has also been abroad in London, Manchester and Liverpool, and seems to feel itself just as much at home in Berlin and Vienna. The result is that the workers are forced out of the centre of the towns towards the outskirts; that workers' dwellings, and small dwellings in general, become rare and expensive and often altogether unobtainable, for under these circumstances the building industry, which is offered a much better field for speculation by more expensive dwelling houses, builds workers' dwellings only by way of exception.”

### Worker Ownership: the Answer?

Mulberger and Sax took up the view of French social reformer Pierre Joseph Proudhon. Proudhon had supported the view that the workers should own their own housing. This would give them a home and hearth to call their own.

In his polemics with Mulberger and Sax, Engels explained that worker ownership of housing often works to the disadvantage of the worker.

In the Middle Ages, the peasants were tied to the land. They quite naturally owned their own home. Their entire lives were spent in one village and locality.

But under capitalism workers need mobility. Old industrial areas are decaying while in other, previously little-industrialized regions, industry is booming. Only by retaining full freedom of movement can the worker make maximum use of his or her market power in relationship to the capitalists.

It is for this very reason that capitalist factory owners rather like to have the workers “own” their own homes and tiny plots of land. It helps to weaken the workers in relation to the employers.

Such homes and land are almost always heavily mortgaged. Instead of making monthly payments to the landlord, the worker makes monthly mortgage payments to the bank.

In order to move and pay off the mortgage, the worker must find a buyer for the house. During periods of economic crisis, like the present, this can be very difficult.

For example, let's say that a laid-off auto worker in Michigan gets a job offer in a new electronics plant opening up in Texas. But the worker must first sell the house. But with mortgage credit practically impossible to obtain, and with unemployment in the double digits in Michigan, it's virtual-

ly impossible to find a buyer for the house. The worker is effectively tied down.

Engels explained: “For our workers in the big cities freedom of movement is the prime condition of existence, and landownership can only be a fetter to them. Give them their own houses, chain them once again to the soil and you break their power of resistance to the wage cutting of the factory owners. The individual worker might be able to sell his house on occasion, but during a big strike or a general industrial crisis all the houses belonging to the workers affected would have to be put up for sale and would therefore find no purchasers or be sold off far below their cost price.”

The capitalists also like to encourage homeownership by workers because it opens up subsidiary ways of exploiting the workers. For example, in addition to the profits that are made off mortgages, local governments finance themselves levying property taxes that fall heaviest on working-class homeowners. The big real estate interests which, unlike the workers, are amply represented in the councils of local government, see to it that they pay little if any property taxes.

The capitalists also encourage homeownership by a section of the workers for another reason.

They tell workers who “own” their own homes that they are part of the “property”-owning class, and have the same interests as other property owners (like the capitalists) against the poor, especially the poor with dark skins.

In this way, the capitalists hope to transform a part of the working class into “Joe Sixpacks” who don't like paying property taxes to finance “welfare bums,” especially those with dark skins.

This is not a new idea. The philanthropic bourgeois economist Sax wrote more than a hundred years ago: “By social economy we mean the doctrine of national economy in its application to social questions; or to put it more precisely, the totality of the ways and means which this science offers us for raising the so-called (!) propertyless classes to the level of the propertied classes, on the basis of its ‘iron’ laws within the framework of the order of society at present prevailing.”

### Co-Ops?

Engels explained that even free housing or consumer cooperatives that lower the prices of the means of subsistence of the worker would not in the long run lessen capitalist exploitation.

He explained: “Let us assume that in a given industrial area it has become the rule that each worker owns his own little house. In that case the working class of that area lives rent-free; housing expenses no longer enter into the value of its labour power. Every reduction in the cost of produc-

tion of labour power, that is to say, every permanent price reduction in the worker's necessities of life is equivalent ‘on the basis of the iron laws of the doctrine of national economy’ to a depression of the value of labor power and will therefore result in a corresponding drop in wages. Wages would thus fall on an average as much as the average sum saved on rent, that is, the worker would pay rent for his own house, but not, as formerly, in money to the house-owner, but in unpaid labor to the factory owner for whom he works. In this way the savings of the worker invested in his little house would in a certain sense become capital, however not capital for him but for the capitalist employing him. . . .

“Incidentally, what has been said above applies to all so-called social reforms which can be reduced to saving schemes or to cheapening the means of subsistence of the worker. Either they become general and then they are followed by a corresponding reduction of wages or they remain quite isolated experiments and then their very existence as isolated exceptions proves that their realisation on an extensive scale is incompatible with the existing capitalist mode of production. Let us assume that in a certain area a general introduction of consumers' co-operatives succeeds in reducing the cost of the means of subsistence for the workers by 20 percent. Hence in the long run wages would fall in that area by approximately 20 percent, that is to say, in the same proportion as the means of subsistence in question enter into the budget of the workers.”

### Government Reform?

The current Reagan cutbacks illustrate the limits of government reform in one sense. Under the capitalist mode of production, social spending by the government will always remain limited and subject to the ups and downs of the capitalist economic cycle.

But there is another side as well.

Even when capitalist governments engage in “urban renewal,” it ends up serving the ends of the real estate interests. For example, if the government helps finance the construction of new commercial buildings in a run-down, “bad” working-class neighborhood, the result is a tremendous rise in the value of the land owned by the real estate magnates.

The previous residents—in the U.S., usually Black and Latino—are driven out of the area to be “renewed.” They have to find slum housing somewhere else. This is how things worked out in the U.S. under President Johnson's “Great Society,” with all of its schemes like the “model cities” program.

Continued next page



Working-class district in Newcastle, England, 1880



# ... The Housing Crisis

Continued from previous page

In a footnote to the recent edition of *The Housing Question*, Engels noted the same thing in 19th century England.

Engels wrote: "In recent English Acts of Parliament giving the London building authorities the right of expropriation for the purpose of new street construction, a certain amount of consideration is given to the workers thus turned out of their homes. A provision has been inserted that the new buildings to be erected must be suitable for housing those classes of the population previously living there. Big five or six storey tenement houses are therefore erected for the workers on the least valuable sites and in this way the letter of the law is complied with. It remains to be seen how this arrangement will work, for the workers are quite unaccustomed to it and in the midst of the old conditions in London these buildings represent a completely foreign development. At best, however, they will provide new dwellings for hardly a quarter of the workers actually evicted by the buildings operations."

## The Main Issue

Despite all the misery that rundown slum housing and rent-gouging landlords cause, the housing question in the final analysis is a secondary evil of capitalism. That is, the evils that arise around the housing question are an *inevitable result* of the operations of the capitalist mode of production. Only by attacking the capitalist system at its vital point can the evils that arise from it, like the housing shortage, be eliminated.

Engels explained: "The housing shortage from which the workers and part of the petty bourgeoisie suffer in our modern big cities is one of the innumerable *smaller*, secondary evils which result from the present-day capitalist mode of production. It is not at all a direct result of the exploitation of the worker as worker by the capitalist. This exploitation is the basic evil which the social revolution wants to abolish by abolishing the capitalist mode of production. The cornerstone of the capitalist mode of production is, however, the fact that our present social order enables the capitalist to buy the labor power of the worker at its value, but to extract from it much more than its value by making the worker work longer than is necessary to reproduce the price paid for the labor power."

As long as capitalism exists, it will keep on reproducing its evils on a larger and larger scale—whether these evils be unemployment, periodic

depressions, pollution, war, or the housing shortage.

Only by tackling wage slavery head on can the evils that flow from the exploitation of the working class be eliminated.

## The Solution

The first condition of the solution of the evils of capitalism is the transfer of political power to the working class. Once in power, the workers government leads the working class in the task of replacing capitalist private ownership and management of the means of production by the producers themselves.

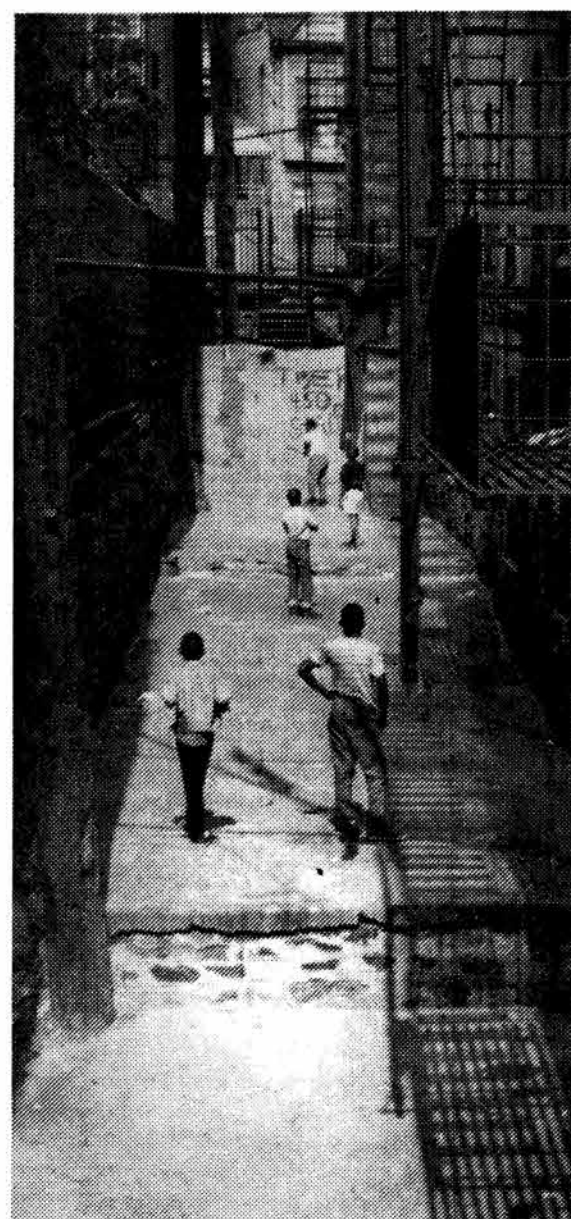
As an immediate step, a workers government would likely expropriate the surplus houses of the capitalists. If the huge mansions and luxury apartments of the lords of capital were made available to the worst-housed sections of the population, a big part of the evil would be alleviated then and there.

It is impossible to foresee today how a communist society of the future that has completely left behind the heritage of capitalist exploitation will deal with the housing question.

As Engels put it: "However, it never entered my head to try to settle the so-called housing question any more than to occupy myself with the details of the still more important *food question*. I am satisfied if I can prove that the production of our modern society is sufficient to provide all its members with enough to eat, and that there are houses enough in existence to provide the working masses for the time being with roomy and healthy living accommodation. To speculate on how a future society might organize the distribution of food and dwellings leads directly to *utopia*."

The main thing today is the need of the working class to keep in mind the goal of taking political power in order to abolish capitalist exploitation.

As Engels put it: "The development of the proletariat soon casts aside these swaddling-clothes and engenders in the working class itself the realization that nothing is less practical than these 'practical solutions,' concocted in advance and universally applicable, and that practical socialism consists rather in a correct knowledge of the capitalist mode of production from its various aspects. A working class which knows what's what in this regard will *never* be in doubt in any case as to which social institutions should be the objects of its main attacks, and in what manner these attacks should be executed."



## For Further Reading The Housing Question By Frederick Engels

An excellent explanation of why slums exist, the origins of suburbs, and how housing problems can be solved.  
\$1.25

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage.

# ... National Black Party

Continued from page ISRI/5

Economic Democracy, a populist concept articulated by Tom Hayden and the California-based Campaign for Economic Democracy. Another tendency retains the call for building African socialism (Ujamaa) by constructing all-Black consumer and producer cooperatives, buying, and developing extensive land holdings in the South. Yet another trend advocates a critical Marxist or dialectical materialist analysis of modern monopoly capitalism."

He points out that, "The dominant mood of the NBPA/Black Party is not socialist, but is clearly and unequivocally anticapitalist."

The formation of the NBIPP, and its future development, is an important example to the labor movement. As the uselessness of supporting liberal Democrats—who are increasingly exposed as part of the bipartisan offensive against the working class—becomes clearer, more workers are receptive to the idea of breaking from the capitalist parties. The fact that forces in the Black movement, who are fighting for many of the same things as the unions, are taking a step toward establishing an independent party is a useful example to point to in discussing the possibilities of running independent labor candidates and establishing a labor party.

Jack Henning, head of the California Federation of Labor, and other union officials have been talking about the idea of a labor party over the past year or so. Mostly they are warning Democratic politicians that unless some concessions are delivered, there's going to be more problems from the union ranks who are already on their backs. If Henning were really pushing for a

break from the Democratic party, he would have welcomed the NBIPP as a step in the right direction. But Henning has instead attacked the NBIPP as "divisive." This is an indication that Henning in reality is not for a labor party at all. The fact that Henning is talking about both the question of the Black party and the labor party, however, offers us an excellent opportunity to discuss *our view* of how the Black party development aids the discussion on the labor party, and how it is precisely the anticapitalist, anti-imperialist, antiracist perspective of the NBIPP that we want to see for a labor party.

From its inception, the NBIPP has had a policy of nonexclusion. It includes revolutionary Marxists as well as dissatisfied Democrats. Many members belong to other political organizations, including the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, New American Movement, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Communist Party, Communist Workers Party, and so on. This policy is an advance over many previous attempts to get a Black party going.

Since the Philadelphia convention, Black members of the SWP and YSA have been active members and loyal builders of the NBIPP. We joined local committees where they existed. Party members have been elected to leadership bodies at every level. As we've taken responsibilities, our views have received a hearing, we have won respect for our serious commitment to building the NBIPP, and we have learned and been changed by the views of others. We have lent our support to the goal of continuing the perspective adopted in Philadelphia of building an independ-

ent anticapitalist, anti-imperialist political party.

The experience of helping to build an organization like the NBIPP is a new one for most of us. We are going through a real learning process. It's quite different in many respects from the united front-type coalitions that we are more familiar with.

One of the most important lessons we have learned is that we don't necessarily have immediate or pat answers on how best to advance the NBIPP at this moment. We have to work our way through the concrete questions that come up like everyone else in the NBIPP and together with them.

\* \* \*

We understand that the fight for Black liberation is a key component of the struggle for socialism in the U.S. We see the American socialist revolution as a combined revolution—workers, as a class, fighting for socialism, as well as Blacks fighting for socialism and liberation both as workers and as an oppressed nationality. That is, we see the fight for Black liberation bound up with the struggle for workers to take power in this country, to establish a workers government. This is our strategic goal.

From the transitional program, we advance demands that lead in this direction. The first big task is to break the political hold of the capitalist class on our class and its allies.

This rounded and full appreciation of the class struggle in the United States puts us in the best position to see where the struggle for Black liberation fits in.



# Nuclear power opponents score victory

By Jim Odling  
and Nancy Brown

On September 29, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) announced that low-level testing of the new Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant would be indefinitely delayed and that fuel rods would not be loaded into Unit 1 of the plant—as authorized several weeks earlier.

This decision followed the admission by the Pacific Gas and Electric Company (PG&E), owners of the plant, that they had used the wrong diagrams and computer analysis in constructing vital sections of the plant.

Diablo Canyon has two reactors, which are mirror images of each other (Unit 2 is still under construction).

According to the PG&E, the plans for installation of mandatory seismic safety supports in its twin reactors were depicted on a single transparency. Instructions for each reactor were supposed to be on opposite sides. But the instructions weren't there, and the proper safety supports weren't installed.

The plant's ability to withstand earthquakes is thus weakened. This is a major issue since the plant is located three and one-half miles from Hosgri fault, the most active and largest branch of the massive San Andreas fault.

The decision not to start the plant constitutes a major setback for the nuclear industry and the Reagan administration.

Going ahead with Diablo Canyon, despite protests and massive opposition, was clearly central to the administration's strategy to push forward with starting and building more nuclear power plants. With the blueprint blunder that plan has backfired.

As the October 3 *Los Angeles Times* noted, "Perhaps the biggest repair job the utility faces is not the structure of the Diablo Canyon plant itself, but rather public confidence."

Repairs, however, promise to be a big job as well, despite claims by John Hoch, director of nuclear programs for PG&E that "It all comes down to modifications . . . adding a structural beam here, a gusset there, a little beefing-up of an existing support."

Even an NRC official was forced to admit the error is a "fairly significant engineering screw up."

The October 3 *New York Times* reported that still more errors are being found in both plants because of the mix-up.

News of the mistaken diagram came on the last day of the blockade of the Di-

Jim Odling is a member of Service Employees International Union Local 660. Nancy Brown is a member of the International Association of Machinists, Local 727.



**"We welcome your inspection, gentlemen. I think you'll find our nuclear plant capable of withstanding any earthquake possible."**

ablo Canyon plant, an action organized with the support of two anti-nuclear groups, the Abalone Alliance and the Southern California Alliance for Survival. The protests were aimed at preventing low-level testing and stopping the operation of the plant.

### Protests from around world

The Diablo protests have been international news since mid-September. Since then thousands of people have protested at the facility.

For two weeks anti-nuclear activists organized a blockade of the plant to protest the high risks of nuclear power to the area's population. As of September 27, the thirteenth day of the blockade, approximately 1,700 people had been arrested.

Raye Fleming, a spokeswoman for the media center of the Diablo blockade, stated that, in addition to local residents, blockaders and supporters came from across the United States and from Germany, India, and Japan.

In all, more than forty organizations took part in the blockade.

On September 27, more than 4,000 local residents picketed the main gate of the Diablo nuclear plant to support the blockade. It was the second local picket in two weeks. The previous Sunday 5,000 residents joined a spontaneous picket line.

The majority of picketers on September 27 were women. For two hours

they walked from nearby Avila Beach to the main gate. Some pushed baby carriages. Some carried small children.

Hundreds carried signs that read, "We support the blockade. Stop Diablo Canyon Now!" There were dozens of other signs. "Radiation is not good for children and other living things." A woman pushed a stroller with a sign, "Another family against Diablo Canyon."

Many people wore bumper stickers pasted on their clothes that read, "Local taxpayer against Diablo Canyon." A small black dog wore a sign that spoke for her, "Dogs against Diablo Canyon."

One picket sign protested the actions of Assemblywoman Carol Hallett from Atascadero. Hallett and pro-nuclear residents have filed a suit against the blockaders demanding that the arrested protesters bear the cost of sending in the cops, national guard, and sheriffs' deputies to arrest them.

Participants in the picket included members of the Communication Workers of America, Service Employees International Union, International Association of Machinists, Mothers for Peace, and anti-nuclear organizations.

Picketers told the *Militant* that there has been a change in the thinking in workers at the plant and residents over the past several years. Raye Fleming said that the majority of workers might walk away from Diablo Canyon if they knew they could find jobs elsewhere. For years the Abalone Alliance and Mothers for Peace have handed out anti-nuclear

literature to plant workers. "Some workers used to try to run us down," one activist said. "Now some are friendly. Others are neutral. But they listen."

The struggle against Diablo has been going on since the mid 1970s. There were blockades of the plant in 1977 and 1978. There have been court suits filed against the plant, interventions in hearings on the safety of nuclear power, and massive demonstrations. On June 30, 1979—a few months after the accident at Three Mile Island—more than 30,000 people demonstrated against the plant at the community college in San Luis Obispo. This year the college became the jail site for some of the blockaders.

There have been protests in other cities against the plant. On September 26 500 Los Angeles residents rallied to support the blockade. One of the rally speakers was Max Manning, who worked as a "sponge" or "jumper" at the San Onofre nuclear plant in southern California. Sponges are sent into highly radioactive areas of the plant for short periods of time to do repair work. Since Manning left San Onofre this spring, he has aged four years, and lost an average of ten pounds a month. His doctors are still trying to find out what is wrong with him.

Anti-nuclear activists plan to continue the protests against Diablo Canyon. Future actions will be discussed at a statewide conference of the Abalone Alliance in Santa Barbara October 9-11. For more information on activities aimed at stopping Diablo Canyon, call (805) 966-4565 or (213) 617-2118, or (415) 543-3910.

## What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power

by  
**Fred Halstead**

40 pp., \$95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage.

## Solidarity Day subscribers urged to renew

By Doug Jenness

A few weeks ago we welcomed more than 2,000 new readers of the *Militant* who bought trial subscriptions at the Solidarity Day march on September 19. For most of you, your trial subscriptions will end with this issue. We hope that you have enjoyed the issues you have received and urge you to renew your subscription for a longer period. Just send in the subscription form that appears on page 3.

You may be interested in learning more about what we plan to be covering in the next weeks. Besides providing news coverage you can't get from other papers, the *Militant* actively supports struggles against the employers and the government.

We will be continuing to campaign in support of the air controllers' strike. The

high stakes for the labor movement involved in this strike, which we describe this week in the article by Stu Singer on page 18, demand that we give high priority to this struggle.

We will be running reports on the National Organization for Women convention being held this week and the big questions facing the fight for women's rights.

During the remaining weeks leading up to the 1981 elections, we will be carrying reports on the campaign being conducted by Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidates in support of the idea for a labor party.

One of the especially unique features of our paper is the coverage that it gives to the lawsuit filed by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance against undemocratic and illegal harassment by the

FBI and other secret police agencies. Testimony on this landmark case for democratic rights was heard in court last spring, and further legal proceedings are continuing this fall. Tours and rallies to organize support and funds for the case are being held in November.

We will be publicizing the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance to be held in Philadelphia December 31-January 3, and the activities of our younger readers in organizing students and young workers to attend.

In addition to all of this we will continue to carry regular reports on Poland and Iran and first-hand accounts from our reporting team in Nicaragua.

As part of our activity and reporting around these questions, we are carrying out a circulation drive for subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*,

our Spanish-language bi-weekly. During the drive we are offering a twelve-week subscription to the *Militant* for \$3 and six issues of *PM* for \$2.50.

Supporters in Salt Lake City report that when they set up a table at Utah State University in Logan it was surrounded all day by students debating events in Iran. The issue of the *Militant* on sale featured a major article on Iran and thirteen subscriptions were sold. The coal mining town of Price, Utah, has been targeted for another subscription team from Salt Lake City.

Our goal is to gain 8,000 new readers by November 21. At this point we are ahead of schedule in achieving this with 3,059 *Militant* and 143 *PM* subscriptions sold. In the remaining seven weeks of the drive, we need to redouble our efforts to make this goal.



By Stu Singer

The 12,000 air traffic controllers have been on strike against the federal government for two months. Their strike is the most important labor confrontation in the country. But the battle has been one-sided. The government is winning.

The members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization voted by a 95 percent margin to go on strike after months of trying to negotiate with the government. The government stonewalled, ignoring their proposals.

PATCO expected better. They had been tricked into supporting Reagan for president after getting written assurance his administration would treat them more fairly than Carter's Democrats.

They went on strike August 3. The government attack on the strike is unprecedented in American history. Within forty-eight hours, Reagan fired all 12,000 strikers. Criminal indictments were brought against local leaders of the union throughout the country. The photograph of Norfolk, Virginia, local President Steven Wallaert being dragged off to jail in handcuffs and leg irons is a graphic portrait of labor relations in America today.

The union, which is affiliated to the AFL-CIO, is being decertified. It is being sued for millions of dollars. The strikers are denied food stamps and, in most states, unemployment benefits. The government is refusing extensions on mortgage payments for the strikers' homes.

In one city after another, indictments have come down against local PATCO leaders. Injunctions have been issued prohibiting or severely limiting their picket lines.

Thousands of new controllers have been recruited and their training is being speeded up.

### Digging coal with bayonets

For the first time since the 1970 postal strike, military personnel have been ordered in as strikebreakers.

The air controllers are highly skilled workers. They expected that the air traffic system in the United States could not be operated normally without them.

When coal miners strike, they have proven over the years the relationship of forces won't permit the army to mine coal. "You can't dig coal with bayonets," they say.

But air traffic is continuing to operate in the midst of this strike.

The work of 17,000 controllers is being done by about 9,300 strikebreakers, including at least 775 military controllers. The government ordered a reduction in commercial and private flights when the strike began. Commercial flights are 50 to 75 percent of what they used to be. Long delays in schedules are common. After the initial cuts, private plane traffic, called general aviation, is up. Rules protecting safety for general aviation have been dropped.

As winter approaches and the weather gets worse, flying will become more dangerous.

But the government and the airline industry put defeating the controllers ahead of safety.

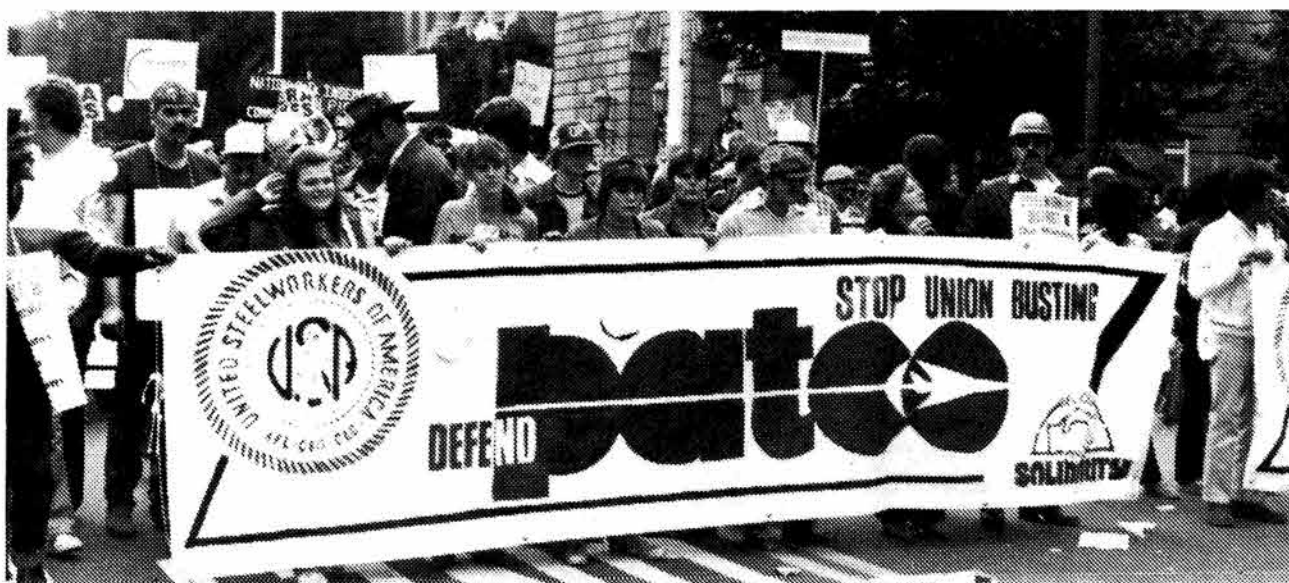
The striking controllers are putting up a heroic effort. But this strike needs more support than it is now getting from the rest of the labor movement.

### Solidarity Day

The air controllers were the stars of the September 19 AFL-CIO demonstration in Washington. Workers there bought PATCO hats, T-shirts, buttons, stickers; gave them money; cheered them at every opportunity. Steven Wallaert was the best received, and probably the best speaker, at the rally. The other rally speakers hardly mentioned PATCO. But to the 500,000 demonstrators, their march on Washington was a show of solidarity with PATCO as much as a protest of the other policies of the Reagan administration.

Solidarity Day showed solidarity with PATCO. It

# The air controllers'



Solidarity day, September 19: controllers were heroes of hundreds of thousands of demonstrators.

gave a sense of the power of the labor movement, its size, its allies, its potential.

To the marchers on September 19, workers, Blacks, women, old, and young, PATCO was *their* cause.

What is the labor leadership's response?

A few things. There have been support rallies organized by PATCO in many places.

The AFL-CIO leadership has officially protested the firings. For the first time, they have even brought unfair labor charges against the U.S. government before the International Labor Organization.

The AFL-CIO has set up a special fund to aid the strikers and their families. But it is inadequate. Several international unions have made contributions to the fund in the range of \$100,000. But it would take \$1.2 million a week just to provide \$100 a week strike benefits to the 12,000 strikers. The fund is not being organized to raise anything like that.

And last, some top union officials are not flying.

The AFL-CIO Executive Board was meeting in Chicago when the strike began. After the meeting Lane Kirkland and the others chartered a bus to drive back to Washington.

The Executive Board discussed and explicitly decided against organizing a boycott of airline travel. They decided against calling on AFL-CIO unions to support the PATCO strike by not crossing PATCO picket lines to go to work.

Since that Executive Board meeting the first week in August, no international union, in or outside the AFL-CIO, has either called for a boycott or organized its members to refuse to cross the picket lines.

The PATCO strike is becoming less visible. At most airports there are no picket lines anymore, or they are up only at entrances to the control towers.

Many individual workers have shown their contempt for Reagan and solidarity with PATCO by finding other means of transportation. Thousands lost one or two extra days' pay by driving, instead of flying, to the Solidarity Day demonstration.

But the gesture by some top union officials not to fly does not help win the PATCO strike. It only lets the officials off the hook from taking real action.

AFL-CIO President Kirkland denounced those within the labor movement calling for active union backing for the controllers. He branded his critics, "midnight-gin militants."

Kirkland, on the other hand, for all his verbal support to the strike, seems to be heeding the advice of the two-martini-lunch businessmen who advise him to stay out of it.

A *Wall Street Journal* editorial August 6 reminded Kirkland and the "other cool heads at the AFL-CIO" that "if the President backs off" against PATCO, "both respect for the law and his presidency will suffer." The big-business mouthpiece tied attacking PATCO to the government's "commitments to rebuild military strength."

The AFL-CIO Executive Board meeting that took no action to support the controllers' strike did vote in favor of increased military spending.

It is shared thinking like this between labor officials and the bosses that blocks a drive to win the strike.

### Choosing sides

Unionized airline workers have the potential power to stop air travel in the U.S. A strike by the controllers alone is not enough to do that. The strike is having an economic impact on the airlines, but it is uneven.

The wealthy industry giants are getting an advantage over weaker competitors. Delta Air Lines (which is nonunion), TWA, and United are benefiting from the strike. They have fewer flights, but a higher percentage of the seats are filled. Braniff, on the other

hand, which was already weak, may be pushed out of business. Two small western airlines, Golden Gate and Swift Aire, went bankrupt last month, blaming the strike.

The airline deregulation put in effect under Carter, is being reversed. Competition is decreasing, fares are going up.

As much as possible, all the airlines are forcing the cost of the strike onto the backs of their workers.

At least 15,000 have been laid off, many of their jobs permanently eliminated. Speedup rules have been pushed through making remaining jobs more dangerous.

The hundreds of thousands of airline and airport workers are represented by dozens of unions. These unions have to choose between defending PATCO or helping the airlines at the expense of their own members. So far the union leaders have taken the company side.

This is true of the right-wing gangsters who run the Teamsters to the supposedly progressive leadership of the Machinists.

PATCO is on strike demanding decent pay hikes to keep up with inflation, a shorter work week, better working conditions, earlier retirement.

The leaders of all the other unions involved in air travel are pushing Chrysler-type concessions in wages and working conditions from their members.

Union officials would have a hard time convincing their members to accept a worse contract for themselves while helping PATCO fight for a better one.

### Union scabs and givebacks

The Air Line Pilots Association has been one of the worst enemies of the controllers' strike. That AFL-CIO union's top leadership has declared flying to be safe. They are covering up the victimization of pilots who question the work of the scab controllers.

ALPA is encouraging laid-off pilots to work as scabs to help the Federal Aviation Administration run the air control system.

This union's strikebreaking has brought no public denunciation from the AFL-CIO.

The pilots union took down their own picket lines against New York Air, which is operating with non-union pilots, to avoid appearing to support the controllers.

Like the other airline unions, the pilots are making contract concessions to help out the companies.

Their new contract with United agrees to changes that are expected to save \$75 million. At Eastern, the pilots agreed to a pay cut.

## Bus driver fired for support to strike

By Lynda Joyce

CLEVELAND—Trailways bus driver James West was told to pick up a group of people at Cleveland Hopkins Airport September 29. West refused and he was fired.

"I have never crossed a picket line in my life," the Black driver told the Cleveland news media. "These are union men on strike with no way to feed their families. If the shoe was on the other foot—I'd expect the same."

James West is a member of the Amalgamated Transit Union. In television interviews he explained that he is from a union family and participated in the September 19 demonstration in Washington.

PATCO members from Cleveland gave him dinner and drove him back to Pittsburgh.

#### SUBCHAPTER II—EMPLOYMENT LIMITATIONS

##### § 7311. Loyalty and striking

An individual may not accept or hold a position in the Government of the United States or the government of the District of Columbia if he—

(1) advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government;

(2) is a member of an organization that he knows advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government;

(3) participates in a strike, or asserts the right to strike, against the Government of the United States or the government of the District of Columbia; or

(4) is a member of an organization of employees of the Government of the United States or of individuals employed by the government of the District of Columbia that he knows asserts the right to strike against the Government of the United States or the government of the District of Columbia.

Pub.L. 89-554, Sept. 6, 1966, 80 Stat. 524.

'Yellow-dog contracts' like this were outlawed for private industry in 1932. Last month, government tried to fire two workers for 'asserting PATCO's right to strike,' but backed off.



# strike—can it be won?

At Pan American World Airways, all the unions agreed to a 10 percent wage cut and a wage freeze through 1982.

Workers at Republic Air Lines took 15 percent of their August pay in company stock to save the company \$6 million. One of the heads of the pilots union was appointed to help the company slash costs.

The leaders of the International Association of Machinists who represent thousands of Eastern Air Lines workers, have announced new agreements to improve relations with the company and "establish harmony." This is an ominous development for IAM members, whose contract expires later this year.

## Friends of labor?

The Reagan administration's attack against PATCO has bipartisan support. In fact, Reagan's strike-breaking plan was drawn up twenty months before the strike by the Democrats.

The top leaders of the labor movement are pledging to tie the unions even more closely to the Democrats. You cannot actively support PATCO and actively support politicians who are screaming for PATCO's blood.

In New Jersey, for example, the labor movement is pouring money into the campaign of Democratic Congressman James Florio running for Governor. Florio backs Reagan against PATCO.

Archer Cole, vice president of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council, was quoted in the Newark *Star Ledger* as disagreeing with Florio's backing of Reagan against PATCO: "However, that will not determine our support for Florio. . . . Our stand for Florio is based on 100 issues, not on one."

## Antilabor laws

When asked about crossing the PATCO picket lines, union officials say it is an individual decision. They point out that to boycott flying or to stop work by not crossing the picket lines, could be branded illegal under federal antilabor laws.

They are right. The antilabor laws themselves have to be challenged. It will take the full weight of the union movement.

It is contrary to the idea of unionism to make it an individual decision whether to fly or to go to work across a picket line.

Machinists President Winpisinger boasts that he is not flying. He risks nothing. But members of the machinists union who work at the airports risk their jobs. The union itself has to organize to stay off work and fight to protect its members.

Otherwise, Winpisinger might as well tell the members to individually negotiate their own rates of pay. The purpose of unions is to combine the strength of individual workers, not to throw them to the wolves.

The power of the government is not unlimited.

The government has been stopped from strike-breaking before.

Striking coal miners in 1978 tore up Jimmy Carter's Taft-Hartley orders to return to work. That powerful union, with the massive support it had throughout the labor movement, did what was necessary to avoid a defeat.

It will take the whole labor movement, acting like it did for September 19, to win the controllers' strike.

## Stakes in the PATCO strike

The bosses in the United States and in other countries have been crowing about the victory they think they are winning against PATCO.

The British big-business publication the *Economist* wrote that Reagan's firing of the controllers should become the model for other countries.

Editorials and opinion pieces throughout the news media here boast that the defeat of PATCO would discourage other public workers from fighting for decent contracts.

Articles point to the large number of people who applied for the controllers' jobs as evidence that high employment makes it easy to recruit strikebreakers.

There are predictions that a defeat of PATCO will end unions forcing the recognition of special job-related health risks such as the stress and fatigue that afflict the controllers.

The bosses are dreaming of a return to the old capitalist rule that if you want to work, you just have to suffer from whatever the job entails.

The controllers have enjoyed more help from foreign air controllers than from unions here. This is pointed to as evidence of the weakness of the American union movement.

Important union officials are drawing the same conclusions. Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, heads the largest public employee union. In a *New York Times* interview, after he flew from Chicago to Cape Cod in late August, Wurf attacked PATCO for supporting Reagan against Carter. He said their strike illustrates why "workers in public safety"

should give up the right to strike entirely, as he has long advocated.

New York City Transit Workers Union President John Lawe proposed after the PATCO strike began, his union should give up their principle of no contract, no work and submit to binding arbitration for future contracts.

Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser attacked PATCO for not consulting with him before the strike. The Chrysler Board of Directors member would probably have tried to convince them to take a pay cut in order to help the federal budget.

## Support PATCO

The opponents of the PATCO strike underestimated both the controllers and the support they have from other American workers.

They are not aware of some of the things the strike has already accomplished.

The response by the news media and the government to this strike has gone a long way toward blowing up the myth about who really supports the workers in Poland.

It's been instructive in showing who runs this country and how far they are willing to go against workers.

The attacks on the strike, coming equally from the Democrats and Republicans, present a powerful argument in favor of the unions organizing their own party, a labor party.

The support by workers for this strike is an inspiring example of labor solidarity. The actions by air controllers in other countries to back the strikers renew a tradition of international solidarity not seen for decades.

Most inspiring is the example of the PATCO strikers themselves. A group of mostly white, male, relatively well-paid workers who mostly voted for Ronald Reagan in November 1980 have moved into the forefront of the labor movement today.

A victory for the controllers requires a massive social protest. Organizing for a victory would have to extend throughout the labor movement. An effort on the scale of September 19 is needed. Mass mobilizations, involvement of all the unions, production of millions of leaflets and posters, commitments of money and organizers.

That's what workers want to do.

September 19 proved it.

More education is needed, explaining the issues in the strike. Rallies and picket lines have to be organized, PATCO speakers invited before union locals and other groups to build support.

Antilabor laws will have to be challenged in the courts and on the picket lines and in the streets.

A gigantic effort like this will shake up relations with the employers. It will threaten the false "friends-of-labor" politicians.

Fighting for PATCO means telling the Democrats, the Republicans, and the bosses to go to hell.

But without that effort, PATCO may be defeated. Their defeat would be a defeat for all workers.

There is no sign that Reagan or the class he represents will have a change of heart and back down.

September 19 was the greatest solidarity effort yet for the PATCO strike. What is required is another effort on that scale aimed at bringing labor's weapons to bear to win.

Winning this strike is the most important challenge before the labor movement now.



PATCO leader Steven Wallaert in chains

## 'I'm convinced we need a labor party'

By Sloane Parker

CLEVELAND—Ken Fairbairn, President of PATCO Local 221 at Cleveland Hopkins Airport, spoke at a Socialist Workers Party campaign rally in Cleveland September 26. The rally was for SWP candidates Lynda Joyce for Mayor and Amy Belvin for City Council. They were the only candidates in the September 29 election to express support for PATCO.

The following are excerpts from Fairbairn's talk at the rally:

"Nine weeks ago I voted for Reagan. Nine weeks ago I didn't know I was a worker. Nine weeks ago I had never known about trade union solidarity or a labor party.

"And I never knew about the Socialist Workers Party. Today, I urge all of you to vote for Lynda Joyce and Amy Belvin.



"A lot has happened to me in the last nine weeks. Last Saturday in Washington, it showed me and my members that PATCO is not alone. We're in a labor struggle.

"The idea of a labor party never even dawned on me.

"But now there's a reason to think about it. It's opened my eyes. A lot of members wonder what's in store for us, even if we do go back, even if we win.

"It's working people that are the foundation of this country—people in the factories, people on farms—even people in jobs like I have. We consider ourselves workers. We're members of a labor union, the AFL-CIO, and we're certainly going to stay that way.

"To sum up, I've had a hell of an education. I'm convinced that what we do need is a labor party . . . to make sure that the voice and the opinion of working people is heard in the government. The Democrats won't do it. You certainly don't have to mention the Republicans.

"I think Lynda Joyce is the viable alternative for working people in this country to be heard."



# What socialists mean by revolution

## Brief from historic lawsuit against FBI spying—Part II

Last spring, in a New York federal court, three months of testimony were heard in a landmark suit. The defendants were the U.S. government and its various political police agencies, including the FBI and CIA. The plaintiffs were the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The two organizations had filed suit to put a halt to years of illegal victimization by various government agencies. Trial testimony confirmed that the socialists had committed no crime but were targeted solely on the basis of their political ideas. They suffered illegal surveillance, disruption, burglaries, infiltration, public slander and more.

The suit was brought as a means of combatting these unconstitutional dirty tricks which are used not only against socialists, but also against the labor movement, the women's and civil rights forces, and other movements for social progress.

The socialists are seeking \$70 million in damages, an injunction to halt these practices, and voiding of several federal statutes used to undermine the Bill of Rights.

Following the courtroom testimony, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance submitted a legal brief summarizing the facts of the case and arguing its merits. The government will also submit briefs prior to the judge's decision in the case.

In our October 2 issue we printed the first parts of the brief, which took up the nature, goals and activities of the SWP and YSA.

We present here the next section of the brief which takes up the SWP's view of revolution, democracy, socialism and totalitarianism.

Parts of the text with quotation marks are from the testimony of leaders of the party.

Additional material from the brief, and articles about it, will appear in coming issues of the 'Militant'.



'A revolution involves masses of people doing something against the status quo and the existing order, and that was the salient feature of the Russian Revolution of 1917: that it was ordinary people, the majority of the population, industrial workers, peasants, and soldiers.' Above, March 1917 demonstration in Petrograd, prior to the revolution.

### C. What the Plaintiffs mean by the Term "Revolution."

The revolution that the SWP and YSA advocate involves fundamental changes on the economic, political and social level. It has always been the view of the SWP and YSA that such a revolution can only occur when social conditions reach a crisis stage as the result of objective developments. Such "revolutionary situations" are not brought about by small groups of people, by parties. They are created by social conditions, social forces that no one has any control over.

Plaintiffs' views on this question have always been known to the defendants. Plaintiffs' Exhibit 436, which reprints the testimony of SWP leader James P. Cannon at the Smith Act trial in 1941, outlines the preconditions that the plaintiffs believe are neces-

sary for a revolutionary situation to develop:

The first one is that the existing society must have exhausted its possibilities of further development. Marx laid down as a law that no social system can be replaced by another until it has exhausted all its possibilities for development and advancement. That is, you may say, the fundamental prerequisite for a social revolution.

Then I can give a number of collateral prerequisites which have been accepted by our movement.

The ruling class must be unable any longer to solve its problems, must have to a large degree lost confidence in itself. The misery and desperation of the masses must have increased to the point where they desire at all costs a radical change. Unemployment, fascism and war become problems of increasing magnitude which are patently insoluble by the existing ruling class. There must be a tremendous sentiment among the masses of the producers for socialist ideas and for a socialist revolution.

The plaintiffs reject the idea that a socialist revolu-

tion can be accomplished by a minority. As plaintiff Farrell Dobbs put it,

A minority cannot carry through a revolution. We firmly believe, on the basis of the whole record of history, that the only way a fundamental social change can be brought about is by the action of a majority of the population. A minority cannot bring about a fundamental social change.

The SWP and YSA reject the idea, as contrary to Marxism, that a socialist revolution can be accomplished by a minority putsch or a coup d'etat. They likewise do not believe that the SWP, or any revolutionary party, will "start" the revolution. Farrell Dobbs explained the SWP's views on this topic:

If and when a revolution develops in the United States, it will be started by the working class standing at the head of a majority force which will include other exploited and oppressed layers of the population. . . . And only when the working class, at the head of a majority of the population, has decided that a revolutionary change is necessary will action to bring about such a change be started.

In the view of the plaintiffs, the Russian Revolution of October 1917, led by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, was such a majority action. This view, while disputed by some historians, is shared by others. Professor Stephen Cohen, who is recognized as a distinguished historian and a leading authority on the Russian Revolution, testified for the plaintiffs. He said,

A revolution involves masses of people doing something against the status quo and the existing order and . . . that was the salient feature of [the Russian Revolution of] 1917, that it was ordinary people, the majority of the population, industrial workers, peasants and soldiers . . . that these people struck out at the foundations of Russian society and they were the actors of the Russian Revolution.<sup>1</sup>

The SWP and YSA believe that it "would be the best thing by far for the entire world and for all the people of the United States" if the fundamental changes they advocate could be accomplished through the process of radical legislation and extensive constitutional amendments. The following excerpt from Cannon's testimony in the 1941 Smith Act trial summarizes the plaintiffs' views on this question:

Q: And the party would exhaust all the possibilities for a peaceful transformation if the democratic rights are given to the working masses?

A: In my opinion, to the very end, yes.

Q: Even to the end of trying to amend the Constitution of the United States?

A: If the democratic processes are maintained here, if they are not disrupted by the introduction of fascist methods by the government, and the majority of the people supporting the ideas of socialism can secure a victory by the democratic processes, I don't see any reason why they cannot proceed, continue to proceed, by the democratic method of amending the Constitution to fit the new regime.

Naturally, the amendments would have to be of a very drastic character, but parts of the Constitution I would be willing to write into the program of the party at any time—that is the Bill of Rights, which we believe in. That section of the Constitution which protects private property rights, we think, would absolutely have to be changed in the society which we envisage, which eliminates private property in industrial enterprises of a large-scale nature.

The defendants claim that the Cannon testimony does not truly represent plaintiffs' views and was designed for courtroom presentation only. Milorad Popov said: "[T]he essence of it is when you are in a bourgeois court you have to say certain things to appeal to the Court and that you'd better not talk openly as to your views and your ends and means. . . ."

This effort to discredit the Cannon testimony as not an honest presentation of what the SWP and YSA be-

<sup>1</sup>In his testimony for the defendants, Professor Oswald stated his contrary opinion that the Russian Revolution "was a seizure of power . . . not a popular uprising by the masses." The plaintiffs, however, agree with Professor Cohen's view of the popular character of the revolution. Professor Cohen testified that "the new scholarship published mainly by American scholars presents this picture, very definitely. It is a striking thing, how consistent these new books, which continue to come out, are."

## On tour for the socialist lawsuit

By Matthew Herreshoff

Starting November 12, a dozen leading socialist workers will hit the road to build support for their suit against government spying and disruption. The touring SWP and YSA leaders—including garment workers, machinists, auto workers, and steelworkers—will make stops in almost fifty cities across the country.

In every city, the focus of the tours will be broad rallies sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support and raising money for the suit.

Representatives from unions, Black organizations, women's rights groups, civil liberties organizations, and radical groups will speak at these rallies.

The NAACP and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees are supporters of the socialist lawsuit.

Other backers include: United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser; Farmworkers leader César Chavez; Southern Christian Leadership Conference President, Rev. Joseph Lowery; Operation PUSH; Manning Marable, a leader of the National Black Independent Political Party; and Gloria Steinem.

In addition to the rallies, the touring socialists will participate in numerous other activities to build support for the suit. They will appear at meetings in union halls and on college campuses, and help raise funds to finance the case.

Some of those who will be touring are:

Diane Wang, a New York garment worker, member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and member of the SWP national committee.

Elizabeth Ziers, a Detroit auto worker, member of UAW Local 600, and member of the SWP national committee.

Betsy Soares, a member of International Association of Machinists in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, a member of the SWP national committee and member of the YSA.

Andrée Kahlmorgen, SWP mayoral candidate in Atlanta and a YSA leader, fired from the Lockheed-Marietta Company for her socialist views, who is fighting to regain her job.



lieve founded on the un rebutted testimony of a number of witnesses that the book *Socialism on Trial* is universally used by plaintiffs to educate new members in the basic views of the party. As Barry Sheppard testified, "Through the years . . . this testimony has been kept as basic educational material and also as public material that we use to explain our ideas to the population at large. This was corroborated by FBI informer Ralph Desimone and former Chicago undercover police officer Thomas West.

### Capitalist force and violence

The plaintiffs firmly believe that, despite their desire for a peaceful change to socialism, and despite the fact that such a change will some day have the active support of a majority of the population, the capitalist class will use violence and force to attempt to prevent the majority from implementing its decisions. The plaintiffs believe that the capitalist minority, in order to defend its privileges and its profits, will, at a certain stage in the development of majority support for socialism, rupture the Constitutional framework, thus blocking the possibility of peaceful transformation through elections and the mechanisms of Constitutional amendment. They base this conclusion on history—including the fate of the Allende regime in Chile, the Loyalists of the 1930s in Spain, and the rebellion of the slaveholders that led to the Civil War in this country.

In particular, the SWP and YSA believe that history teaches that one of the forms that the violence initiated by the capitalist class will take is the formation of fascist gangs, whose function will be to break up meetings of labor unions and other working class organizations and to spread terror through lynchings and assassinations of union members and leaders of the struggles of Blacks, Latinos and other minorities. To defend itself against this minority violence, the SWP and YSA believe, the working class will have to arm itself. Otherwise the minority will succeed through violence in imposing its decisions on the majority.

The SWP and the YSA explain that the privileged minority may well resort to such violence, and they advise workers "to bear this in mind and prepare to defend themselves against the violence of the outlived reactionary minority class." They believe that the only way for the working class to defend itself against this minority violence will be through the mass organizations of the workers, especially the labor movement.

As Mr. Cannon put it in 1941,

If the fascists grow and fight the unions, the unions must inevitably counter that movement by developing their defense guards, and if the defense guards are overpowered by fascist gangsters and hoodlums and thugs, the only answer of the unions can be to strengthen the guards, and in the course of that struggle between the fascist gangs and the workers' defense guards, we hope the workers' defense guards will grow strong and eventually become a very effective power.

The SWP and YSA explicitly reject the idea that the answer to the violence they predict the ruling class will initiate is to arm the SWP, or to prepare the SWP in any sense to be an armed party. This, they believe, "would be a disastrous course, not only now but in the future."

### D. The Plaintiffs' Views on Democracy, Socialism and Totalitarianism.

The SWP and YSA favor the broadest possible democratic rights under the existing order. Their concept of democratic rights includes strong support for the rights of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other oppressed minorities; the right to organize labor unions and workers' political parties; the unrestricted right to strike; equality for women; and full protection for all political, religious and other activity protected by the First Amendment. They believe the liberties embodied in the Bill of Rights represent an historic gain for the American people that must be defended against all attackers. They believe that the long-term trend of modern capitalist society, however, poses a grave threat to these liberties.

The plaintiffs believe socialism will lead to an extension of democratic rights. In the plaintiffs' view the term "dictatorship of the proletariat," as used by Marx and Lenin, refers not to a dictatorship in the sense of a minority tyranny, but to the "social dictatorship" of the working class majority.<sup>2</sup> That is, the workers state advocated by the plaintiffs will represent the vast majority of the population. It will be a social dictatorship in the sense that it will defend the new property relations—based on publicly owned industry, banking and transportation, and a planned economy—against attempts by "the former minority

<sup>2</sup>Professor Oswald contended that by the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" Lenin meant that "the proletariat had to be dictated to. . . ." He offered no support for this unusual interpretation.



Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh during a July 7 news conference in Baltimore.

## Iran-born student fights deportation threat

By Steve Bride

*"The labor movement stands in defense of the rights of the foreign born and all Americans. Your threats to deport Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh are a threat to the democratic rights of all. Stop the deportation. Renew Hariri-Vijeh's student visa immediately."*

So read a telegram to the Immigration and Naturalization Service from Ronald Hollie, president of District 1199E of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, on behalf of his union.

It's one of many the INS has received in the seven months it has been trying to deport Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, an Iranian student and member of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

"An avalanche," one agency official called it.

Now, Hariri-Vijeh will take her fight for the right to stay in this country before an immigration judge, in an October 15 hearing.

"I am being singled out because of my political ideas," Hariri-Vijeh says. "The U.S. government found room for the shah, who was responsible for the torture and murder of tens of thousands of my people. Why can't I stay here to finish my education?"

Hariri-Vijeh and her attorney Shelley Davis, plan to answer this question for Immigration

Judge Joan Arrowsmith at the October 15 hearing. In this effort, they will introduce documents obtained through a \$70 million lawsuit against the INS and other government agencies by the YSA and SWP.

These reveal an INS program to deport foreign-born persons—on various pretexts—for their political ideas and activities.

Besides the documents, Hariri-Vijeh will be aided by the support for her case, which continues to come in. From San Antonio, Texas, come the endorsements of Antonio Cabral, editor of *El Pueblo* newspaper, and Al Abrego of the San Antonio Immigration Task Force.

They join a list of supporters that includes Rep. John Conyers, British Member of Parliament Tony Benn, and Camille Bell of the Atlanta Committee to Stop Child Murders.

More such support is needed. Telegrams protesting the threat to deport Hariri-Vijeh can be sent to:

Immigration and Naturalization Service,  
100 S. Hanover,  
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Copies of these should be sent to:  
Political Rights Defense Fund,  
2913 Greenmount Ave.,  
Baltimore, Maryland 21218

ruling class" to restore the old relations based on private property in these spheres. Moreover, as far as the goals of the plaintiffs are concerned, this workers state is merely a transitional stage which itself will pass into history "as the classless society comes into existence on a world scale."

The plaintiffs advocate a workers and farmers republic that is institutionally structured as a "workers democracy," or "socialist democracy." This includes the basic liberties contained in the Bill of Rights. As James P. Cannon put it, "I think in the United States you can say with absolute certainty that the freedoms of speech, press, assemblage, religion, will be written in the program of the victorious revolution." The guarantees embodied in further Amendments, especially the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth, hold an equally important position in the eyes of the SWP and YSA.

The main features of the republican form of government advocated by the SWP and YSA were summed up by Barry Sheppard, a co-chairperson of the SWP, as follows:

[I]t would be based upon the social ownership of the factories, transportation centers, banks, [and] all the major areas of the economy. . . .

Two . . . the government and [the] economy [would] be administered through democratic means.

Three, would be the rule of law as opposed to any arbitrary rule of an individual or individuals and with guarantees along the lines of our Bill of Rights, although I think they should be extended.

Four, would be a multiparty system—that is, the citizens [would have] the right to organize their own political associations or parties, to run candidates, to present their own different points of view.

And five, would be the separation of the apparatus of the

government from parties—that there would be a distinction between political parties and the apparatus of the state or government.

### Political Rights Defense Fund



#### Funds Needed

This fall, the Political Rights Defense Fund has launched a \$125,000 fundraising effort. Boosting this financial effort will be a big part of the upcoming tour of SWP and YSA leaders.

So far, \$26,000 has been collected toward the \$125,000 goal. Meeting this goal—in full and on time—will allow the socialist suit to be successfully fought through until the decision of the federal district court, which is expected next year. And it will make it possible to publicize the important facts about government attacks on democratic rights that the suit has forced out.

Will you help? Return this coupon with your contribution to PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

- ☐ Please add my name to the PRDF mailing list  
☐ I want to endorse PRDF  
☐ Enclosed is a contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_



# New Yorkers rally for Irish prisoners

By Evan Siegel and Marc Lichtman

NEW YORK—Over 200 people rallied at the Irish Institute here September 25 to express their support for Ireland's political prisoners and hear Belfast city councilman Sean Flynn and Theresa Moore, aunt of martyred hunger striker Mickey Devine.

The gathering was part of a seventeen-day tour of the United States and Canada by Flynn and Moore, organized by the New York H-Block/Armagh Committee.

A second New York meeting, organized September 29 by the Black United Front, drew close to 100 people.

Flynn, who was recently elected to the Belfast City Council on a program of support to H-Block and Armagh prisoners, also spoke to a lunchtime crowd of transit workers, October 2, at the 207th Street Transit Barn.

At the Irish Institute, he and Moore were joined by David Ndaba of the African National Congress, who compared the plight of South African Black politi-

cal prisoners to those in Ireland.

Ndaba was followed at the podium by longtime Black civil-rights activist Rev. Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick, recently returned from a trip to Northern Ireland with a delegation sent by the H-Block/Armagh Committee. After describing the time he spent there with relatives of political prisoners, Kirkpatrick led the crowd in choruses of the old civil-rights hymn, "Oh, Freedom."

Mickey Devine, who perished August 20, was the last of Ireland's hunger strikers to die. His aunt, Theresa Moore, outlined his political evolution to the meeting: from his work in the Irish civil rights movement, to his witnessing of the January 1972 massacre of Irish demonstrators by British troops, to his eventual imprisonment by the occupying army.

Flynn, the final speaker of the evening, gave a short history of Irish resistance to British oppression. He also extended the parallel between Northern Ireland and South Africa, quoting former South African Prime Minister



Militant/Marc Lichtman

Following the announcement that the hunger strike would end, thousands came out to show support for the Irish political prisoners' demands. They were protesting a performance by the Royal Scots Dragoon Guards and Coldstream Guards, British bands, at Madison Square Garden.

John Vorster as saying he would forfeit every security law in that country's constitution if he could have the Special

Powers Act.

This is the act Britain uses to maintain its rule over Northern Ireland.

## What's Going On

### CALIFORNIA SAN FRANCISCO

**THE FIGHT AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER AND WEAPONS.** Speaker: Dr. Susan Lambert, M.D., Radiation Research Institute; others. Fri., Oct. 16, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

### COLORADO DENVER

**EL SALVADOR WILL WIN!** Report from the International Meeting of Committees in Solidarity with the Salvadoran People. Speakers: Martha Remple, delegate and Lois Remple, alternate delegate, from Pueblo, Colorado, to the Meeting. Sat., Oct. 24, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. Twelfth Ave. Aup: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

### INDIANA GARY

**AFTER SOLIDARITY DAY: THE FIGHT AGAINST REAGANISM.** Speaker: member of Steelworkers Local 1014. Thurs., Oct. 15, 5:30 p.m. Indiana University NW, Raintree 217. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

### KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

**EYEWITNESS REPORT: FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA.** Speaker: Corbin Seavers, recently returned from trip to South Africa. Film: *Last Grave at Dimbaza*. Sun., Oct. 11, 7 p.m. 131 W. Main (2nd and Main). Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

### MINNESOTA VIRGINIA

**POLAND: THE FIRST YEAR OF SOLIDARITY, THE FREE POLISH UNION.** Speakers: Dave Salner and Kirsten Murati, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 16, 7 p.m. Solidarity Bookstore 1012 Second Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Aup: Solidarity Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

### MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

**REAGAN'S WAR ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS.** Panel discussion. Sun., Oct. 18, 8 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

**VIDEOTAPE OF HARRISBURG ANTINUCLEAR RALLY.** Sun., Oct. 25, 8 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

### ST. LOUIS

**CUBA TODAY: EYEWITNESS REPORTS FROM RECENT TOURS.** Speakers: Daniel Hellinger, professor of Latin American Studies at Webster College, director of Greater St. Louis Latin American Solidarity Committee; Helen Savio, member American Federation of Teachers Local 420 and Socialist Workers Party; others to be announced. Sun., Oct. 18, 7 p.m. 6223 Delmar (near Skinner). Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

### NEW YORK MANHATTAN

**HOW TO DEFEAT KOCHISM: A PANEL DISCUSSION.** Speakers: representatives from the Citizens Party, Black United Front, Socialist Workers Party, and others. Fri., Oct. 16, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

**ELECTION EVE RALLY.** Tues., Nov. 3, 8 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Aup: New York Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

### BROOKLYN

**MASS RALLY ON THE GRENADA REVOLUTION.** Speaker: Unison Whiteman, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Tourism in The Peoples Revolutionary Government, and slide show. Sun., Oct. 11, 5 p.m. Wingate High School, 600 Kingston Ave., Brooklyn (between Winthrop and Rutland). Aup: Permanent Mission of Grenada to the United States. For more information call (212) 599-0301.

### NORTH CAROLINA WINSTON-SALEM

**SOUTHEAST REGIONAL EDUCATION CONFERENCE AND RALLY.** Sat., Oct. 17, 3 p.m. Class on "Origins and History of Slavery" part 1, Maceo Dixon, National Committee member of Socialist Workers Party. Winston-Salem Univ. (WSSU) Library, 2nd floor. Sun., Oct. 18, 12 p.m. "Origins and History of Slavery" part 2. Sat., Oct. 17, 8 p.m. Socialist Workers Campaign rally, 216 E. 6th St. Speakers: Betsy Soares, SWP candidate for mayor of Winston-Salem; Andree Kahlmorgen, SWP candidate for mayor of Atlanta; and Miesia Patterson, SWP candidate for governor of Virginia. Aup: WSSU Young Socialist Alliance and Soares for Mayor committee. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

### OHIO CLEVELAND

**KEEP THE BUSES ROLLING.** Speakers: James Hardiman, NAACP Attorney; Michael Charney, chairperson, WELCOME; Amy Belvin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board; Mary Conner, chairperson, Clevelanders for Quality Education Now; Natividad Pagan, consultant, Hispanic Parents Union; others. Sat., Oct. 17, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

### OREGON PORTLAND

**THE WPPSS FIASCO: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE WASHINGTON PUBLIC POWER SUPPLY SYSTEM AND THE FUTURE OF NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS.** Speakers: Gary Bills, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Oct. 18, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

**'TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.'** A film of the October 1917 Russian Revolution directed by Sergei Eisenstein and Gligori Alexandrov. Sun., Oct. 25, 7 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$2.50. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### TEXAS DALLAS

**THE FIGHT AGAINST THE DRAFT.** Speakers: Kathy Rettig, Young Socialist Alliance; representatives of anti-draft organizations. Sat., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 5442 E. Grand Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

### HOUSTON

**'WOMEN ON THE MARCH.'** A film from the suffrage movement. Discussion on strategy for the 1980s. Fri., Oct. 16, 7:30 p.m. 6333 Gulf Freeway. Donation: \$2. Aup: Friday Night Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 924-4056.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**WOMEN AND THE FIGHT AGAINST REAGANISM.** Speakers: Grace Cunningham, coordinator, 51st State NOW; Kitty Tucker, Karen Silkwood-Fund; Elizabeth Lariscy, member, D.C. NOW and Socialist Workers Party; Mary Ann Beall, Women's Congressional Union; representative of Reproductive Rights Network. Fri., Oct. 16, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., N.W. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

### Films available

*Cambodia: Year Zero and Cambodia: Year One*, two fifty-five-minute BBC documentaries about Kampuchea, will soon be available through the Militant. The films are narrated by John Pilger of the London *Daily Mirror*. If you are interested in renting these videotape films for showing in your area, write the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014; or call (212) 242-5530.

### U.S. POSTAL SERVICE STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

- Title of publication: The Militant.
- 1A. Publication No. 349040.
- Date of filing: September 28, 1981
- Frequency of issue: Weekly (A). No. of issues published annually: 48. (B). Annual subscription price: \$24.00.
- Location of known office of publication: 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.
- Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.
- Names and complete addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher: The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Editors: Cindy Jaquith, Doug Jenness, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Managing Editor: None.
- Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and ad-

resses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given. If publication is published by a non-profit organization, its name and address must be stated.): 408 Printing & Publishing Corp., 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Joel Britton, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Thomas Kerry, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Allan Hansen, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Elizabeth Stone, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Barbara Matson, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Gus Horowitz, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Caroline Lund, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Jack Barnes, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Peter Camejo, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Doug Jenness, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Carol Reed, 3004 16th Street, San Francisco, CA 94116. Helena Hermes, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Cindy Jaquith, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Priscilla Ring, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Frank Lovell, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Devon Parry, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Susan Berman, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Joan Campana, 1317 est Rue St. Catherine, Montreal, PQ, Canada H2L 2H4. 406 West St. Realty Corp., 410

West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amounts of bonds, mortgages or other securities (if there are none, so state): None.

9. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates. Does not apply.

10. Extent and nature of circulation. Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months. A. Total no. copies printed (Net press run): 12,584. B. Paid Circulation (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 5,593. (2) Mail subscriptions: 5,836. C. Total paid circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 11,429. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary and other free copies: 89. E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 11,518. F. Copies not distributed (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 900 (2) Returns from news agents: 166. G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A): 12,584.

Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date. A. Total no. copies printed (Net press run): 11,000. B. Paid circulation (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 4,692. (2) Mail subscriptions: 5,293. C. Total paid cir-

ulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 9,985. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary and other free copies: 0. E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 9,985. F. Copies not distributed (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 800. (2) Returns from news agents: 215. G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A): 11,000.

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(signed)  
Nancy Rosenstock  
Business Manager



# Letters

## Keep it coming

I have been receiving your informative newspaper on a regular basis. I have been transferred to another prison. If possible I would like to continue receiving your newspaper.  
A prisoner  
Pacific, Missouri

## Hundreds demonstrate against South Africa

On September 14th the South African ambassador to the United States, Donald B. Sole, spoke at a dinner hosted by the Kansas City International Relations Council. However, his welcome here was far from warm. When Sole arrived at the Hilton Plaza Inn shortly before 6:30 he was greeted by 200 chanting protesters. They carried signs that said "End US Support for Apartheid", "South Africa out of Angola", and "Free South African Political Prisoners". As Sole was ushered from his car the crowd chanted, "Apartheid, No! Take your Sole and go."

The picket line, which was organized in order to focus attention on the criminal policies of South Africa, and the complicit attitude of the United States government, was co-sponsored by a broad range of organizations, including the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Operation PUSH,

Freedom, Inc., the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Central American Solidarity Committee.  
Diane Shur  
Kansas City, Mo.

## 'Human Life Amendment' debated

Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, recently held a debate between former NOW President Karen DeCrow and Stop ERA leader Phyllis Schlafly.

They debated the Human Life Amendment (HLA), which would outlaw not only abortion in all cases, but many methods of birth control as well, to a standing room only audience of 1,000 on September 19.

DeCrow spoke first. She took the issue of abortion head on, describing the terrifying back alley abortions poor women will have to resort to if the HLA is passed. The HLA proponents, she said, in reality, have no respect for human life, because they also support all measures that would slash social services.

"By their conception," she said, "life begins at conception and ends at birth."

Schlafly limited her remarks to the beauty of conception and childbirth, not mentioning the economic reasons she and her backers want to keep women pregnant.

When Schlafly said Americans had a better society before the 1973 court ruling in favor of reproductive rights, the audience booed.

One person asked what one is supposed to do if birth control is outlawed. Schlafly's response, "Keep yourself chaste until marriage," was met with more loud boos and laughter. At one point, as Schlafly was raving about how wonderful the standard of living is in the United States, a young Black man shouted, "The poverty in this country shows otherwise!" The applause to his statement drowned out any reply Schlafly tried to make.

After DeCrow's final remarks, over three-fourths of the audience gave her an enthusiastic ovation. Even among a reputed conservative, apolitical student population in the Bible Belt south, it is clear which side the real majority is on.

Kathy Rettig  
Dallas, Tx.

## September 19, Portland

Approximately 250 unionists demonstrated at the Portland airport September 19 in solidarity with the PATCO strike. The demonstration was called by the Multnomah County Labor Council.

Earlier in the week the

PATCO strike received many expressions of support at the AFL-CIO statewide convention in Eugene, Oregon.

Lon Imel, executive secretary-treasurer of the Multnomah County Labor Council, received loud applause when saying, "We ought to have a work stoppage to close down airports throughout the United States to show where we stand," and asked Baker, Far West representative of the AFL-CIO, to "take this message to Lane Kirkland."

The delegates also approved resolutions opposed to U.S. military aid to El Salvador and opposed to Oregon state investments in South African enterprises, among a number of other resolutions.

Bev Hansen  
Portland, Oregon

## Contradiction in 'Daily World'

In the September 17 *Daily World*—newspaper of the Communist Party, U.S.A.—Conrad Komorowski, in a column explaining how the bosses use red-baiting to divide and weaken the workers' movement, shows how big business has always tried to portray working class struggles as the work of "communist" or other "outside agitators", as a kind of conspiracy.

He correctly pointed out that:

"Such charges are an insult to the working class, as if it could be easily manipulated and deceived, and as if it had no mind of its own, or will to fight for its legitimate demands."

Yet, in an article elsewhere in the same issue, the *Daily World* portrays the Solidarity workers movement in Poland, which has 10 million workers in its ranks—90% of the Polish working class—and which is leading a massive, militant struggle to deepen and democratize the Polish socialist revolution, as nothing but the product of a subversive conspiracy, a "manipulation of dyed-in-the-wool, anti-socialist elements".

Isn't this an outrageous insult to the Polish working class, a new kind of red-baiting that serves the interests of U.S. imperialism and its banks? I doubt if many workers in the U.S. will agree with the Communist Party's ridiculous, hypocritical, and counterrevolutionary position on the Polish Revolution.

Michael Beslin  
Chicago, Ill.

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.

# The Great Society

## Harry Ring



**Fiscal responsibility**—Working with the \$822,000 contributed by friends and business acquaintances, Nancy Reagan completed redecorating the White House, staying within the budget, and that includes the \$209,000 dinnerware set.

**Like spooky**—Tiffany's is offering, for \$4,500, a gold watch that not only tells you the time, day and date, but also moon phases. Announced by a werewolf?

**The better to stomp school kids**—For informal gatherings, the president slips into his Tony Lama

patent leather cowboy boots. The ones with the presidential seal. \$1,000 a pair.

**Succeeded too**—The son of a British textile manufacturer is putting up a plush condo in New York. (The penthouses go for \$3.5 million each.) He says, "I came here to find free enterprise and freedom."

**Likes a man who's in charge**—Secretary of State Haig appreciates the "firm and coherent policies" of Alfredo Stroessner, the iron-fisted general who has ruled Paraguay for more than a quarter of a century.

**And breath shallow**—A medical researcher said some athletes might suffer impaired performances at the 1984 Olympics because of the Los Angeles smog. He recommended that endurance events be held in the early morning hours and preferably at sites with lower ozone levels.

**Diet mechanisms**—To reduce food intake, some dieters are trying Slenderfork. A green light signals when to start chomping and a red when to stop. \$15. We know another food reduction device. Those little supermarket price stamping machines.

**Elsie Borden to pasture**—Borden's has withdrawn from the natural cheese market and is plugging its imitation cheeses, some of which, it notes with pride, contain as much as 50 percent real cheese.

**Amenities**—A Houston high rise condo—apartments \$800,000 and up—has a floor reserved for butlers, maids, chauffeurs, etc. These are apparently a bit more modest since they only cost \$95,000 to \$150,000 extra. We assume, however, that doesn't include the servants.

# If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

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

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

**CALIFORNIA:** Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

**FLORIDA:** Gainesville: YSA, c/o Don Mackle, 1208 S.W. First Ave. Zip: 32601. Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 1301 W. Green, Room 284. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

**INDIANA:** Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP,

YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

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

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01004. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Tel: (313) 663-7068. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEBRASKA:** Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 30221. Zip: 68503. Tel: (402) 483-6236.

**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 (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494.

**New York, Brooklyn:** SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. **New York, Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003.

Tel: (212) 260-6400. **New York:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. **Harrisburg:** SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 3255. Zip: 17105. **Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. **State College:** YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823.

Tel: (814) 238-3296.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. **Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. **San Antonio:** SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

**UTAH:** Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. **Baltimore-Washington District:** 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

**WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. **Seattle:** SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Charleston: SWP, YSA, Box 3761. Zip: 25337. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.



# THE MILITANT

## Poland:

# Solidarity congress deepens fight for workers' control

By Suzanne Haig

Following a two-week break, some 800 delegates reconvened September 26 in Gdansk for the second session of the national congress of Poland's independent union Solidarity. Daily, thousands of people stood outside the congress to listen to the proceedings over loudspeakers.

In the two-week break between sessions, both the Moscow and Warsaw governments stepped up their attacks against the union in an attempt to exert pressure on the congress.

Moscow even threatened to hold back needed raw materials, including oil, unless "anti-soviet" and "counter-revolutionary" activity were stopped. They sent a letter to Polish authorities attacking Solidarity's congress and chastising Warsaw for not putting a stop to such activities by "enemies of socialism."

Partly in response, the Polish government stepped up its own attacks.

Solidarity members in several cities were arrested. Kornel Morawiecki, a delegate and an editor of a regional Solidarity news bulletin in Silesia, was arrested for publishing an appeal in Russian to Soviet soldiers stationed in Poland and for printing greetings to the Solidarity congress from a Soviet workers' group.

The censors kept two articles out of a September issue of *Tygodnik Solidarnosc*, the union's national weekly newspaper. One was an open letter by transport workers in Warsaw to workers at a large Moscow auto plant inviting them to visit Poland to see for themselves what was happening there. "We think that workers of all countries have a common language," the letter said. "Let's talk, discuss, and explain everything to each other."

These attacks were firmly answered by the congress, which overwhelmingly approved a resolution demanding "that the propaganda of fear be stopped."

Edward Lipinski, one of Poland's most renowned economists, took up the charges that Solidarity is "anti-socialist."

"I consider myself a socialist," the ninety-three-year-old Lipinski told the delegates, "I have been a socialist since 1906. Socialism was to be the solving of problems of the working class, the liberation of the working class, the creation of conditions in which every man could be fully developed."

"But the socialism that was created was a socialism of mismanagement and inefficiency that brought about an economic catastrophe unequalled in 200 years. It is a socialism of prisons, censorship, and police. This socialism has been destroying us for thirty-odd years as it has been destroying others."

To thunderous applause he declared, "It is this socialism that is anti-socialist and anti-revolutionary." Socialism, he stressed, means "genuine control of the means of production by the workers themselves."

Lipinski also announced the dissolution of the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) of which he was a founder and which has been one of the main groups attacked as "anti-socialist" by Warsaw and Moscow because of its defense of workers' rights.



Poland's independent union is leading working people in struggle against attacks on their standard of living.

The concern for democratic discussion and decision making was evident throughout.

One of the major disputes centered around a new law on workers' control that had been adopted by the parliament (Sejm) a day before the congress reopened.

The law, which gives both the authorities and the democratically elected workers councils the power to choose factory managers, was based on a compromise made by Lech Walesa and three other members of the ten member presidium, the national leadership body.

Walesa, admitting the new law was not perfect, pointed out that it would provide a legal basis for the establishment of workers' councils in Poland's enterprises.

The resolution on self-management adopted by the congress did not reject the compromise but proposed some changes, including narrowing the number of major enterprises where the managers will be appointed by the government.

In the election for the two-year term of union chairperson, Lech Walesa was re-elected with more than 55 percent of the vote—twice that of the nearest of three other candidates.

The vote showed that the delegates are very conscious to insure that no individual—even someone as respected and trusted as Walesa—forgets that they must reflect the wishes of the membership.

Walesa himself noted this when he thanked the delegates for electing him "even if only just."

"As I get higher," he said, "my percentages get lower. I don't know why. Maybe I lost contact with the grass roots." He promised he would act more democratically and share decision making more than in the past.

One of the most important tasks of the congress will be the adoption of the union's program.

The draft program before the body calls for the establishment of genuine workers' control in the factories and the involvement of workers in democratic decision making in all aspects of production and distribution. To carry this out nationally, the union proposes the establishment of a second chamber of parliament to represent the workers councils, trade unions, and other social organizations.

The program also demands free elections, better environmental protections, an end to censorship, regular access by Solidarity to radio and television, and greater outlets for the publication of newspapers.

The congress heard from a representative of an independent police union, which has been resisting the use of the police against workers by the government.

"We demand that the police not be used to stamp out the rightful protests of the working class," Zbigniew Zmudziak told the congress.

In addition, a Romanian worker sent a letter supporting Solidarity and thanking the congress for the message of support for independent unions in other East European countries. "We wish you total success," it read. Your message "brought us joy and strengthened our friendship."

On October 5, two days before the congress was to end, the Warsaw government raised prices on cigarettes and announced plans of price hikes—in some cases up to 400 percent—on certain food items, heat, electricity, and vodka.

The decision, made without consulting the union, met with strong denunciations and calls for action by congress participants.

## Iran scores victory

By Fred Murphy

The Iranian armed forces scored a major victory September 27 against the year-long invasion and occupation of Iranian territory by the Iraqi dictatorship.

The army and the Revolutionary Guards (Pasdaran) drove Iraqi forces out of the area east of the Karun River in the southern part of Khuzestan Province, and broke the Iraqi siege of Abadan, a major oil-refining city.

The big victory boosted morale among the masses, stiffening the workers' resistance to efforts by the employers and the government to chip away at gains won since the shah's downfall. In some cases, the workers have forced the reinstatement of militants expelled from their jobs.

The regime is also meeting with resis-

tance in its policy of trying to halt terrorist attacks through executions. Socialists in Iran report that while there is little sympathy in the factories for the political views of the Mujahedeen—the group that is responsible for many of the attacks—workers nonetheless oppose the executions.

The Mujahedeen has also failed in its plans to seriously disrupt the October 2 elections, held to choose a successor to President Mohammed Ali Rajai, who was killed in a bomb blast.

According to the Iranian government, more than 15.5 million people voted. Hojatolislam Ali Khamenei, who was chief of the ruling Islamic Republican Party (IRP) received a landslide victory. Only token opposition candidates were allowed on the ballot, however, and all of these were IRP supporters.