

THE MILITANT

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

Teachers fight for jobs, against school cutbacks

Stakes high in Phila. strike

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Teachers join striking air traffic controllers for rally at Philadelphia airport, October 16.

Militant/Chris Davis



Militant/David McDonald

Milwaukee Black community has held repeated demonstrations to demand justice for Ernie Lacy, beaten to death while in police custody.

Cops face charges in killing of Milwaukee Black

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Europeans say 'No' to nuclear missiles

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Europeans say: 'No missiles'

The emergence of the mass movement in Western Europe against placing U.S. nuclear missiles and neutron bombs there adds a powerful ally to the struggles of working people in this country and throughout the world.

The highpoint of the movement so far was the magnificent demonstration of 300,000 young people in Bonn, West Germany, on October 10. Mass demonstrations against the missiles are scheduled for London and Rome, October 24, and Paris and Brussels the following day.

The Bonn rally was by far the largest progressive demonstration to take place in West Germany since the German workers movement was crushed by the Nazis in the 1930s. Its significance was not lost on the rulers in Bonn or in Washington. West Germany is the dominant industrial power in Western Europe and its economy ranks second only to the United States and Japan in the capitalist world. It is looked to by Washington as the most stable ally, politically and economically, in Europe.

The dramatic rise of the opposition to nuclear missiles, including inside the ruling Social Democratic Party (SPD), is having a huge political impact. Reagan administration officials have been denouncing the spread of "pacifism" and "neutrality" among European workers and youth who — understandably — don't want nuclear bombs dropped on their countries.

In West Germany, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, of the SPD, called the Bonn protest a "declaration of war against the government." Yet more than a quarter of the SPD's members of parliament joined the demonstration. The Young Socialists, youth group of the SPD, turned out in force.

Called by church groups, the rally was joined by nearly 1,000 organizations, including unions, women's rights and antinuke organizations.

The speech of a member of the executive committee of the metal workers, the largest union in the country, was cheered by the demonstrators. Also well received were two Black Americans, the singer Harry Belafonte and Coretta Scott King. King told the demonstrators that "the movement for peace and economic justice" in the United States supports them in their fight.

And well we should.

The plans to install the nuclear missiles in Western Europe are part of Washington's drive to achieve overwhelming nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, including the capability to launch a "first strike."

The purpose is nuclear blackmail, against the Soviet Union and other workers states, and against revolutionary movements everywhere.

That is why the mad rush to achieve nuclear domination is accompanied by an increase in the terrifying talk from Washington about the possibility of a "limited" nuclear war. On October 16, Reagan told a group of newspaper editors that he "could see where you could have the exchange of tactical [nuclear] weapons [against troops] in the field without it bringing either one of the major powers to pushing the button."

It is exactly such an "exchange" of nuclear bombs that people throughout Europe are trying to stop.

In a television interview last February (and quoted in the September 1981 *Monthly Review*) William Dyess, a State Department official, spelled out Washington's view this way:

"Q: In nuclear war are we committed not to make the first strike?"

"Dyess: No sir."

"Q: We could conceivably make an offensive . . ."

"Dyess: We make no comment on that whatsoever, but the Soviets know that this terrible weapon has been dropped on human beings twice in history and it was an American president who dropped it both times. Therefore, they have to take this into consideration in their calculus."

It is not only the Soviets, but the whole world that is supposed to get the message.

The nuclear missiles that Reagan wants to place in Europe are really aimed at the working classes throughout the world who are struggling against capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression. That is why the European movement against the missiles is such a welcome development.

Missed opportunity

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) has announced the indefinite postponement of its November national convention "due to the unresolved nature of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers strike."

The CLUW leadership seems to think that this will somehow help the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) strike.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

By calling off the convention, an important opportunity was lost both to aid PATCO and the union women that CLUW represents.

The October 17 *Los Angeles Times* quotes CLUW President Joyce Miller saying that CLUW leaders decided to "sit this one out rather than fly President Reagan's unfriendly skies. The president's action [firing the PATCO workers] has a totalitarian character which simply isn't compatible with his stated inten-

tion to defend liberty and American freedom."

But Reagan's attack on PATCO is compatible with "defending" the "liberty" and "freedom" of the employers to bust our unions, to trample on our rights, and to solve *their* economic crisis at *our* expense.

The powerful display of support for PATCO that was seen at the September 19 Solidarity Day march shows the possibility that exists for the union movement to take some action in support of PATCO.

The ranks are willing but the leadership is not.

The AFL-CIO officials confine themselves to publicizing their individual refusal to fly, which is a cover for failure to shut down the airports and counter the big business anti-PATCO propaganda with a full-scale campaign to get out the truth.

The CLUW convention could have given the PATCO workers a powerful platform from which to speak about their strike and the big stakes involved for the entire labor movement.

The convention would have brought together more than a thousand unionists from around the country, from dozens of unions with millions of members. They could have taken the lead in initiating a labor campaign in support of PATCO.

This meeting of union women also should have taken up the intensified drive against the rights and living standards of working women.

Joyce Miller explained at a recent San Francisco abortion rights rally, "We in the labor movement regard abortion as a labor issue, an economic issue, a collective bargaining issue."

She's right.

All the attacks on women's rights are *union* issues.

Ratification of the ERA, legal abortion, affirmative action, childcare — these are all rights which the union movement has a big stake in defending.

CLUW is the obvious organization to map out a plan to use union muscle in defense of these rights.

This would have stood in stark and positive contrast to the recent conference of the National Organization for Women, which allowed little discussion and projected no effective action on these burning issues.

In fact, the NOW leadership is on a course of subordinating the struggle for women's rights to the needs of the domestic and foreign policies of the two ruling capitalist parties.

Winning the PATCO strike, and defending women's rights, will take a powerful social movement of working people and our allies against the bosses and their government.

The CLUW convention would have been an opportunity to discuss how to begin this.

New Cointelpro Plot

Oct. 22 — The FBI has seized on the arrest of two former leaders of the Weather Underground to launch a campaign to smear the Socialist Workers Party and the entire workers movement. The two, Kathy Boudin and Judith Clark, are facing charges in connection with an armored-car robbery and the killing of two cops and an armed Brinks guard.

In a story splashed on the front pages of papers from coast to coast, the Associated Press reported today that "FBI spokesman Joe Valiquette said in New York that the Bureau had determined that Miss Clark was the same Judith Clark who once was in the Weather Underground and is now a figure in the Socialist Workers Party."

"Law enforcement sources" also claimed, according to the *New York Daily News*, that Kathy Boudin, who has been a fugitive since 1969, "spent much of the last 12 years in Moscow."

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes accused the FBI of a "deliberate lie in the charge that Clark is connected to the SWP. This malicious slander is aimed at justifying the FBI's war of disruption against the SWP, and to give the Reagan administration new ammunition for its drive to step up spying and disruption against workers organizations, including the labor movement, Black groups, and socialist and communist organizations.

"As the FBI well knows, Judith Clark has never been a member of the SWP, let alone 'a figure' in it. Moreover, they are well aware that the SWP is opposed to terrorism."

Barnes accused the FBI of a "new Cointelpro-style operation aimed at discrediting the Socialist Workers Party," and demanded "that the FBI publicly and immediately retract its allegation."

The Militant

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5,000 rally behind Philadelphia teachers

By Vivian Sahner

PHILADELPHIA — Five thousand people poured into the Civic Center here on October 18 to show their support for the striking Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT). Trade unionists from dozens of the city's unions and teachers from as far away as Chicago joined the hundreds of PFT members and their families at the rally.

Labor officials from more than 100 local unions were seated on the auditorium stage in an impressive show of solidarity with the 23,000 teachers and school employees who are entering the seventh week of their strike. On October 15, the Philadelphia Council AFL-CIO voted for a one-day general strike on October 28 if the strike isn't settled. Negotiations between the city and PFT resumed on October 15.

The PFT went out on strike September 8 after the Board of Education announced plans to lay off 3,500 school employees, a direct violation of the contract signed last year. These cuts would seriously reduce the quality of education available to students in the Philadelphia system, most of whom are Black.

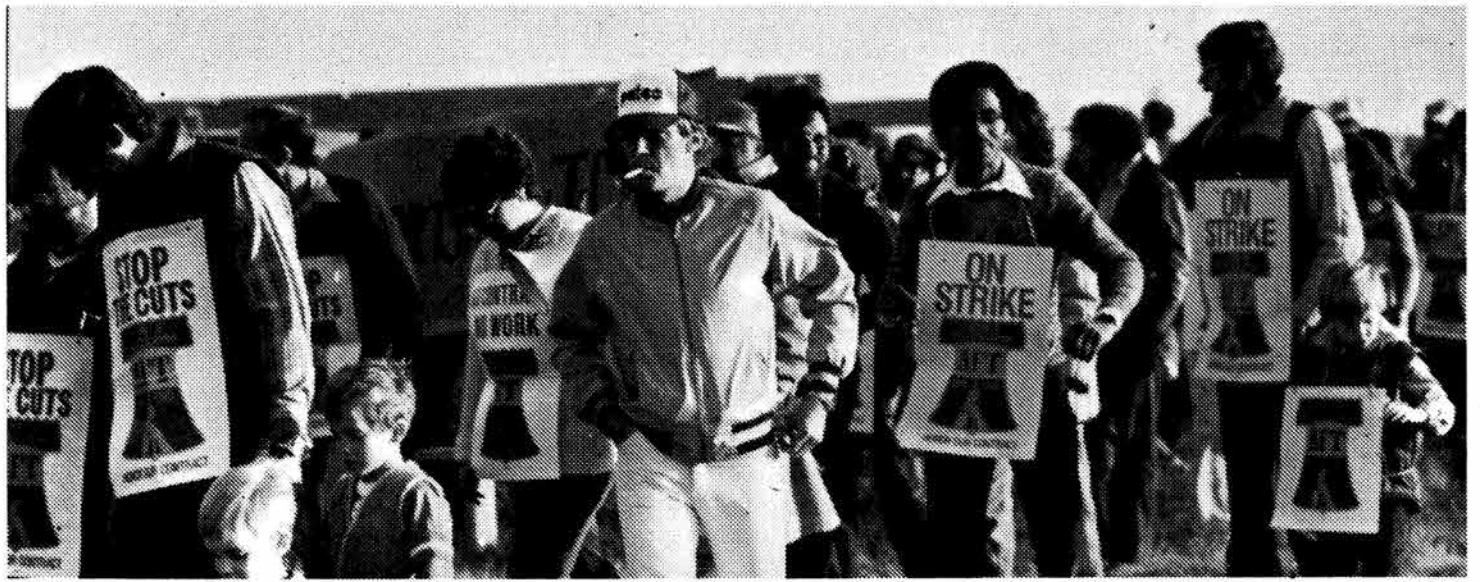
The two-year contract also includes a 10 percent wage increase for 1981, which the city now claims it cannot pay.

The strike is holding solid in spite of court injunctions and heavy fines levied against the union. Even the school board admits that only 900 employees have crossed the picket lines, and their count includes principals and other non-union employees.

"The union's position is clear," PFT President John Murray told the rally crowd. "We will not go back until our contract is in place."

"No contract," he shouted. "No work," answered back the PFT members in the audience.

Several speakers at the rally answered the city administration's claims that the teachers are racist, not interested in providing an education for Black children. The press has made these assertions front-page news and carried totally unfounded stories about teachers attacking Black children and parents on the picket lines.



Striking teachers joined rally for the air traffic controllers on October 16 at Philadelphia airport.

Bayard Rustin, of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, told the rally, "This strike is first of all for the children. In a society where less and less attention is being given to them, I honor you all for standing up for the children."

"This is also a strike," he said, "against those in this nation who would destroy trade unions, from the White House down. You are saying to them this cannot happen."

Wendell Young, president of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1357, told the crowd, "The labor movement and working-class people which we represent are under tremendous attack in this country. Look at the PATCO (Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization) workers — the president's firing of 12,000 is unmitigated. . . ."

"It's up to people like you to carry the message to the rest of the working people. . . . Solidarity is not a word, it's a way of life and it's happening in America."

Young announced that he had sent a letter to his union membership urging them to march with the PFT on city hall on October 28.

Few speakers at the meeting mentioned the AFL-CIO's call for a general strike. Edward Toohey, president of the Philadelphia Council AFL-CIO,

said the body was urging all local unions to participate on October 28. And it was announced that the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) had sent a letter about the action to its members. After the meeting, however, PFT President John Murray told the press that the APWU "will support the strike as long as it doesn't violate federal law." Federal law prohibits postal workers from striking.

Toohey also announced at the meeting that Lane Kirkland, president of the National AFL-CIO, was sending two representatives to Philadelphia. He said the two would prepare a report for the national labor organization to determine "what weight and what influence should be brought to bear" on the strike.

Also speaking at the rally were Albert Shanker, national president of the American Federation of Teachers; Al Fondy, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers; Henry Nicholas, president of the Hospital and Health Care Employees Local 1199c; and Robert Healey, president of the Chicago Teachers Union.

"I thought the meeting was very encouraging," Sam Williams, a PFT member, told the *Militant* afterward. "It was good to see those people who came a long distance to show their support. But I would have liked to see more PFT members there."

Williams, a Black teacher's aide, walks the picket lines every day. "We're holding solid," he said. "We can't afford to go back without our contract. If we back down now, we're even further behind when our contract is up next year."

"And I can't believe that anyone against the strike is for quality education. All you have to do is look at the lists of cuts — quality education means restoring these programs. That's why I think the community should be behind the union."

THE TEACHERS STRIKE AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Speakers: John Murray, president, Philadelphia Federation of Teachers; Ray Pollard, Philadelphia Federation of Teachers; Jesse Johnson, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization; and Donald Jones, AFL-CIO national staff member.

Sunday, October 25, 7:30 p.m.
New Covenant Baptist Church,
Queen Lane and Wayne Avenue.

Donation \$2.00. Auspices: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

Airline pay givebacks hurt controllers' strike

By Stu Singer

It's been over two months since striking air traffic controllers have seen a pay check. But the daily newspapers aren't reporting their situation.

Instead they are concentrating on how rough things are for scabs.

A study by the National Transportation Safety Board to the Federal Aviation Administration said that 50 per-

cent of the scab controllers are working "the maximum effort every day." A doctor involved in the study said, "Those pressures sooner or later will reduce sex drive, increase irritability, and multiply nervous habits."

The study proposed that ways be found to ease the pressure on the scabs. But it neglected to suggest the one sure way to ease the pressure: rehire the PATCO members.

The action was repeated Monday morning, October 19. This time the news media found out about it. The *New York Post* reported that thirty to forty cars belonging to PATCO members were given tickets for blocking traffic at the airport.

The activity in Los Angeles was similar. About 100 people, mostly PATCO members and supporters slowed traffic at the airport Friday evening. Four or five got tickets.

In Philadelphia, spurred on by the teachers strike, there was a more impressive action. The controllers have been very active in supporting the teachers. From 300-400 striking teachers and controllers marched to the airport terminal and slowly marched around it, jamming up traffic for a few hours.

The real threat from pressure on the scabs is more dangerous air travel. That threat is increasing.

It was underlined in a report issued by the House of Representatives' Post Office and Civil Service Committee. The report said the air traffic control system will get worse over the next two years. The only conclusion was that a "substantial number of the striking controllers" be rehired.

This proposal means offering jobs to some of the strikers, if they come back with no union and no contract.

This would not be a victory.

There is no question the strike is disruptive to air travel. On October 19 the federal government imposed new rules limiting general aviation — private plane traffic. They will now be subject to quotas, similar to commercial flights, for instrument flying, which requires the use of controllers.

The government revealed that commercial flights are delayed six times as often, for thirty minutes or more, since the strike began.

The airline industry is acting like a bumpy flight. Ticket prices swing from competitive air-fare wars to big price hikes. The weaker airlines are being pushed more to the wall. Pan American is cancelling new routes. Braniff is cutting operations. But every airline is consistent on one thing: wage and work rule concessions demanded from the workers.

The unions representing workers at

Pan Am, voted to accept a 10 percent wage cut and an employee stock buying plan. The Teamsters, the largest union, is now proposing candidates to sit on the Pan Am Board of Directors.

Workers at Continental Airlines were involved in a scheme to buy the airline. That failed and Texas International Airlines bought it. Texas International also owns New York Air, a totally nonunion operation that even the pilots union has protested.

A mechanic for Republic Airlines in Atlanta told the *Militant* about a company propaganda meeting. The chief pilot, a member of the pilots union, was helping management sell wage cuts. The mechanics laughed when told to follow the example of \$70,000-a-year pilots taking cuts. They know it's not the same as for a \$20,000-a-year mechanic. But the push on mechanics' wages has only started.

International Association of Machinists (IAM) contracts covering over 32,000 airline mechanics expire this month with U.S. Air, TWA, and United Airlines. Other IAM airline contracts expire later this year.

Every wage cut and pay deferral agreed to by the airline unions is a stab in the back to PATCO.

For the union leaders to keep the members working during the strike is bad enough. But it makes it even worse to force wage concessions to help the companies alleviate the financial effects of the strike.

PATCO support: more needed

There have been some support actions for the PATCO strikers recently.

October 16 there were protests around at least three airports: La Guardia in New York, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles.

At LaGuardia, the action was sponsored by the New York Central Labor Council. While a number of PATCO strikers picketed the terminal entrances with signs, most of the "demonstration" was an unannounced traffic jam created by New York City labor officials slowly driving around the airport. The action had been kept secret so that few workers who support PATCO had a chance to participate.

The media simply reported that there was heavy traffic at LaGuardia.

The CIA war on Qaddafi

Secret campaign against Libya

By Steve Bride

Since 1977, U.S. policy toward the Libyan government has consisted mainly of finding ways to get rid of it.

To this end, Washington has enlisted its own and other intelligence services in a well-organized campaign of unproven charges and outright lies directed against Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi.

Recently, for example, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig hinted Qaddafi may have been mixed up in the killing of Anwar el-Sadat. To support this claim, Haig offered only the fact that Qaddafi made no pretense of mourning the Egyptian president, who for five years had been his mortal enemy.

In the Libyan view, such wild accusations are part of a pattern: anti-Libya stories appear in the imperialist media, usually alleging Qaddafi sponsors various "terrorist groups"; a series of groundless charges are leveled against the regime; a coup attempt follows.

Twice in the recent past, this view has proven correct.

Paris to Cairo

Attempts by the imperialist nations to topple Qaddafi began in 1977. Acting through the French intelligence agency, Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionnage (SDECE), the CIA established links with a Libyan "government in exile," based in Cairo, Egypt, and led by Omar al-Muhaishi. A former Libyan officer, Muhaishi had already made one attempt to overthrow Qaddafi in 1975.

On authorization from Egyptian President Sadat, the SDECE organized a series of guerrilla raids into Libya from the Egyptian border. These failed dismally, but the ties between Paris and the Cairo exiles remained.

Early in 1980, the SDECE was again given permission by Sadat to conduct border raids, and took steps to strengthen the exile forces.

Using its connections with French journalists, the agency began a six-month campaign in the French media, designed to portray Qaddafi as a "mastermind" of all "terrorist groups."

By July, British intelligence had become involved. They set up a phony "Maltese Liberation Front" that claimed responsibility for several bomb attacks inside Libya.

Meanwhile, Paris had recruited the head of military security at the garrison of Tobruk, Libya, to lead a coup attempt.

On August 5, 1980, the British Broadcasting Corporation announced a military uprising had occurred at Tobruk. The French news service, Agence France-Presse, reported Qaddafi "may have died in a shooting incident" as he flew to inspect troops there.

Both reports, it turned out, were false.

Libyan authorities had gotten wind of the operation and foiled it. Paris dismissed the SDECE officer who had directed the plot.

Four months later, Libya was to deal a second blow to the French government of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, this time in the neighboring country of Chad.

Another defeat

On December 17, 1980, in a front-page editorial, the Paris daily *Le Monde* announced "A major setback for Paris." The occasion for this was the defeat two days earlier of the rebel forces of Hissène Habré by units of the government of Chad, a former French colony.

The Habré rebellion had been a French operation, aimed at unseating the government of President Goukouni Oueddei, whose Frolinat guerrillas had battled the French since the mid-1960s.

At first, it appeared Paris might succeed: by May 1980, Habré held important sections of the Chadian capital of Ndjamena.

Then, in June, the government of Chad signed a military assistance pact with Qaddafi. Sometime later, at Chad's request, 2,000 Libyan troops entered the country and helped crush the French-backed rebellion.

In his first news conference as Secretary of State, Alexander Haig called the French defeat in Chad "a grave turn of events." Later, the new Reagan administration denounced "Libya's policy of international terrorism and subversion," and declared "the ultimate objective" of U.S. policy would be to change that. A secret interagency study was begun on what was termed "the Libya problem."

Washington takes over

Like most other Reagan Administration programs, U.S. efforts to end the Qaddafi regime were begun by Jimmy Carter.

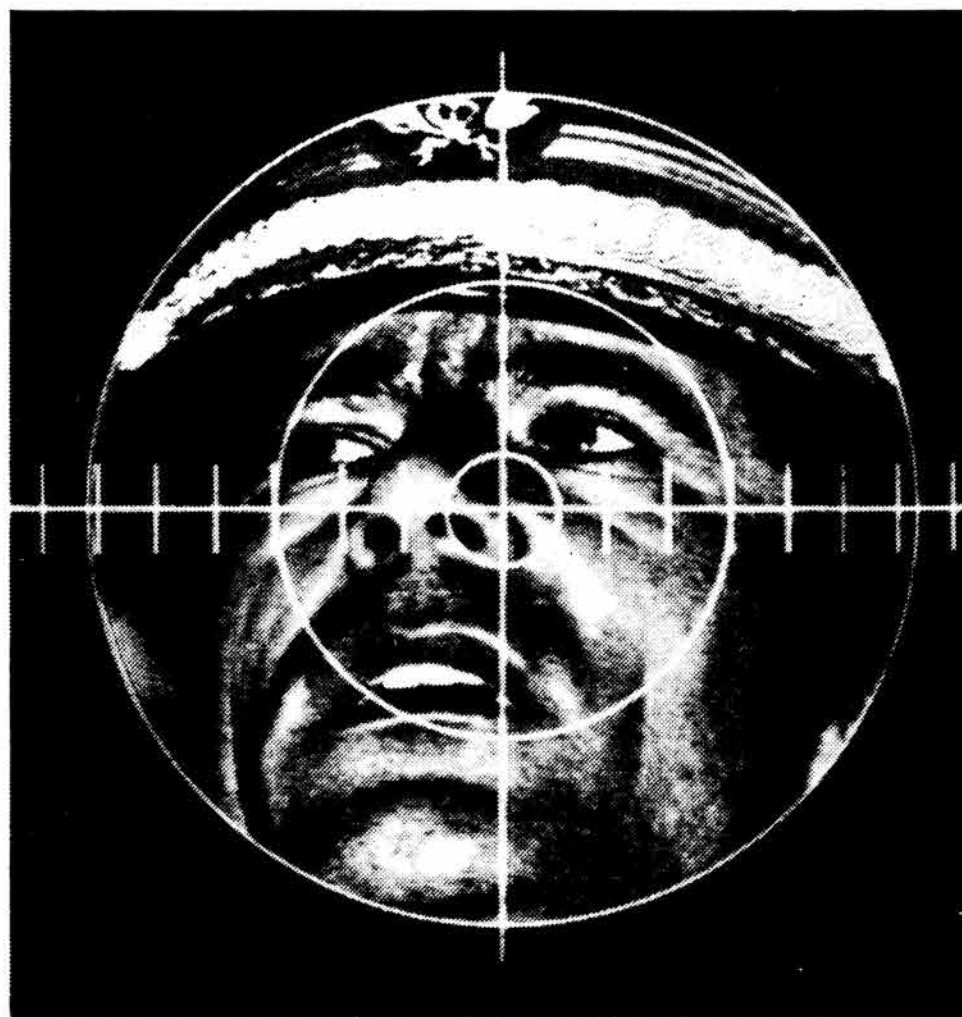
The White House recently revealed to the *New York Times*, that in 1980, Carter and Giscard d'Estaing hatched a plan with Sadat for covert military operations against Libya. The plan, U.S. officials said, was shelved after France's voters threw out Giscard in May 1981.

With Giscard beaten at the polls and in Chad, Washington embarked more-or-less on its own on the campaign that led to the second plan to overthrow Qaddafi outright.

The pattern, by now familiar to Libyans, began May 6.

On that day, the State Department ordered the Libyan diplomatic mission closed on grounds of "misconduct, including support for international terrorism." Washington, as usual, supplied no particulars.

That same month, the first report was leaked that an attempt on Qaddafi was in the works. The operation, an anon-



ymous State Department source told the *New York Daily News*, would be such that the U.S. could deny involvement.

Meanwhile, Libyan exiles—now led in Cairo by Abdel-Moneim Houni and in the Sudan by Mohammad Mugarieff—began claiming credit for acts of sabotage inside Libya. They also claimed to have renewed contact with Washington.

By June 2, the *New York Times* reported, the State Department was openly saying it "would be willing now to encourage actions against the Qaddafi regime."

"A major goal of American policy," added the July 14 *Wall Street Journal*, "is to encourage opponents of Col. Khadafi within Libya and outside to mobilize against him."

By then, the State Department was telling U.S. oil companies to get their people out of Libya: "The companies won't get another warning," said one U.S. official to the *Journal*. "We're playing confrontation politics, and we want them out, whether there is a coup in the works or not."

On August 19, Washington got the confrontation it wanted, shooting down two Libyan planes over the Gulf of Sidra.

The plan

It is widely recognized that the Gulf of Sidra incident was a deliberate U.S. provocation. A week before the event, *Newsweek* had reported that "After months of debating how to neutralize Muammar Qaddafi," Reagan had decided on a "direct challenge" in the form of naval maneuvers in the gulf. U.S. officials were also reported to be "eager" to see how Qaddafi would react to Egyptian troop maneuvers on the Libyan border, scheduled for the same time.

The "months of debate" on "the Libya problem" produced one other thing: a plan by the CIA to overthrow Qaddafi.

The plan, approved by CIA Director William Casey and the White House, consisted of three phases:

- A "disinformation" program in the media to stir up sentiment against Qaddafi.
- Revival of the Libyan "government in exile."
- Sabotage operations inside Libya—again, carried out by the exiles.

The CIA goal, sources told *Newsweek*, was Qaddafi's "ultimate" removal from power.

The cost of the plan in covert American aid, however, was enough that the CIA had to obtain approval from Congress. Former Deputy Director Max Hugel presented the scheme to the House Select Committee on Intelligence.

Hugel's presentation apparently left

the committee with the impression that Qaddafi would be assassinated. They fired off a letter to Reagan asking what, exactly, was going on. Details of the plan began to leak out; the White House refused comment on the matter. And that is where things stand today.

It is uncertain if this plan has been abandoned. If it has, it is certain there will be others.

Why Qaddafi?

Washington's argument for removing Qaddafi boils down to three points:

- Libya is the third-largest exporter of oil to the United States, and the highest-priced of the OPEC nations. By demanding a higher price for extracting crude oil from Libyan soil, Qaddafi cuts into the profits of U.S. oil monopolies.

- Qaddafi is a "Soviet satellite." This is the standard communist-baiting term Washington uses to describe countries it doesn't agree with and to justify intervening in their internal affairs. This is especially true of countries that exercise their sovereign right to establish friendly relations with the USSR as Libya has done.

- Qaddafi supports terrorism. An example of this argument is found in the Spring 1981 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine. There, John Cooley of the Carnegie Endowment lists the supposed beneficiaries of Qaddafi's support: the Moro National Liberation Front in the Philippines; the Irish Republican Army; "Basque, Corsican, and other separatists throughout Europe; the Leftists in the Lebanese civil war; . . . liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique; the most radical, black factions in Zimbabwe and South Africa. . . ."

At various times, the Palestine Liberation Organization and El Salvador's rebels have been added to the roster.

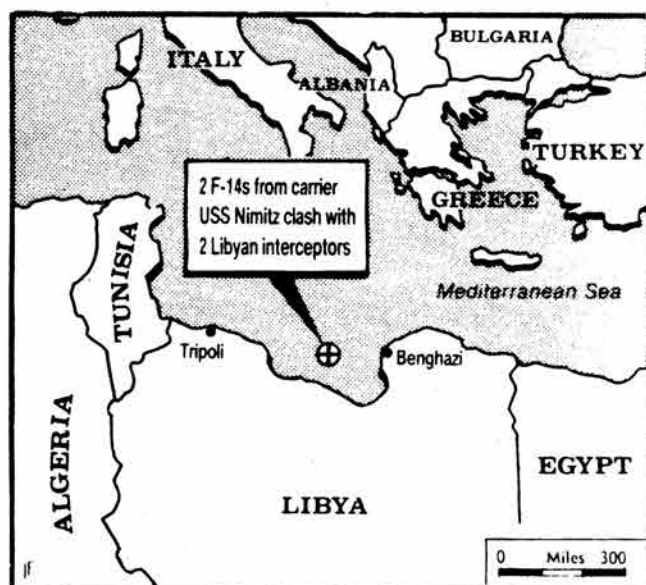
For the record, no one knows exactly whom Qaddafi has helped and in what manner. But this is really beside the point.

If one opposes all these struggles—as Washington does—then there is good reason not to like Qaddafi. Politically, at least, he supports them.

But anyone even remotely familiar with these liberation struggles knows they amount to a good deal more than the work of small terrorist bands. They involve millions of people who have been fighting for their freedom for some time.

Which gets to Washington's real reasons for wanting to get rid of Qaddafi. As one diplomat who has served in Libya put it, Qaddafi "sees his role as supporting what he believes to be progressive movements against oppressive governments."

As the Reagan administration sees it, there are too many people like this in the world already.



Reagan administration provoked Gulf of Sidra incident (arrow) 'after months of debating how to neutralize Muammar Qaddafi.' CIA, meanwhile, was readying plan to overthrow Libyan leader.

Workers protest police state

Tens of thousands strike in Colombia

By Ernest Harsch

In opposition to the desperate social and economic conditions facing Colombia's working people and to the repressive policies of the Colombian government, tens of thousands of workers throughout that Latin American country laid down their tools October 21 in a twenty-four-hour general strike.

The strike was called by the 500,000-member Trade Union Confederation of Colombian Workers (CSTC), together with a number of independent unions and provincial federations belonging to two of the country's three other major labor federations.

One of the central demands of the strike was the lifting of the state of siege that has been in effect in Colombia almost continuously for the past thirty years. Under it, the police have wide powers to break up strikes and demonstrations and detain political activists or trade unionists without charge. Its provisions for incommunicado detention facilitates the use of torture against political prisoners.

The strikers also demanded the release of all political prisoners, an end to widespread layoffs in the textile and other industries, wage increases of up to 50 percent, an end to the government's austerity policies and cuts in social services, and price controls on food and other day-to-day necessities.

The regime of President Julio César Turbay Ayala, fearful of a repetition of the massive September 1977 "citizen's national general strike," responded to the strike call in characteristic fashion — with widespread repression.

The strike was declared illegal and troops were moved into the streets of

Bogotá, placing the capital under military occupation.

In the days preceding the strike, agents of the Military Intelligence Service fanned out throughout the country to pick up strike organizers and union and political leaders. Some 1,000 were arrested in Bogotá, Medellín, Cali, Barranquilla, Bucaramanga, Cartagena, Neiva, and other cities.

In Bogotá, the military police also raided the offices of the Communist Party of Colombia, which is in the leadership of the CSTC.

Those arrested include Faustino Galindo García, a leader of the CSTC and a Communist Party member of the Bogotá City Council, Abel Rodríguez and Edgar Dusan of the Colombian Teachers Federation, about twenty leaders of the public employees' union, and numerous student leaders.

Also detained were more than a dozen activists of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR — Revolutionary Workers Party), the Colombian section of the Fourth International. They included Armando Novoa, a PSR leader in Bogotá; Luis Cometa, a leader of the Federation of Petroleum Workers in Neiva; and César Flores, a leader of a barrio-dwellers movement in Cartagena. Novoa was later released, but the others are being held incommunicado. Under Colombia law they can be detained without charge for up to 100 days.

Messages of protest against the jailings of the PSR, Communist Party, and trade-union leaders should be sent to: Julio César Turbay Ayala, Presidente de la República, Bogotá, Colombia.

Anti-apartheid activists framed up in Albany

By Michael Kozak

ALBANY — Four radical activists are fighting frame-up police charges that grew out of a protest here against the presence of South Africa's rugby team in the United States.

On the eve of the national anti-apartheid demonstration held in Albany September 22, police arrested Vera Michelson of Albany, Aaron Estis of Massachusetts, Michael Young of New York City, and John Spearman of Kansas.

Michelson and Estis were charged with possession of fireworks and marijuana. Spearman and Young were arraigned on a weapons charge.

Cops entered Michelson's apartment, kept her on the floor with a sawed-off shotgun to her head, took a mailing list of the Coalition Against Apartheid (CAA), and left the door unlocked when they left with the arrested activists.

The arrests were part of a well-orchestrated campaign of violence-baiting and intimidation by New York Governor Hugh Carey and other state officials to deflect attention from the hated, racist South African regime. They hoped instead to turn people against the anti-apartheid movement and scare potential protesters away from Albany.

During the demonstration, cops and sheriff's deputies, equipped with new helmets and extra-long clubs, marched in military formation around the protesters. They paraded between picket captains and marchers, as if hoping to provoke an incident. Some demonstrators were stopped by cops and asked their names and where they were from.

The violence-baiting campaign, widely publicized in the media in the area, started with Governor Carey's statement that the state police said members of both the Ku Klux Klan and the Communist Workers Party (CWP) were coming to Albany.

The media quickly raised images of fear and violence, portraying Albany as

a potential Greensboro, North Carolina (where the Klan murdered five CWP members in 1979). TV coverage focused on things like emergency units being set up in area hospitals to handle victims of violence.

The day of the demonstration, there was widespread coverage of the arrests, focusing on Young and Spearman's CWP membership and a bomb explosion at the Eastern Rugby Union offices in Schenectady. For all their sources and informants, police still claim to have no leads on the bombing.

The basis for the search warrant under which Michelson, Estis, and Young were arrested is alleged to be an unnamed informant who claimed armed protesters were coming to Albany. Also, the police claimed they received a phone call from a Coalition Against Apartheid spokesperson, in which the latter claimed members of the coalition were planning disruption activities. Use of unnamed, faceless informants has been a favorite police tactic to substantiate otherwise meritless allegations.

The Albany-based coalition, which organized the September 22 protest, announced at a news conference that the coalition deplores the victimization and has set up a defense fund. A defense committee has been formed in Albany to publicize the case, gather endorsements from area organizations, and raise funds for legal expenses.

For more information contact: CAA Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 3002, Pine Hills Station, Albany, N.Y. 12203.

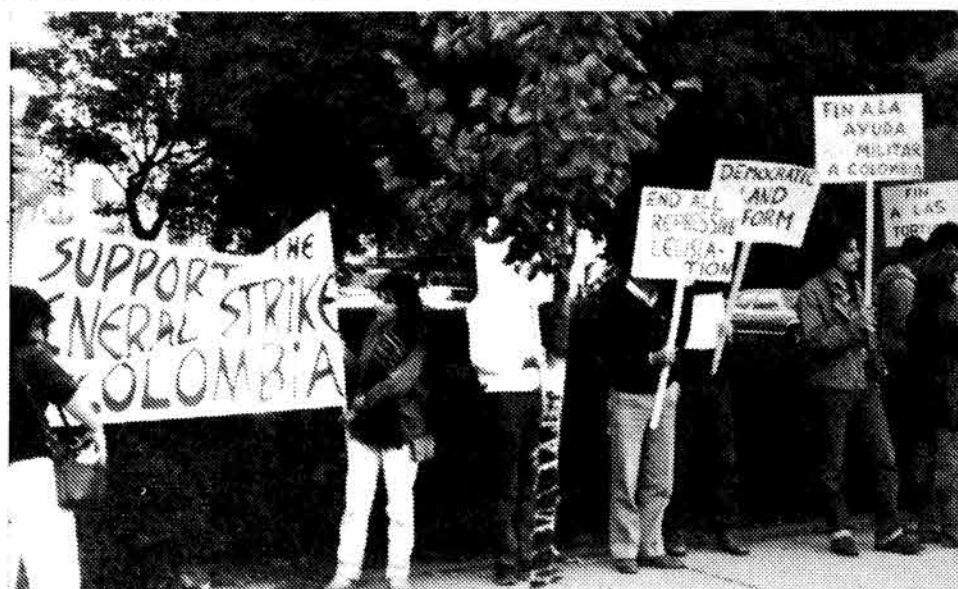
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Picket line in support of Colombian general strike at Colombian Embassy in Washington, D.C.

U.S. policy in So. Africa: protect profits at all cost

By Suzanne Haig

On September 30, the U.S. Senate repealed a five-year-old law banning covert aid to pro-imperialist guerrillas in Angola.

The law, called the Clark Amendment, was adopted by Congress in 1975 after learning that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had secretly provided arms and funds to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA) against the government headed by the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

The repeal is pending before the House of Representatives.

Repealing the Clark Amendment would be right in line with the Reagan administration's general policy toward southern Africa. This was spelled out by Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker August 29 in a speech before an American Legion meeting in Honolulu.

Crocker charged that the presence of Cuban troops in Angola was responsible for violence in the region and painted Washington as the peacekeeper and seeker of justice there.

Crocker asserted that it did not serve Washington's interests "to walk away from South Africa."

South Africa is vital to protecting U.S. interests, he said. The interests he cited include \$3 billion in annual trade, minerals needed for U.S. industries, and uranium for nuclear weapons and power.

Crocker failed to mention that the reason the U.S. invests so heavily in the area is the superprofits from the exploitation of Black workers under apartheid in South Africa and its colony Namibia.

The overall profit rate for U.S. companies in South Africa averaged 18.6 percent from 1960 to 1970, compared to

11 percent worldwide. In 1974, the rate of return still averaged 17.9 percent, although it has declined slightly since then.

The argument that Soviet expansionism in southern Africa is threatening these profits is a smokescreen to hide Washington's real concern: the rising anti-imperialist movements led by the Black majority who want an end to the plundering of their countries and the exploitation of their labor.

To crush these movements, Washington has militarily aided and relied on South Africa.

In 1975, after oil-rich Angola had won its independence from Portugal, for instance, Washington encouraged South Africa to intervene to deal a blow to the newly formed MPLA government.

John Stockwell, who directed CIA operations in Angola during that time, later revealed that "to the CIA, the South Africans were the ideal solution for central Angola."

The CIA recruited an army of mercenaries to help the apartheid regime. U.S. cargo planes dropped supplies to South African military columns.

As the South African army came dangerously close to the capital of Luanda, the MPLA asked the Cuban government to send troops to aid in beating back the imperialist invasion. Hundreds of thousands of Cubans volunteered to go, and an estimated 10 to 20,000 were sent.

Within several weeks after their arrival, the tide of the war began to turn, and the South Africans were finally routed. This was a tremendous victory for the African liberation struggle and a great defeat for Washington and South Africa.

It is no coincidence that three months after the victory, the Black city of Soweto in South Africa exploded in rebellion.

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Western rail barons slash jobs, up profits

By Dick Roberts

LOS ANGELES — Job abolishment. It is sweeping the railroads. It is the great fear among railroad workers and the most talked about subject in yards and yard offices across the country.

The next station to go around here is the Union Pacific (UP) freight office in Paramount, California. The story behind closing down Paramount sheds light on problems railroad workers face everywhere.

Paramount is one of the many industrial suburbs of Los Angeles, located midway between Los Angeles itself and the Port of Long Beach. The UP has had a freight office in Paramount for years. McDonnell-Douglas Aircraft, Monsanto Chemical, and Toyota Motors are among the big corporations with local industries in Paramount served by the UP.

Regularly two clerks work in the office. Bill Anderson, who's held the job twelve years, is being transferred to Long Beach. Jake Jacobson, one year from retirement, held the other job. That job is being abolished.

Coal exports

Paramount is being swept aside in the UP's drive to step up coal exports. The UP ships coal from mines in the Rocky Mountains — in Wyoming, Colorado and Utah — down through Nevada, across the Sierras, and to the Pacific harbor in Long Beach. From there it is primarily exported to Japan.

A flashy brochure issued by the Port of Long Beach Authority gives pertinent statistics: "The Port . . . has sufficient capacity to export three million metric tons of Western U.S. steam coal annually. . . . It is envisioned that by the 1990's, the Long Beach coal export terminal could have capacity for up to thirty million metric tons per year."

A ten-fold increase in coal exports and the profits derived therefrom.

Revenues on each coal train carrying about 10,000 tons of coal run around \$150,000. It would take over eight trains a day — about 3,000 a year — to bring thirty million tons to the harbor. Revenues on that would approach five hundred million dollars at today's rates.

Dick Roberts is a clerk in Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Local 1227 in Mission, California.

AMERICAN RAILROADS

the case for nationalization

by Dick Roberts

This book explains the crisis in rail today by examining the history and economics of the industry: Who owns the railroads? What have rail workers accomplished in past struggles? How can they defend their jobs and improve their conditions today? And how can the railroads be reorganized to meet the needs of the majority they serve — the farmers, small businesses, and workers?

109 pp., \$2.45. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage.

Shorter hours—no cut in pay

One way the railroad unions could play an important role in fighting the elimination of jobs would be to campaign for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay.

At the turn of the century the railroad unions led the fight for an eight-hour day in this country.

There's nothing outmoded or historical about the need for a six-hour day in the United States now.

A campaign by the railroad unions along these lines would be extremely popular. It would appeal to millions of workers who also face plant shut-downs and on-the-job speedup. It would make sense to many workers.

Clerks who today carry responsibilities that five or six individuals had only a year ago know that there can be a trade-off: More work, more responsibility, fewer hours. Reducing shifts from eight to six hours would open up the jobs for workers who are presently being shoved aside.

It is assured that the companies would holler and scream at the first whiff of news that railroad workers anywhere are pondering a fight for a reduction of hours *with no cut in pay*.

"We can't afford it! We'll go broke tomorrow. You do this to us and there won't be any work at all."

They will pretend that they never heard of the drive for greater revenues and higher profits which led to the elimination of jobs in the first place: "Coal trains? Never heard of them."

Well, coal trains only move and only make profits for the companies through the labor of railroad workers. In these hard times a shorter workweek would help spread the benefits of advancing technology to more workers by providing more jobs.

Struggling for it would make the railroad bosses think twice the next time they start crossing out stations and branch lines.

—D.R.

That money is pushing aside smaller stations. In fact the UP is laying a second main line to carry the coal from Los Angeles to Long Beach. It will go right through the area presently occupied by Paramount station.

Restructuring

In addition to coal the United States is also stepping up exports of other raw materials and grain. More and more "unit trains" are crisscrossing the country. These are trains where every car carries the same commodity.

A single, giant agribusiness firm or mining conglomerate hires whole trains. The railroad companies are more than willing to close down other services to concentrate on this lucrative business.

Orienting to fewer and fewer big corporate customers, this is the history of American railroading.

It accounts for the constant closing down of branch lines and the virtual elimination of passenger service regardless of the effect on communities and farmers. (An entire commuter train carrying hundreds of passengers would typically bear less revenue than a single coal car in a Western unit train of eighty or more coal cars.)

Like other U.S. industries which are restructuring their operations, closing down older plants, and honing business down to the most profitable core, the U.S. railroads are also drastically restructuring.

When railroad mergers take place this process is even more stepped up. The merging of the Burlington Northern and the St. Louis and San Francisco led to the elimination of hundreds of miles of track and whole yards.

Computerization

This is being accompanied by a rapid acceleration of the computerization of railroad office work.

In the Los Angeles area over the past year, for example, the UP has introduced a new generation of computers which makes it possible for one clerk to do jobs previously done by five or six different clerks.

Information on each inbound and outbound train, the billing data on each car, car locations in the yard and car destinations — all of this is now fed into a computer system.

Where before there had been "inbound clerks" handling the incoming trains, "outbound clerks," "yard

clerks," etc., all of these jobs have now been combined into the job of a "general clerk." Each "general clerk" must be able to handle all the previous jobs.

Typically, the UP tacked on supervisory staff to oversee this drastic speed-up of yard office work and to log the time it takes clerks to do each of the jobs.

Now central computers in Omaha record car and train movements throughout the UP system, from terminals along the Mississippi to Seattle, Portland, and Los Angeles.

Computerization combined with restructuring the industry has led to the elimination of thousands of jobs.

This is a process that is not confined to the weaker, and often bankrupt, lines of the Midwest and East. It is taking place on the Union Pacific, Burlington Northern and Southern Pacific — giant western railroads where the revenues are pouring in.

Union response

The railroad unions have done little to protect rail workers victimized by this process. For the most part they stand timidly by, as though the forces restructuring the railroads are completely beyond the control of working people.

There is deep frustration.

I talked about the closing of Paramount with J.D. Phillips, the conductor on the Paramount switcher. This switching will continue, but the paperwork will be done in Long Beach now instead of Paramount — and by one less clerk, with the elimination of Jacobson's job.

"Jake knows more about railroading than most people you will meet, and he has a memory like an elephant," Phillips said. "With his seniority, of course, [31 years — D.R.] Jake can work somewhere else, but somewhere down the line a clerk's job is being eliminated."

"Our union [United Transportation Union — UTU] should be fighting to defend these clerks' jobs."

Phillips pointed out that at some point you have to actually physically look at a car; the computer can't dream up car locations. Some of this clerk's work is being dumped on conductors.

"They can't touch me, either," Phillips said, "I'm too old. But once these guys get going they don't stop. Look at what they're doing to PATCO. If our unions don't get together they're going to do that to us too."

Cops face charges in killing of Milw. Black

By Frank Forrestal

MILWAUKEE — A coroner's jury here has recommended that three city cops be charged with homicide by reckless conduct in the death of Ernie Lacy, a twenty-two-year-old Black man.

The recommendation came on October 14, after a month-long inquest into the July 9 death of Lacy.

The three officers, George Kalt, Thomas Eliopul, and James Dekker, arrested Lacy for a crime it was later learned he did not commit. While in police custody, Lacy died after being brutally beaten.

Witnesses to the arrest testified that one officer knelt on Lacy's neck while another raised Lacy's hands, which were cuffed behind his back, above his head.

The homicide recommendation was unanimous. The jury also recommended that Dekker and two other officers — Kenneth Kmichik, the driver of a police van that transported Lacy after his arrest, and Robert Enters, the van attendant — be charged with misconduct in public office for refusing Lacy first-aid treatment.

The decision by the jury, composed of three Blacks and three whites, was an important victory.

"This is a landmark decision," said Howard Fuller, chairman of the Coalition for Justice for Ernie Lacy. "It sure means a lot to the people of Milwaukee, particularly to Black people, but I

think for all people."

If convicted, the three officers could spend up to ten years in prison.

The three cops have a long history of police brutality allegations. Dekker, Eliopul, and Kalt have charges pending against them for an attack last summer on a Black United Steelworkers local vice president. And Dekker has no fewer than five police brutality complaints against him. These include a charge of choking a Black woman, Susan Crape, the night before Lacy was killed; and assaulting Arturo Aponte, a Black man in a wheelchair, the same night.

The victory follows several mass actions organized by the Coalition for Justice for Ernie Lacy, which is made up of over 100 community organizations.

In the course of three months, the coalition organized three mass demonstrations, the largest of which drew 10,000 people; an economic boycott that shut down Milwaukee's downtown business area for one day; a rally at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; and several picket lines.

Howard Fuller noted after the decision was handed down that "without those actions, this may not have been possible. We would not be able to stand here on the threshold of getting justice for Ernie Lacy."

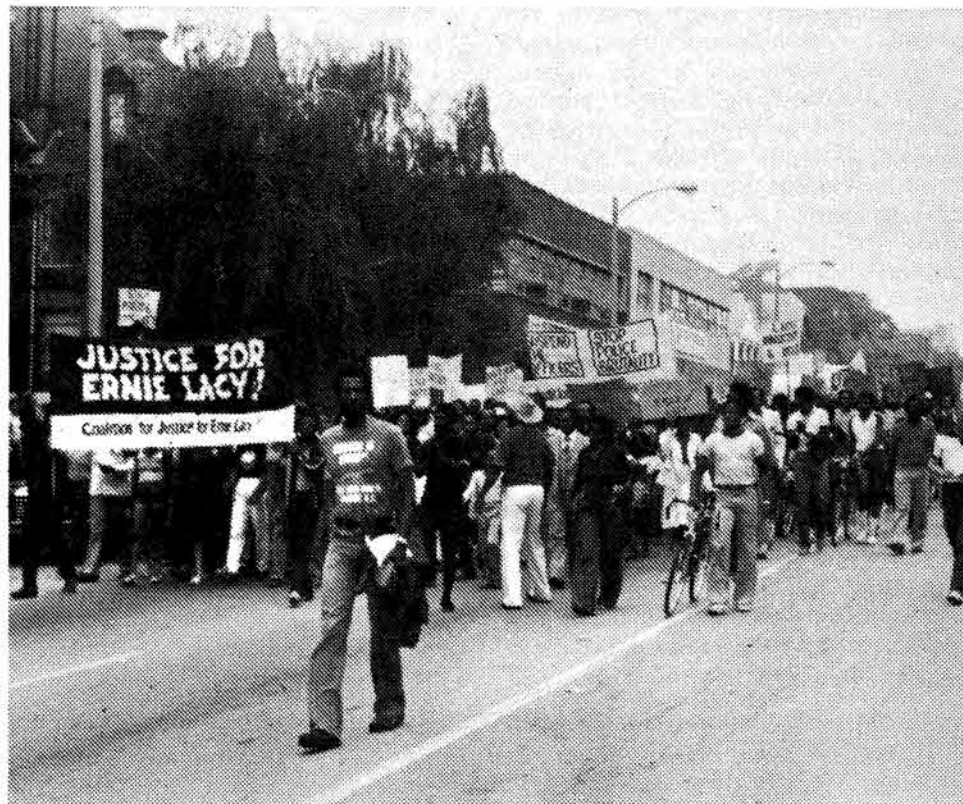
Coalition leaders pointed out that the actions encouraged many wit-

nesses to come forward to testify. In addition, the coalition forced the court to air the entire inquest on public television.

The coalition is now pushing for the district attorney to prosecute the officers. "Justice will be done," said Fuller, "when those officers responsible for Ernie's death serve time for what they have done. We don't want legalism or mumbo jumbo. We want the police officers to serve time. That's justice."

The coalition is also demanding that charges be brought against the other two officers implicated in Lacy's death, and that the three officers facing homicide charges be taken off the public payroll immediately.

At a victory rally of 300 after the decision, Fuller said, "We have the capacity to have an impact on our own lives. The biggest victory is that we have reaffirmed the value of Black human beings."



July 20 demonstration in Milwaukee demands justice for slain Ernie Lacy
Militant/David McDonald

NASSCO on strike

By Michael Boys

SAN DIEGO — National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (NASSCO), the largest shipyard on the West Coast, is on strike. Members of the seven unions at the yard voted 2,088 to 1,394 against the company's wage offer.

NASSCO is the lowest paying shipyard on the West Coast. Journeymen get about \$8.71 an hour, compared to \$12.50 at other shipyards. The unions demanded parity in the new contract; NASSCO offered a raise to \$12.50 over three years.

"In three years, \$12.50 an hour is going to be the same as \$8.71 is now. We'll still be \$4 behind," a twenty-four-year-old Puerto Rican ship fitter said.

NASSCO officials claim the yard is in poor financial shape. The day before the contract vote they told the news media they might lay off 70 percent of the workforce.

But they have a backlog of \$500 million in new orders and \$50 million in repair work. "We know they've got the money," a Black iron worker told the *Militant*, "and we just want our share."

When the contract rejection was announced on October 9, workers streamed out of the yard with their toolboxes and other belongings. Picket lines were set up. The San Diego-Imperial Counties Labor Council officially sanctioned the strike.

The seven unions in the yard have a joint strike committee and they are bargaining jointly. The unions are Iron Workers Local 627, International Association of Machinists Local 389, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 569, Teamsters Local 36, Operating Engineers Local 12, Painters Local 33 and Carpenters Local 1300.

This is the first contract strike at NASSCO since 1970.

Ironworkers voted in

SAN DIEGO — A union decertification election September 17 and 18 at NASSCO was won by Ironworkers Local 627 by about a two-to-one margin.

Former leaders of the local organized an independent "United Shipyard Workers Union" to replace the Iron Workers after the local was thrown into receivership by the international. That move came after the radical "Strongback" slate won the last local union elections.

The union fight stems from massive protests against safety conditions in the yard. A militant leader-

ship won wide support through the protests. They came under harsh attack from the combined forces of the company, the FBI, San Diego Police, and the heads of the international union.

The attack included the NASSCO Three frame-up: three union activists charged and convicted of involvement in a bomb plot concocted by an FBI provocateur. But even after the widely publicized frame-up, the slate of candidates that supported the NASSCO Three were elected to head the Iron Workers Local. This led to the receivership which is still in effect.

Koch moves to punish transit union for '80 strike

By Raúl Gonzalez

NEW YORK — In the latest attack on bus and subway workers here, the New York Public Employment Relations Board (PERB) ruled October 7 that the dues check-off rights of the three unions representing transit workers would be suspended for eighteen months. The check-off provides automatic deduction of union dues from weekly paychecks.

The unions affected by the order are Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union, and Locals 726 and 1056 of the Amalgamated Transit Union. The ATU organizes about 2,000 bus drivers in Staten Island and Queens. The TWU, an industrial union, represents over 33,000 workers who repair and operate the rest of the New York City subway and bus system.

The PERB decision is being appealed by the unions and will not go into effect until the appeals are settled.

In another decision, the PERB also revoked the dues check-off rights for the 70,000 New York teachers. The "crime" by the United Federation of

Teachers was a five-day strike in 1975. The teachers union is appealing that decision.

Under New York state's Taylor Law, strikes by public employees are prohibited.

The threatened loss of the dues check-off is only the latest punishment resulting from the eleven-day transit strike in 1980. The unions were fined \$1,250,000 and each individual striker was docked two days' pay for each day on strike. These \$1,000 to \$1,500 fines were taken out of transit workers' pay as soon as the strike ended. The large fine against the union is still being challenged in court.

TWU President John Lawe described the October 7 PERB ruling as a "vicious action, calculated to weaken our organization at a time when we must meet an arrogant management in upcoming negotiations." The contract with the Transit Authority expires March 30, 1982.

The PERB ruling is not the only thing weakening the transit workers going into the next contract talks. The news media has been on a concerted campaign to blame the deterioration in transit service on transit workers. The widely read *Daily News* and the *Post*

have been running series supposedly documenting featherbedding and incompetence by transit workers to explain the rotten and dangerous service provided to move people around this city.

The fact is the system is being run into the ground by management and the high fares (now 75 cents) are being used to pay and repay the banks that hold the bonds. An enormous, overpaid, incompetent bureaucracy sits on the system, making even elementary safety improvements impossible.

As far as pay is concerned, New York transit workers have moved from being among the highest-paid transit workers in the country, with wages comparable to railroad workers, to working for several dollars an hour less than other transit workers, and much less than railroad workers doing the same jobs.

The response of the union leadership to the intensified attacks on transit workers is to give up more. TWU President Lawe has announced that the union would give up the principle of "no contract, no work" for the next contract negotiations if the Transit Authority would agree to binding arbi-

tration.

The TA has not yet responded to this concession.

The TA is actively chipping away at past union contract gains through a "productivity" campaign. Recently, they threatened to deny a scheduled 36-cent-an-hour cost of living (COLA) allowance. The TA claimed the COLA was linked to "productivity savings," and that work had not speeded up enough to deserve it.

When the PERB denied the union the dues check-off, Mayor Koch was overjoyed. He had led the attack against the union during last year's strike. Koch interpreted the decision that, "If you engage in an illegal strike, we're going to sock it to you."

Koch is the candidate of both the Democrats and the Republicans in the November election for mayor.

But Wells Todd, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, denounced the attack on the transit workers: "It's an attack on every worker in the city. They want to use the example set by Reagan of firing the air controllers to strengthen the antilabor Taylor Law and intimidate all public workers."

Raúl Gonzalez is a member of TWU Local 100. He is the SWP candidate for New York City Comptroller.

Caught in cost-price squeeze

Reagan budget cuts hit dairy farmers

By William Gottlieb

Underneath Kansas City there lies 200 million pounds of "surplus" butter and cheese. About half of it will be used in government-subsidized school lunch programs. Some of it will be sold abroad. Most of the rest will eventually be destroyed.

These "surplus" dairy products are owned by the federal government. They were purchased by the government's Commodity Credit Corporation as part of Washington's program to support the price of milk. These products are surplus only in the sense that the market is too narrow to absorb them without ruining many dairy farmers, not surplus in the sense of human needs.

But in spite of the government's efforts to prop up dairy prices, dairy farmers are being ruined. Thirty years ago there were 2 million dairy farms in the United States. Today only 200,000 remain, most of them family farms. The Reagan administration is pushing legislation which will hasten the doom of many of those that remain.

Arguing that the cost of purchasing, transportation, and sorting dairy products is too high, the administration is supporting a new farm bill which is

now being considered by the House of Representatives. If adopted it will introduce a number of cutbacks in farm programs. Among these would be a drastic reduction in price supports for milk. With lower selling prices many dairy farmers would be wiped out, and others would cutback production thus reducing the "surplus."

Under the 1977 farm bill the government was required to buy milk if the selling price fell below 80 percent of parity (see box). It had to purchase a quantity sufficient to keep the price at this level. Actually, even under the 1977 farm bill, since the adjustments for rising costs were made every six months, the price of milk could fall below 80 percent of parity for months at a time.

Last summer, at Reagan's insistence, Congress skipped a midyear adjustment, reducing the level of price support to only 75 percent of parity.

The Reagan-backed bill would reduce the price support level to only 70 percent of parity. Moreover a "cap" would be established at the price of \$13.10 per hundred pounds. If inflation were to push up the costs of running a dairy farm by 50 percent for example, the government would still support the

price at only \$13.10. That would only be about 50 percent of parity.

Furthermore Reagan and the Senate want to establish a maximum of \$750 million to be spent on the price support program. Since \$1.8 billion was spent on milk price supports during fiscal year 1981, it is unlikely that \$750 million would be sufficient to maintain the price at 70 percent of parity.

In effect the Reagan-Senate proposals give up the parity concept altogether.

The majority in the House is considering slightly more moderate cuts. It agrees with the Senate and Reagan that milk price supports should be frozen at \$13.10 for the next year, regardless of how much dairy farm costs rise. However, the House version would require the government to support the price of milk at 72.5 percent of parity beginning in October 1982.

The plight of dairy farmers is part of a bigger problem facing working farmers as a whole.

For decades farmers have been hit with rising costs just like workers have. But the rise in the prices paid to farmers have lagged more and more behind the rise in their costs. In September prices paid to farmers, on

the average, were only 59 percent of parity, the lowest since April 1933 near the bottom of the Great Depression.

The bosses have long tried to turn workers against farmers by blaming farmers for the high cost of food. Actually for every dollar spent on food, only 30 cents reaches the farmer. The rise in the price of food has been overwhelmingly concentrated in processing and distribution. And the trend has been for processing and distribution to become more and more centralized in the hands of monopolies who rake in bigger and bigger profits.

Since 1950 about 2,000 farms per week have disappeared. In 1945 there were 6,000,000 farms, today there are about 2,672,000. The average size of U.S. farms has increased from 175 acres in 1940 to 450 acres in 1979.

As farming has become more mechanized and land prices have risen, farmers have become more and more dependent on credit. In 1945 total farm debt was less than \$20 billion. By 1980 it was around \$160 billion and rising fast. With interest rates at unheard of levels and government provided credit being reduced under the Reagan cutbacks, the credit noose is tightening around the neck of the family farm.



Atlanta, 1977: farmers' tractorcade demands 100 percent parity from federal government. In September 1981, farm prices dropped to 59 percent of parity, lowest since Great Depression of 1930s.

What is parity?

The concept of parity is similar to that of 'cost-of-living' escalator clauses in union contracts. As the cost of living rises workers must obtain raises in their nominal pay if they are not to fall behind inflation.

Agriculture even more than industry is plagued by "overproduction." This is reflected by a fall in the prices farmers receive for what they produce, relative to the prices they must pay.

In the 1930's, a period of severe depression in agriculture as well as industry, the concept of parity was developed by the government.

In calculating parity the relative prices that farmers receive, compared to the costs of goods they must purchase, is compared with the base period 1910-1914, years when

farmers were relatively better off. If the purchasing power of a given farm commodity today is the same as 1910-14, it is selling at a price equal to 100 percent of parity.

For example, at \$13.10 per hundred pounds, milk is selling at about 72.5 percent of parity at current prices. If milk had the same relative purchasing power it had in 1910-14 its price would have to rise to \$18.07 per hundred pounds. This would be 100 percent of parity.

Suppose the prices that dairy farmers must pay for fertilizer, machinery, fuel, etc. were to double. One hundred percent of parity for milk would then be \$36.14 per hundred pounds. To maintain prices at 72.5 percent of parity the price of milk would have to rise to \$26.20 per hundred pounds.

Miners battle union-busting in Illinois...

By Myron Cole

ST. LOUIS—The showdown in the Illinois coal fields is continuing. Kerr-McGee Corporation opened the battle when they began constructing a mine with nonunion labor near the town of Galatia in Saline County, Illinois.

Illinois is a solid United Mine Workers (UMW) organized state. Only a few hundred miners are not in the United Mine Workers. But thousands of UMW miners and mine construction workers are laid off. There is 20 percent unemployment around Galatia. Kerr-McGee and other large energy companies figure the lack of jobs will give them the chance to break the UMW's strength.

Working and non-working UMW miners feel differently.

On August 18, the union shut down every UMW mine in the state. Over 2,000 miners rallied at the Kerr-McGee site.

The rally turned into a battle with state police who were massed there to protect the scab operation. Veterans were reminded of Vietnam as tear gas was hurled at them by the cops from grenade launchers and dropped from National Guard helicopters. During the demonstration two miles of chain link fence surrounding the property were ripped down and a company

office and some equipment were burned.

Since then, a war of court action and propaganda has been waged against the miners.

Kerr-McGee President James Randolph, a retired Air Force major general, flew in from Oklahoma to lead the attack. The company got an injunction prohibiting picketing.

Films provided by the news media

have been used to finger seventeen miners for participation in the August 18 action. Twelve of them have been arrested. The FBI is involved, claiming violation of the Hobbs anti-labor law. Court subpoenas have been issued against UMW District 12 (Illinois) officials and local union officers.

Wild attacks against the union have filled radio, television, and the newspapers. The coverage is so slanted the

UMW had to buy an ad in the *South-ern Illinoisian* August 26 to explain the union side.

But in spite of the propaganda and the court attacks, Illinois miners view the August 18 action as a victory. They know that it took enormous sacrifices and battles over many decades to establish the power of the UMW in the mines. All that is at stake in this company challenge to the union.

...and non-union mine in W. Virginia

West Virginia miners are waging a fight similar to the one in Illinois. On May 14, during the national United Mine Workers (UMW) contract strike, 300 miners marched against the construction site of the Elk Run Coal Company. The nonunion mine site is located in Boone County in southern West Virginia, a solid UMW area. Work on the mine was being done by contractors employing members of the Steelworkers union.

Elk Run Coal Company is not only failing to use UMW construction workers, but intends to open as a

nonunion mine. On May 14 during the protest, several company buildings were set on fire.

Like in Illinois, the coal bosses, the news media, and politicians have been screaming for UMW blood. Elk Run Coal is suing the union for \$15 million, and also suing sixty-six individual union leaders, members, and others for the incident.

The National Labor Relations Board is in court trying to get civil contempt cited against the union.

Both Elk Run and Kerr-McGee are leading conscious attempts by the coal industry to break the United

Mine Workers in two of its strongest areas.

Fighting to stop these attacks is in the interest of the entire labor movement. And it will take the backing of other unions to win these fights.

In West Virginia, the UMW needs the backing of other unions, and it needs the United Steelworkers of America to back off.

It was the UMW that started the United Steelworkers over forty years ago. The place for the United Steelworkers is on the same side of the picket line with the UMW.

—Stu Singer

Subscription drive needs a big boost

By Nancy Rosenstock

The drive to obtain 8,000 new subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language bi-weekly, is now reaching the midway point. This offers an occasion to evaluate the results so far and what needs to be done to achieve our goal.

We launched the drive on September 19, the date of Solidarity Day actions held across the country. On that day we sold 2,412 subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* which got the drive off to a good start. This beginning is responsible for the campaign being ahead of schedule up until now.

But since September 19, only 1,571 subscriptions have been sent in. Last week, for example, we received only 348 subscriptions which advanced the drive only 4 percent from where we were last week. We have to obtain about 600 subscriptions each week for the rest of the drive if we are to make our goal. The drive is scheduled to end the week of November 21.

To help accomplish this objective, we have set a target week during which many of our readers will make a special effort to sell a large number of subscriptions. The target week begins with next week's issue of the *Militant* (dated November 6). This is election week in many cities and the *Militant* will be devoting several pages to cover-

age of Socialist Workers Party (SWP) election campaigns.

One feature will be a speech by Betsy Soares, SWP candidate for mayor of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The speech is on the antilabor "right-to-work" laws used to keep unions out and wages low in many states, including North Carolina. Soares' campaign supporters are ordering extra copies of this issue to go door-to-door introducing people to the *Militant*. They aim to gain fifty new subscribers.

There will also be a report on the positions of the New York City mayoral candidates on a referendum which, if adopted, would permit the state to raise \$500 million by issuing bonds in order to expand the capacity of prisons.

In addition, there will be an analysis of Mayor Edward Koch's October 16 speech before the Democratic National Strategy Council in Baltimore. In this speech Koch blasted school busing and affirmative action programs established to help achieve equality for Blacks.

The SWP branch and Young Socialist Alliance chapter in Los Angeles have set a goal of 75 *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subs for the target week.

If a big effort is made during this week it will provide the necessary momentum we need to complete the drive on schedule.

Industrial poisons target at hearings

By Rachel Knapik

CINCINNATI — Nearly a hundred people were on hand for the first city council hearing on Cincinnati's controversial "Right-to-Know" ordinance.

This proposed ordinance would require employers who manufacture, use, or store toxic or hazardous substances to label the chemicals and to inform workers which substances they are exposed to, what the dangers are, and how to protect themselves from needless exposure.

A recent series in the Cincinnati *Post*, calling Cincinnati the "Cancer Capital of the Country," prompted the proposed legislation. In the hearings it was disclosed that Cincinnati has the highest cancer mortality rate of any city in the country.

Cincinnati is heavily industrialized with thousands of different chemicals used every day and new chemicals constantly being introduced. Chemical giants like Proctor and Gamble, whose headquarters and main plant are in Cincinnati, are especially responsible for introducing these chemicals.

Stan Eller, formerly an industrial hygienist with the International Chemical Workers Union introduced a new study by the Ohio River Valley Committee on Occupational Safety and Health (ORV-COSH) entitled "Toxic Substances in the Workplace: A Cincinnati Profile."

He pointed out that much of Cincinnati's industry is non-union, including the two giants Proctor and Gamble and Milacron.

William Sheehan, executive secretary of the Central Labor Council, cited a recent National Cancer Institute study that 38 percent of all cancer originates in the workplace. "Of the 2,000 deaths caused by cancer last year," he remarked about this study, "up to 750 were due to workplace chemicals. If workers knew what substances they

worked with and how dangerous they were, those deaths by cancer might not have happened."

Marian Spencer, NAACP president, pointed out that in Cincinnati Black workers have one of the highest death rates of any population group in the U.S. — 25 percent higher than Cincinnati white workers. "Black workers are too often concentrated in the most hazardous jobs," she said.

Robert Osbourne, of the United Auto Workers and co-chairman of the ORV-COSH, explained that "toxic chemicals are like a tornado: you never know when or where they will hit you. They are silent killers."

Arrayed against the ordinance is the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Cincinnati, representing 3,000 employers. Eugene Gains, president of the organization, said it "is in strong opposition to the labelling ordinance." He cited the "enormous cost to the city and the employer."

Robert Connolly, a member of the International Association of Machinists, and Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, distributed a statement to city council members. He urged passage of the "Right-to-Know" ordinance.

"This ordinance," he stated, "would be a tool that union safety and health committees can use to fight for a safe work place. In addition, it would begin to afford some protection to the thousands of Cincinnati workers in non-union factories who suffer some of the most unsafe working conditions."

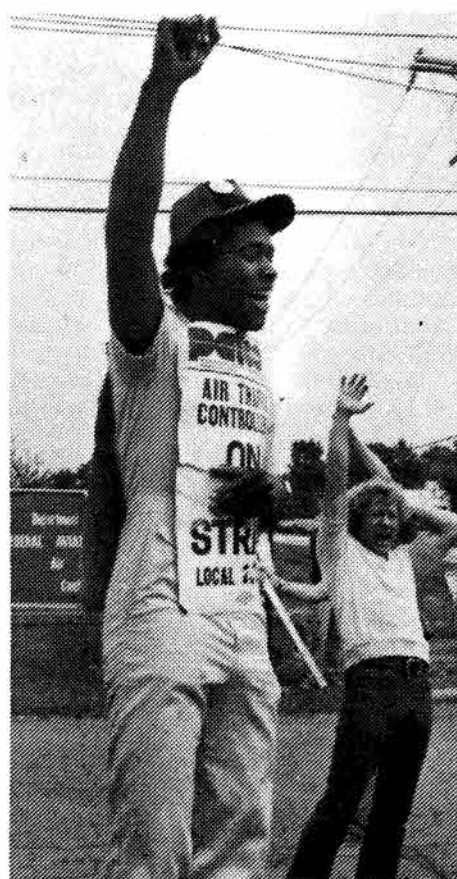
"The gains that labor has made around safety and health on the job have been won through long and hardfought battles. Today, however, the Democrats and Republicans in Washington are slashing away at these gains. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration is being cut back severely along with all other social programs and services."

Subscription scoreboard

As of October 17, 1981

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	SUBS REC'D	PM GOAL	SUBS REC'D	TOTAL GOAL	TOTAL REC'D	%
Cleveland	55	57	5	3	60	60	100
Boston	175	159	25	3	200	162	81
New Orleans	110	87	0	1	110	88	80
*Portland	75	60	0	0	75	60	80
San Diego	90	77	30	9	120	86	72
Detroit	200	147	15	4	215	151	70
Atlanta	165	120	10	0	175	120	69
*Washington, D.C.	235	178	40	11	275	189	69
Salt Lake City	140	98	20	5	160	103	64
Pittsburgh	215	139	10	3	225	142	63
Louisville	125	77	0	0	125	77	62
*San Antonio	130	83	35	20	165	103	62
Newark	275	198	75	8	350	206	59
*Piedmont	180	104	0	1	180	105	58
*Brooklyn	475	300	75	11	550	311	57
St. Louis	115	68	5	0	120	68	57
Denver	95	52	5	0	100	52	52
Philadelphia	110	71	40	6	150	77	51
*Birmingham	200	94	0	3	200	97	49
Lincoln	25	12	5	2	30	14	47
Oakland	170	92	30	1	200	93	47
Cincinnati	70	32	0	0	70	32	46
Los Angeles	325	170	75	14	400	184	46
Capital District	90	42	5	1	95	43	45
*Harrisburg	130	55	0	0	130	55	42
Phoenix	75	33	25	8	100	41	41
Chicago	215	96	35	4	250	100	40
Tucson	20	12	15	2	35	14	40
*Iron Range	110	41	0	0	110	41	37
Seattle	140	47	10	7	150	54	36
Gary	115	44	10	0	125	44	35
*Manhattan	705	281	245	30	950	311	33
Milwaukee	150	55	25	3	175	58	33
San Francisco	150	62	50	3	200	65	33
Baltimore	130	42	5	1	135	43	32
Morgantown	120	36	0	0	120	36	30
Toledo	50	15	0	0	50	15	30
Twin Cities	180	53	0	0	180	53	29
Albuquerque	60	21	25	0	85	21	25
Kansas City	125	29	25	7	150	36	24
Indianapolis	125	29	0	0	125	29	23
Tidewater	120	27	0	0	120	27	23
Dallas	110	28	50	4	160	32	20
San Jose	90	18	40	4	130	22	17
Miami	90	15	10	0	100	15	15
Charleston	125	17	0	0	125	17	14
Houston	135	5	40	0	175	5	3
Miscellaneous		199		27	226		
TOTAL	7115	3777	1115	206	8230	3983	48
SHOULD BE		2075		325		2400	30

*indicates area that has raised goal



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New threats against Polish wc

By Ernest Harsch

After only thirteen months in power, Poland's Communist Party chief, Stanislaw Kania, was dumped during a stormy Central Committee meeting October 18. He was replaced by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the prime minister and minister of defense.

This latest leadership reshuffle is yet another indication of the depth of the political crisis facing the privileged bureaucrats who rule Poland, as they cast about for some way to hold back the country's powerful working class. The difficulties they face were underscored just the week before the Central Committee meeting, when Solidarity, the 10-million-member union, warned of a possible nationwide strike against higher food prices and workers in a number of cities struck and occupied their plants.

When Kania came to power in September 1980 following the ouster of the discredited Edward Gierek, he promised to carry through a "socialist renewal"

and to follow a course of negotiation with Solidarity. Renewal, however, was just a stalling tactic, providing Kania with time to try to stifle the upsurge and undermine Solidarity's base of support. The government tried to provoke the union into a premature confrontation and attempted to turn the population against Solidarity and split the growing unity of workers, farmers, and intellectuals.

The regime also faced increasing pressure from the capitalist banks to pay back its debts by instituting an austerity drive, aimed at the working class.

But Kania has not been able either to ride out the upsurge or maneuver to break its back. Rather than being provoked, Solidarity further strengthened itself by organizing democratic elections to leadership positions, and by holding widespread discussions on a program for overcoming Poland's deep social and economic crisis that — unlike the government's proposals — is not at the expense of the workers' standard of living. This won it growing support from wider

layers of the Polish population.

At the same time, Solidarity's example attracted increased interest among workers in other Eastern European countries.

From the point of view of the Polish bureaucrats and their allies in Moscow, Kania's course was clearly not working. The Soviet authorities made little secret of their lack of confidence in Kania.

New threats

Although Jaruzelski has also been associated with the "renewal" policy, he has at the same time attempted to present a harder stance toward Solidarity. In the midst of the union's recent national congress, Jaruzelski ordered stepped-up police and army patrols in major cities, authorized arrests of some union activists, and ordered the censors to crack down on Solidarity's lively factory and regional bulletins.

At the Central Committee meeting itself, a resolution was adopted laying out a tougher line against Solidarity. Its points included:

- A renegotiation of the agreements signed with striking workers last year.
- A "temporary" suspension of the right to strike.
- A resumption of the six-day workweek (Polish workers won their demand for a five-day workweek earlier this year).
- Stricter party control over the news media.
- The expulsion of party members considered too favorable to Solidarity.

The Central Committee also discussed the possibility of authorizing a state of emergency, but decided against that at this time.

Taken together, these threatened moves point toward preparations for a confrontation with Solidarity. The union would certainly resist any attempts to take away the right to strike or to renegotiate last year's agreements to the detriment of the workers.

Expulsions from party

An important part of the authorities' preparations are its attempts to firm up



Some half-million people came out October 24, 1956, in Warsaw to hear new First Secretary of the Polish Communist Party Wladyslaw Gomulka. Gomulka announced the Soviet Union had backed down from threat to militarily intervene if he was placed in leadership. Hungarian insurrection began when unarmed students in Budapest, demonstrating in solidarity with Poles and for democratic rights, were shot down by security police.

'The incessant mistakes of the Comers, the widespread bureaucracy : agement . . . have led to total collaj no counter-revolution, organized by reactionaries. It was the upsurge of ple in which rank-and-file communi against a police dictatorship dresse cialist society — a police dictatorsh by Soviet armed might.'

1956 Hungarian revolution: 'for s

By Suzanne Haig

Twenty-five years ago, the workers, farmers, students, and soldiers of Hungary rose up against injustice and oppression.

They demanded an end to their country's economic, political, and cultural domination by Moscow. They called for a halt to censorship, the secret police, inequality, economic mismanagement perpetrated by a privileged bureaucracy ruling in the interest of the working class in name only.

What kind of revolution occurred in Hungary? A brief glance at that historic struggle sheds light on this question and also helps explain the upsurge in progress today in Poland.

The insurrection

On October 23, 1956, students demonstrated in Budapest demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, friendship with the Soviet Union based on equality, free elections, and freedom of speech.

The demonstration was inspired by the events in Poland, where Communist Party leaders, under pressure from the population, had set up a liberal regime headed by Wladyslaw Gomulka, in defiance of Moscow's threats of armed intervention.

The actions in Poland and Hungary were part of the ferment sweeping Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, which was deepened by the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1956. There, Nikita Khrushchev had been forced to publicly reveal and repudiate the crimes committed under Joseph Stalin's rule.

Reforms were promised, but few came.

When the Budapest students, joined by delegations of workers, marched to the radio station to ask that their demands be broadcast, the hated security police shot into the crowd, wounding and killing unarmed demonstrators.

Word spread, and the Budapest population took to the streets — but this time they were armed.

The government, headed by Erno Gero, a bureaucrat totally beholden to Moscow, immediately called for Soviet troops. At the same time — combining force with concessions — Imre Nagy was installed as premier on October 24 to help win back support for the regime. Nagy had been ousted from the leadership in 1955 because of his differences with Moscow.

Many Hungarians believed Nagy would better serve the interests of the working class. However, once in power, Nagy supported the use of Soviet troops against the uprising and called the freedom fighters traitors and counter-revolutionaries.

On October 24, Soviet tanks and artillery fired on demonstrators in Budapest, killing hundreds of women, men, and children. This action sparked a nationwide armed insurrection and general strike.

Workers, students, and soldiers set up a national network of revolutionary councils, like those that sprang up in the 1905 and 1917 revolutions in Russia under the name of soviets. Their central demand was for legal recognition as permanent political bodies with sole authority in the management of industry.

These organs of insurrection, consist-

ing of delegates from factories, mines, universities, and army units, had the total allegiance of the population and virtually controlled the country.

Combining both legislative and executive functions, they organized the distribution of food and medical supplies, and maintained public order. Under their power, political prisoners were freed, newspapers expressing a wide spectrum of views flourished, and new political parties began to form.

The revolution was out of the Nagy government's control. Fraternizing between Hungarian workers and Soviet soldiers — who thought they had come to fight fascists — was increasing.

With the workers councils posing a threat not only to the continued rule of the bureaucracy in Hungary, but to Moscow itself, the Soviet rulers decided that force was the only alternative. On November 4, Moscow ordered its troops, now greatly reinforced, to crush the insurrection.

The Nagy regime was removed and Moscow installed a government headed by Janos Kadar.

After ten days of bitter fighting, and 20,000 Hungarians killed, the population laid down its arms. But the workers, fed by the farmers, continued their general strike and political activities.

The Kadar government was totally discredited. For a time, the only real power that existed was the Soviet Army on the one side and the workers councils on the other.

Despite a decree dissolving the workers councils, the arrests of central council leaders, and the threat of executions for striking, the Hungarian

workers held a final successful general strike, December 11-12, to show their total lack of confidence in Kadar. Then the majority went back to work.

Moving cautiously, the Kadar regime gradually established its control. Wage increases were granted at first, but by June 1957 hundreds of workers, journalists, and Communist Party militants were imprisoned, executed, or sent into exile. By that time, the workers had dissolved most of the councils, since the government had deprived them of all power.

Anxious to avoid a resurgence of the working class, Kadar has been forced to grant limited concessions over the years. Economic reforms have included a greater emphasis on consumer goods. Private farms along with the state farms are given encouragement to produce. The regime so far has allowed dissidents the right to travel and publish abroad. Underground literature is openly distributed. Unions have some say in the appointment of plant managers.

Repulsed by the repression against the Hungarian workers' upsurge, thousands of members of Communist Parties around the world resigned.

Poland today

Today, Moscow and Warsaw claim that Solidarity, the independent union in Poland, is antisocialist and counter-revolutionary. In Hungary, the use of Soviet troops was justified by the same arguments.

But how did the workers, students, and soldiers in 1956 describe their goals?

The Unified Workers Council in the

Workers as CP boss is replaced

the party ranks. As the Central Committee meeting opened on October 16, the party announced the expulsion of Stefan Bratkowski, the head of the Union of Polish Journalists and a prominent advocate of collaboration with Solidarity. The day before, Bogdan Lis, an organizer of the August 1980 strikes in Gdansk and a national leader of Solidarity, was also expelled. At the same time, fifteen members of the Central Committee who also belonged to Solidarity resigned their membership in the union.

These moves are clearly aimed at intimidating the 1 million party members who have joined Solidarity. But the outcome of this is not certain. A recent informal survey organized by the party leadership among the ranks found that the loyalty of these members toward Solidarity is greater than it is toward the party.

A similar survey among the army ranks found more support for the party leadership than had been expected — but not in the eventuality of an all-out

confrontation with Solidarity.

These surveys underline the party leadership's continued political weakness. So despite the Central Committee's sharp threats, it has also continued to hold out the prospect of new compromises.

In fact, the same day as Kania's ouster, the government agreed to Solidarity's demand for the establishment of a permanent economic council — with the union's participation — to oversee vital market supplies and other economic matters.

Three days earlier, on October 15, it also agreed to a temporary freeze on food prices. This agreement, which followed six hours of negotiations with Solidarity, was reached under the threat of a nationwide general strike and in the midst of a series of scattered labor actions.

Despite a call by the Solidarity leadership for a halt to all strikes pending the outcome of the talks with the government, some 22,000 workers went on

strike October 13 to protest food shortages and higher food prices.

About 10,000 struck in Tomaszow Mazowiecki and Niewiadom in central Poland, and 12,000 women workers occupied their textile mills in Zyrardow, near Warsaw.

Intercity bus drivers in the Piotrkow Trybunalski region, where food shortages are critical, were also refusing to work. And strike alerts were in effect in the northeastern province of Suwalki and in some factories in Szczecin, Czeszochowa, and Skierniewice.

But the ferment was not limited to the question of food supplies. In Ostroleka, in the northeast, some 10,000 Solidarity members marched through the streets to protest the police confiscation of local union bulletins.

'A self-governed Poland'

In contrast to the bureaucracy's threats and continual economic mismanagement of the country, Solidarity has offered working people the vision of a new Poland.

At Solidarity's recent national congress, it adopted a program for far-reaching changes in the way the economy is run. In place of the present system of bureaucratic privilege and mismanagement, it called for genuine workers control over the factories and the involvement of society as a whole in the making of overall economic decisions.

Recognizing that economic reform cannot succeed without the simultaneous establishment of workers democracy, Solidarity's program also called for free elections to all levels of government, directly challenging the party's monopoly on political power.

"We want to build a self-governed Poland," Solidarity's program proclaimed.

That is the vision that the immense majority of Poland's working people are for. And whichever bureaucrat holds formal reins of power, the authorities will not be able to stop the Polish people from trying to transform that vision into a reality.

unist leadership mismanaged. This was fascists and whole people took part, up as a so-called backed up



Left, Hungarian freedom fighters, among whom were many young women, advance from cover to investigate stationary Soviet tank. Right, national congress of Poland's independent union, Solidarity, held last month in Gdansk. Many of demands of Polish workers and farmers are identical to those raised by Hungarian revolutionists in 1956.

socialism on a democratic basis'

industrial region of Borsod on October 25 demanded that a government "composed of communists devoted to the principle of proletarian internationalism, who are above all Hungarians and respect our national traditions."

On November 2, the United Federation of Hungarian Youth declared, "We don't want a return to the fascism of Admiral Horthy [the dictator who ruled before World War II]. We will not give back the factories to the capitalists or the land to the landlords."

An eight-point program issued by Hungarian army officers contained a point calling for the "creation of Hungarian socialism on a really democratic basis."

Peter Fryer, a correspondent for the British Communist Party paper, the *Daily Worker*, was in Hungary at the time, and later resigned from the CP because of its opposition to the Hungarian revolution. The following is part of a dispatch his paper refused to publish.

"After eleven years, the incessant mistakes of the Communist leaders, the brutality of the State Security Police, the widespread bureaucracy and mismanagement, the bungling, the arbitrary methods and the lies have led to total collapse.

"This was no counterrevolution, organized by fascists and reactionaries. It was the upsurge of a whole people, in which rank-and-file Communists took part, against a police dictatorship dressed up as a Socialist society — a police dictatorship backed up by Soviet armed might."

It is true that former Hungarian capitalists and landowners who were in exile hoped to use the insurrection to turn

back the nationalized property relations and planned economy, and restore themselves to power. The major imperialist countries also wanted to take advantage of events to weaken new property relations.

Defense against capitalism

To restore capitalism, however, this scattered group — which had lost its power and property right after World War II — would have had to face a mobilized and powerful working class, to whom the major sections of society looked for leadership. They would have had to organize a military force capable of smashing these revolutionary organizations thrown up by the workers before even beginning to restore their rule.

As Peter Fryer wrote, "[T]he danger of counter-revolution is not the same thing as the success of counter-revolution. And between the two lay a powerful and significant barrier, which I for one was prepared to put my trust in: the will of the Hungarian people not to return to capitalism."

The real danger to the nationalized property relations and the planned economy of post-capitalist societies like Hungary, Poland, or the Soviet Union — whether in 1956 or 1981 — is not a mobilized working class, organized into its own revolutionary organizations with their own leadership.

The danger is the opposite: the demoralization, demobilization, and confusion created by the totalitarian rule of the privileged bureaucratic castes in these countries, done in the name of the working class and socialism.

The imperialist rulers utilize this fact. They used the invasion of Hun-

gary, like the threat of Soviet intervention into Poland, to smear socialism. They whip up a demagogic propaganda campaign against the bureaucracy's brutal repression to take the heat off their own military aggression. In 1956, it was the British, French, and Israeli invasion of Egypt. In 1981, it is the U.S. military aid to dictatorships in Central America, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East.

Nine million fascists?

In spite of Moscow's claims, Soviet tanks were not sent into Hungary to defeat CIA-inspired counterrevolutionaries and fascists. Then, as today in Poland, the Soviet bureaucrats and their minions feared the organized power of the working class itself, which directly threatened their rule.

The Hungarian workers illustrated this with grim irony. A notice posted in Budapest read: "Nine million fascist counterrevolutionaries, all former factory owners, bankers, cardinals, remain hidden in the country."

"Their main strongholds are the aristocratic residential districts of Csepel and Ujpest [both working-class districts]. Fortunately there are still six real Hungarians left who have built a government to save the country."

Bitter lesson

In Hungary, the workers' uprising was crushed. In Poland, the Gomulka regime demobilized the workers' movement there, and by 1958 censorship and repression prevailed. Workers in Eastern Europe learned a bitter lesson from these experiences: the working class and their allies cannot turn to a repre-

sentative of the bureaucratic apparatus to solve their problems. They must rely on their own organized power.

Imre Nagy in Hungary, like Wladislaw Gomulka in Poland, was seen by many workers as more representative of their interests. But these bureaucrats only feigned support to the demands of the people in order to demobilize the mass movement. They had no intention of sharing power with the working class.

It is no coincidence that the Polish workers made the formation of an independent union their major demand during the strikes last August. They are learning that, regardless of the promises of individual government officials or a particular wing of the bureaucracy, they can only rely on their own organized political power.

In the process of their struggle for workers' control of the factories, democratic rights, and an end to the economic crisis, the workers and farmers in Poland will come to see the need of replacing the bureaucracy with a workers government.

The Hungarian revolution gave working people all over the world a glimpse of the kind of power that workers and their allies can wield. And if the upsurge frightened Moscow, it also frightened the rulers in the capitalist countries.

What one reporter wrote in the French capitalist journal, *Franc-tireur* about Poland in 1956, applied equally to Hungary in 1956: "The Polish people dream of socialism with independence and liberty. If they win it, their example will be decisive for the future of Europe."

And it applies to Poland in 1981.

Seek emergency order to halt immigration blacklist

Challenge government move to 'proscribe' SWP

By Larry Seigle

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is seeking an emergency court order to stop the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) from ruling the SWP to be a "proscribed" organization. Foreign-born members and supporters of "proscribed" groups are subject to deportation on purely political grounds.

Attorneys for the socialists will ask U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa to immediately issue a preliminary injunction to halt INS plans to add the SWP to its list of forbidden groups.

The SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) have already asked Griesa for a permanent ruling that the INS has no authority, under the Constitution, to declare organizations "proscribed." Griesa has presided over the lawsuit brought by the YSA and SWP against the FBI, CIA, and INS.

The suit, which was filed in 1973, went to trial last spring. The request for a permanent injunction against the INS practice of blacklisting groups is included in the 600-page brief filed by the SWP and YSA last month.

However, the additional demand for a preliminary injunction became necessary because the INS is threatening to "proscribe" the SWP before Griesa reaches his final decision in the suit. If granted, the preliminary injunction would remain in effect until Griesa's ruling on the case as a whole is handed down.

In a letter to SWP attorney Margaret Winter, the INS states that a decision to "proscribe" the SWP might come as early as January. Griesa's decision on the SWP suit is not anticipated before late spring or summer (see box).

Defending foreign-born

"By moving for a preliminary injunction now," explained Winter, "we are fighting to protect the rights of thousands of foreign-born members and supporters of the SWP and YSA who might be in danger if the INS has a free hand to proceed against the SWP."

The Political Rights Defense Fund is urging that the legal steps to block the INS plans be backed up with local news conferences, picket lines at INS offices, public meetings, and other forms of protest.

"This is a situation that requires immediate action by all supporters of the democratic rights of the foreign-born," said John Studer, executive director of PRDF.

The threat to deport members and supporters of the SWP was first raised in the middle of the trial of the SWP suit. On April 24, the INS proclaimed that it had suddenly found that "good reason exists to believe" that the SWP is guilty of advocating "world communism," which the INS defines to mean support for "Communist totalitarian dictatorship."

The INS announced that it had "begun a review of the nature of the Socialist Workers Party to determine whether its members or affiliates [supporters] are excludable or deportable. . . ."

This threat is aimed at intimidating the SWP and YSA into backing off from their fight to expose antidemocratic government practices. It is also directed at foreign-born workers and students, warning them not to get too near the SWP and YSA.

Following the trial, the SWP wrote to the INS "formally requesting that the INS agree to provide written notification well in advance of the time a decision on whether or not the SWP is a 'proscribed' organization is to be made. We further request that the SWP

New trial schedule

A few weeks back, we reported that in October the government was supposed to submit its reply to the brief filed by the SWP and YSA in their suit against the secret police. Judge Thomas Griesa had scheduled November 9 as the date for beginning the courtroom arguments on the legal issues in the case.

That schedule has now been pushed back considerably. The reason is that the lawyers for the FBI, CIA, and INS have stated that they will not be able

to complete their response until December.

When the government finally does present its defenses, the socialists' attorneys will be given an opportunity to submit further written arguments.

Although no new date has been set, it is unlikely that the oral arguments will be heard until January or February. After that, the judge will begin to write his decision.

L.S.

be afforded a hearing, prior to a decision, where evidence on behalf of the SWP can be presented and contrary evidence, if any, can be confronted."

In a response dated October 1, INS Acting Commissioner Doris Meissner flatly rejected the demand for prior notice and a hearing. She stated that "there is no requirement or provision" for such procedures. Meissner also indicated that the INS ruling should be expected shortly after "the end of this year."

The power of the INS to "proscribe" organizations has never before been subjected to a court challenge. Prior to the SWP suit, no one outside the government even knew that the INS was doing such a thing.

The current immigration law, adopted at the height of the McCarthyite witch-hunt in 1952, explicitly names the Communist Party as "proscribed." However, no other organizations are listed, and no procedure is established for creating a list.

Blacklists uncovered

One of the most important gains of the long legal battle the SWP and YSA have been waging against the political police has been the uncovering of the immigration cops' secret blacklist.

Among the thousands of pages of FBI documents the socialists were able to pry out of the government were references to something called the "Attorney General's Subversive Deportation Program."

On the basis of such discoveries, the

socialists were able, in November, 1980, to add the INS as a defendant in their lawsuit. The INS had not previously been part of the case against the secret police.

Having won this round, the SWP and YSA then forced the government to produce INS documents, revealing for the first time many details of the INS operation as a political police force.

These documents showed, among other things:

- A secret blacklist of "subversive" organizations used to screen out immigrants solely on the basis of their political affiliations.

- An INS "subversive index," listing names of non-citizens and citizens alike.

- Sections of an INS Handbook, currently in use, which suggests that technical pretexts be used to deport "subversives." This Handbook states, "The most important weapons used by this Service in combating the Communist conspiracy are the exclusion and deportation processes."

The American people also learned, for the first time, that the INS investigates groups in the United States, and places ones it doesn't like on the "proscribed" list.

Secret proceedings

Moreover, according to the INS, it has the right to rule against an organization on the basis of secret proceedings. The victimized groups have no right to refute accusations against

them, or to challenge statements from stoolpigeons and other equally untrustworthy sources. No appeal is allowed.

In fact, the group is never even told it is being proscribed. Individuals who are deported on the grounds of membership in such a group are never told that they are guilty of belonging to an outlawed group, because the designation itself is kept secret.

There is no way to tell which U.S. organizations, and how many, are "proscribed." What we do know is that the SWP was first placed in this category in 1956.

However, in 1962, a federal appeals court overturned a deportation order against a former SWP member, concluding that the INS had produced "no substantial evidence" against the party.

After that ruling, the INS expended great energy trying to come up with evidence to substantiate its accusations against the SWP. But in 1966 it finally concluded that "evidence is not available" to prove the charges. As a result, the INS had to remove the SWP from the "proscribed" category.

That was how things remained until the INS announced, in the midst of the SWP trial, that it was once again investigating the "nature" of the party.

Law unconstitutional

In their brief arguing that the FBI, CIA, and INS are guilty of violating the Constitution, the SWP and YSA point out that the immigration law does not give the INS any authority to maintain listings of "proscribed" organizations, and if it did, the law would be unconstitutional.

The brief states that, "only the fig leaf of an internal INS 'operations instruction' covers the naked assertion of administrative power to stigmatize United States political organizations as 'proscribed' . . . and to do so without notice to the affected organization, without hearing, and without right to appeal."

The socialists argue that any INS listing of organizations as "proscribed" is "constitutionally invalid where the organizations are deprived of a due process hearing to challenge the designation."

Political Rights Defense Fund



Just published

The Political Rights Defense Fund has just made available for public sale the 600 page brief filed on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The brief is a thorough summary of the facts about government crimes against democratic rights brought to light as a result of the socialist suit. It also provides a comprehensive analysis of the fundamental constitutional issues at stake in this case.

Copies are available for \$10 from PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

- ☐ Please send me a copy of the brief. I enclose \$10.
- ☐ Please send more information on the SWP and YSA fight against the political police.
- ☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____ to help PRDF continue its activities.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____



INS official Glenn Bertness testified April 30 at trial of socialist lawsuit on agency's efforts to place SWP on list of 'proscribed' organizations.

INS bars key evidence at hearing Iranian student fights for right to stay in U.S.

By Michael Baumann

BALTIMORE — Can Reagan's immigration cops single out an Iranian student for deportation just because they don't like her socialist views?

This was the question posed in a crowded Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) courtroom here October 15.

The immediate verdict is still out: INS Judge Joan Arrowsmith postponed a decision on the case. But the issue is clear.

In the dock at the deportation hearing was Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, a twenty-year-old computer science major at Baltimore's Morgan State University.

Although she has been in the United States since 1977, Hariri-Vijeh's difficulties with the INS did not begin until earlier this year, less than three weeks after she joined the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

From that point on the INS made clear she was no longer welcome in the "land of the free." Visited at her home by INS investigators, hauled down to headquarters for fingerprinting and interrogation, she was then ordered to appear at a hearing to "show cause" why she should not be shipped out of the country.

Such hearings are not textbook exercises in democracy. They are held in an INS courtroom, before an INS judge, who hears the case presented by an INS prosecutor.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is organizing support for Hariri-Vijeh's right to remain in the United States, sponsored a pre-hearing picket line to help get out the truth about the case.

Attended by thirty people representing more than a dozen unions and organizations, the picket dramatized the support Hariri-Vijeh has won across the country.

In their chants and signs, the demonstrators pointed to the government's hypocrisy in welcoming the shah of Iran, one of the world's most notorious butchers, while trying to deport Hariri-Vijeh.

Once Hariri-Vijeh and her supporters entered the courtroom, the government resumed control.

Defense barred

None of the extensive testimony the defense had planned to introduce was allowed. This had ranged from professors at Morgan State to witnesses prepared to document the INS policy of singling out political activists for deportation.

In fact, Hariri-Vijeh herself was allowed to testify for only a few min-

utes just prior to the close of the hearing.

As she attempted to make clear, the facts in the case are quite simple, and up to a certain point are contested by no one.

Hariri-Vijeh entered the United States in 1977 at the age of sixteen, completed high school, and applied to several colleges.

She was not accepted at any because she lacked two necessary documents — a student visa and a certificate of competency in English.

Caught in a Catch-22 situation, she found that by the time she got the English certificate her student visa had expired.

In November 1979 she was accepted at Morgan State. As an enrolled student, she was now eligible to get her student visa renewed. This however was the period of intense anti-Iranian hysteria whipped up by the Carter administration. Under orders from Carter, the INS was to deport every Iranian they could nail on even the slightest technicality. All Iranian students were ordered to report to the INS to have their papers scrutinized.

Hariri-Vijeh, like thousands of other Iranian students, stayed as far away from the INS as possible. She did not try to renew her visa, and she did not report to the INS under Carter's "round-up" order.

This is the point at which agreement stops.

The government claims that these are all the facts in the case.

At the hearing INS prosecuting attorney Lilian Daly denied up and down that there had been any political considerations in the decision to deport Hariri-Vijeh. In fact, she claimed, the INS did not even know she was a socialist until after deportation proceedings had been initiated. The fact that INS cops swooped down on her home only three weeks after she joined the YSA was just a coincidence.

Hariri-Vijeh and her attorney Shelley Davis say this is nonsense.

'Subversive' deportations

Davis pointed out to the judge that the INS has for years attempted to deport people the government considers "subversive," and that it is currently reviewing whether members of the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) can openly be subjected to this treatment. Davis pointed to the evidence of FBI-INS collusion in deporting radicals that has been unearthed by the SWP and YSA suit against the government.

Davis said a favored tactic of the INS to deport so-called "subversives" is to seek technical grounds for their



Picket line outside INS courtroom on day of hearing protested government attempts to deport Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh.

Defense effort at Morgan St.

Civil rights are deeply respected at Morgan State University, one of the leading Black colleges in the United States.

So is Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh. "There probably isn't a student on the campus who doesn't know about Mojgan and the INS," said Mark Blowe, a reporter for the campus newspaper *Spokesman* who attended the hearing.

Defenders of Hariri-Vijeh's right to remain in the United States to complete her education have blanketed the campus with more than a thousand leaflets explaining the issues in the case.

Support is pervasive and vocal. Stu-

dent after student stopped by a literature table set up on campus last week to talk to Hariri-Vijeh, get the latest news on the case, and sign the petition of protest to the INS.

The day before the hearing, a dozen students attended a campus meeting to find out more about the YSA and how they could help Hariri-Vijeh in her fight to stay.

"I learned something today, about our system of government," said one after the meeting. "Mojgan's intentions are for the people. That's what's causing her problems with the government."

— M.B.

deportations, to conceal the political nature of the moves. This tactic is even encouraged in the INS Investigator's Handbook.

The judge refused to allow the defense to submit evidence of the INS harassment of the YSA and SWP members, claiming it was not relevant to this case.

Missing documents

Davis had earlier been able to get Hariri-Vijeh's INS file under the Freedom of Information Act. Nothing in the file shows any trace of political harassment — but key documents are missing.

There is, for example, no report at all of the investigation of Hariri-Vijeh that led INS officers to her home. Also

mysteriously absent is the written record of an INS interrogation of Hariri-Vijeh, including a written statement she signed after the interview. The INS agents asked her, among other things, about her attitude toward the Iranian revolution.

At the hearing, the INS prosecutor claimed that none of these documents exist "to my knowledge."

The judge also rejected a defense motion for a subpoena to the FBI requiring them to turn over all files on Hariri-Vijeh.

In the event of an adverse ruling, Davis told the *Militant*, the judge's flat refusal to allow the defense to obtain and present evidence of the political character of the case will be a central issue in the appeals.

Funds needed in deportation battle

By Matthew Herreshoff

Public support — telegrams, petitions, letters, picket lines, news conferences and financial contributions — played a big role in the October 15 deportation hearing of Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh.

At the hearing, Immigration and Naturalization (INS) lawyers complained of the huge number of protests they have received.

Funds raised by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) have made it possible for this legal and political fight to be waged. The continuing efforts to block the deportation of Hariri-Vijeh is just one of the campaigns for which PRDF has to find the money.

The major item in the PRDF budget is the continuing costs of the battle with the FBI, CIA, and INS now going

on in federal court in New York. Legal work in the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against police spying is going full speed ahead, as briefs are being filed in preparation for oral arguments before Judge Thomas Griesa.

And to get out the truth about the government's crimes against democratic rights — through tours, rallies, and literature — will cost even more.

That is why PRDF is conducting a campaign to raise \$125,000 this fall. Without this money, PRDF will not be able to continue its work.

So far, \$33,500 has been contributed. A good start. But there are many pledges outstanding, and there is a long way to go.

Starting next month, PRDF will be holding rallies in nearly fifty cities

around the country to build support for the fight for democratic rights. Money raised at these events will help reach the \$125,000 goal.

But if the pace of contributions isn't picked up right now, even this will not be enough to reach the goal. If you would like to help keep PRDF afloat and fighting, send in the coupon below.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution \$_____ to keep the fight going against the FBI, CIA, and INS.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Return to: PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.



MOJGAN HARIRI-VIJEH
Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Chicago suit settled

Judge silences critics of Red Squad deal

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO — Federal District Judge Susan Getzendanner abruptly adjourned a day-long hearing held here October 9 on a proposed settlement of a suit against city police spying without letting attorneys representing those who want to block the deal be heard.

The settlement, being promoted by the Alliance to End Repression, the American Civil Liberties Union, and other groups, would bring an end to a seven-year legal battle with the Chicago cops.

Opponents of the settlement include the People's Law Office, which has represented the family of slain Black Panther leader Fred Hampton; the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party; the National Conference of Black Lawyers; and several other organizations.

Attorneys for opponents of the proposed settlement were excluded from a secret meeting Judge Getzendanner held a week before the hearing with lawyers for the Chicago cops and the settlement proponents. A hearing last spring in Getzendanner's courtroom, on a proposed settlement with the FBI, had been attended by hundreds of protesters, mostly Blacks. The purpose of the private meeting was to choreograph the second hearing so that objectors to the proposed deal would be effectively silenced.

When attorneys at the hearing objected to the unfair allocation of time, which gave almost the whole day to those who favored settling the case with the Chicago cops, Getzendanner brushed them off. Finally, when People's Law Office attorney Flint Taylor strenuously protested the secret meeting the judge had held, Getzendanner had heard enough.

"That's it," the judge snapped, rising from her chair. "Court is adjourned."

Objectors to the settlement, she proclaimed, would be heard in "closed court." To find out when, she told the stunned attorneys, "read the law bulletin." She then walked out of the courtroom.

Sanitizing the cops

Opponents of the settlement point out that it includes nothing declaring that



Militant Brian Shannon

Police beat antiwar demonstrators in Chicago, 1968. Agreement ending lawsuit lets cops off the hook despite record of illegal spying and harassment.

the Chicago Red Squad did anything unlawful when it spied on and disrupted Black groups, unions, and antiwar and socialist organizations. Nor does it include a flat ban on police spying on political activity.

Most important, they argue that the settlement gives the cops the seal of approval from people who claim to be speaking for democratic rights, at the very moment when the need to defend those rights against attack by the political police is increasing.

Instead of arming Chicagoans with the facts of what the Red Squad has done and is doing today, the settlement backers sanitize the cops' dirty work and promote the illusion that such activity has ended.

Peter Fitzpatrick, attorney for Mayor Jane Byrne and the Chicago cops, praised the settlement as "in the best in-

terests of the Chicago police department."

He told Judge Getzendanner that the agreement was reached when Richard Gutman, attorney for the victims of cop spying, agreed to drop the demand for "a ban on all police surveillance . . . of all political activity."

The case that is now being buried by the judge and the lawyers grew out of revelations in the mid 1970s of massive spying and disruption in Chicago involving the Red Squad, the federal political police, and right-wing terrorist groups such as the Legion of Justice.

Blacks, Puerto Ricans

The targets of these illegal activities include such groups as the Steelworkers union, the United Auto Workers, the Teamsters, the NAACP, Operation PUSH, and the Black Panther Party.

Also victimized were the Communist Party and the SWP and YSA.

The cops have subjected the Black and Puerto Rican communities to the worst crimes.

Roberto Caldero of the Movimiento Liberación Nacional, a Puerto Rican independence group, attacked the provisions of the settlement that endorse the cops' campaign against political activists in the name of combatting "terrorism." He pointed out that "terrorism" is merely a code word the cops use to attack the Puerto Rican community. He detailed the pattern of sustained police terror against Puerto Rican activists over the past five years, including special treatment for fighters for independence for Puerto Rico.

Despite the objections from the victims of police spying, the judge is virtually certain to approve the deal.

Chicago: the politics of retreat

By Larry Seigle

Unfortunately, the united fight necessary to expose and block the deal now being made with the Chicago cops has not occurred. In fact, forces that last spring opposed the settlement of a similar case against the FBI are now supporting the arrangement with Mayor Jane Byrne and her police department.

For example, Ted Pearson of the Communist Party, speaking at the hearing on the city settlement, said that the CP "joins . . . in welcoming the agreement with the City of Chicago. It is a net gain in the struggle to strengthen the Bill of Rights."

Other supporters of the settlement include the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Citizens Party, and the Antonio Maceo Brigade. One of the major proponents of the deal is Matt Piers, who is National Chairperson of the "Government Repression and Police Crimes Committee" of the National Lawyers Guild.

Piers and other "civil libertarian" lawyers have been trying to answer the criticisms of their capitulation to Byrne and her Red Squad. In a brochure they are circulating in Chicago, they reveal the political perspective that has led them to this utterly reac-

tionary stand. It is the politics of retreat.

In the brochure, these lawyers argue that now is not the time to wage legal fights against the political police. They argue that the settlements reached with the FBI, CIA, and the Chicago cops "are better than what would likely have been obtained" if they had kept on fighting the case and brought the political police to trial.

They assert, "It is virtually certain that the case would be appealed to the Nixon-Reagan Supreme Court, with the clear danger of getting a politically disastrous legal decision there."

With a left flourish, these attorneys even argue that the critics who demand that they not give up the legal fight are guilty of holding illusions in the courts. "This is a political problem, not a legal problem," don't you see. "While the courts can be useful, the battles to defend political rights are ultimately won by organized popular movements, not by lawyers and courts."

They accuse critics of the settlement, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance being prominent among them, of naively believing that "the current U.S. Supreme Court is on your side."

It is worth noting that, while arguing that "a popular movement" is necessary to protect democratic rights, these lawyers propose no steps to create such a movement. Nor have they taken any.

In the face of the growing attacks on our democratic rights being waged by the ruling class, its cops and its courts, their strategy is to quietly give ground . . . not set bad legal precedents.

But it is not only the "current" Supreme Court that is not on our side. The Supreme Court has never been on our side. Nor will it be, ever. At times, favorable decisions have been wrested from the courts by popular struggles. That is the only way that democratic rights have ever been won or protected. No rights have ever been won by keeping quiet.

The most dangerous assumption behind their strategy of retreating is that things will get better if we silently wait it out, like a storm that passes. But politics doesn't work like the weather.

The rulers of this country are driven by the crisis facing the capitalist system to accelerate their attacks on our living standards and our rights. This offensive is not a temporary phe-

nomenon.

The rulers' drive will not be slowed by capitulating to it; it will be speeded up.

Auto workers are learning that by capitulating to the giveback demands of Chrysler, the UAW leadership only weakened the position of auto workers in their fight to defend their standard of living. Women have learned that by scuttling the fight for abortion rights so as not to "alienate" legislators who might vote for the Equal Rights Amendment, the leaders of the National Organization for Women only succeeded in emboldening the right wing and demoralizing women's rights fighters. This set back the fight to win the ERA.

If liberal lawyers think the "current" Supreme Court is bad, wait until they see the Supreme Court decisions that will come down one, two, or five years from now if their strategy of retreating rather than fighting prevails!

The problem indeed is a political one. By engineering betrayals like the Chicago deal, and lending the civil liberties "seal of approval" to the political police, the supporters of the settlement are politically sabotaging the fight for democratic rights.

NOW urges drafting women to aid U.S. army

Printed below are excerpts from the first part of an 'amicus curiae' (friend-of-the-court) brief filed by the National Organization for Women (NOW) in the recent draft registration case that was before the Supreme Court.

In 1971, several draft-age men filed a lawsuit asking that the draft be declared unconstitutional because it only included men. Subsequently, as a result of massive opposition to the draft and the Vietnam War, conscription was abolished in 1973.

In February 1980, President James Carter moved to reinstitute draft registration and proposed — in the name of women's equality — that women be included.

This was an attempt to win support for the capitalist government's draft and its military forces by giving them a 'progressive' veneer.

It was also an attempt to shift the axis of public debate from whether there should be any draft at all, to who should be drafted.

It was in this context that the 1971 lawsuit was revived, and the government used it to advance its preparation for war. On June 25, 1981, the Supreme Court ruled that registration and the draft for men was constitutional.

This decision was opposed by the NOW leadership, not because it brought us a step closer to a new Vietnam, but because it "discriminates" against women.

At NOW's recent national conference, there was a lot of discussion and debate over NOW's position on the draft and its broader implications for the fight for women's rights.

In an article handed out at the conference, the NOW leadership claimed that their position is against registration and the draft, but if men are to be registered and drafted, women should go too.

The fact is that the 'amicus' brief argues, "Compulsory universal military service is central to the concept of citizenship in a democracy."

The brief contains not one word of opposition to the draft. It argues that drafting women would strengthen the U.S. military and would advance the fight for women's rights, without ever taking up the central question — is there any reason that the majority of women — or men — should want to strengthen the U.S. military?

The brief paints the military as just another job, instead of explaining the class interests it is designed to defend. Its purpose is to defend the profits of big business around the world, and to beat back the struggles of the oppressed and exploited.

The brief thus assumes that the interests of women and those of the Pentagon, Wall Street, and Washington are one and the same.

At the conference, NOW President Eleanor Smeal explained that she was one of the authors of the brief and that it was "one of the best briefs ever written by the organization."

The discussion on the relationship of the women's liberation movement to the draft, the military, and the war drive is key to the future of the fight for women's rights.

That's why the 'Militant' is printing excerpts from the first part of the brief this week, which basically argue how drafting women would help the military.

Next week we'll reprint excerpts from the section that argues how drafting women would advance the fight for women's rights.

INTEREST OF AMICUS

NOW believes that this case poses an issue of critical importance to the achievement of full equality between the sexes. The requirement to register and be classified for eligibility for induction into the armed forces is a responsibility which NOW believes, if imposed at all, must be imposed equitably on all members of society who are capable of serving, irrespective of gender.

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

This case involves the constitutionality of those provisions of the Military Selective Service Act (MSSA), which require all male citizens and residents of the United States between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six to register for eligibility for induction into the Armed Forces. The goal of the MSSA is to register a pool of individuals who can be inducted into military service in the event of a national emergency. The MSSA neither requires nor permits any women to register and be classified.

The sole issue presented is whether the exclusion of all women from the right to register and be eligible for induction violates the fifth amendment to the United States Constitution.

The line drawn by the MSSA is a rigid gender line which no woman can cross. It is blatant and harmful



Left: Is it in the interest of U.S. women to be part of capitalist army? Pentagon wants to use this army to crush freedom struggles like Nicaragua, right, in which women play a central role.

discrimination on the basis of sex, and in order to survive constitutional challenge, it must bear a substantial relationship to an important governmental purpose. It utterly fails that test. Indeed, it cannot even pass the rational relationship test which the government asserts is applicable. By excluding women from eligibility, the Act substantially reduces the quality of the pool from which the members of the armed forces are drawn.

The exclusion of women from registration has a profound and harmful impact on women and society as a whole. The exclusion reinforces the sex-role stereotypes harmful to women that have proven so resistant to change. By giving a governmental imprimatur to these stereotypes, the MSSA sanctions a continuing false view of women as weak and unfit to serve their country. This stereotype of women as incapable of defending their country or themselves causes harm to women by increasing the prospect of violence in their daily lives. The military, a powerful and central social institution, should not be permitted to continue to support sex-role stereotyping that locks women into the status quo.

The MSSA also harms women by excluding them from the compulsory involvement in the community's survival that is perceived as entitling people to lead it and derive from it the full rights and privileges of citizenship. Permitting women to serve as volunteers is not the equivalent of registering them and does not alleviate the constitutional infirmity of a male-only registration.

In sum, the exclusion of women from registration disserves the goal of an effective military and powerfully reinforces harmful stereotyped beliefs about women and their role in our society. The cycle of old expectations and behaviors cannot be broken as long as the government, through the exclusion of women from registration, continues to lend unwarranted credence to the stereotypes that fuel that cycle. The decision of the district court declaring the challenged provisions of the Selective Service Act unconstitutional should be affirmed by this Court.

ARGUMENT

I. The Exclusion of Women from Registration Is A Denial of Equal Protection of The Laws.

The goal of the MSSA is to register a pool of individuals who, in the event of a national emergency, can be inducted promptly into the armed forces. By requiring all males and no females to register for possible induction into the armed forces, the MSSA tells all women, that solely because of their gender, they will not be called upon to serve and defend their country, that they will not be relied upon in time of greatest national need. It thus announces to women (and their male compatriots) that women constitute a different — and inevitably lesser — class from all men on the basis of gender. The exclusion of women from the requirements of the MSSA is sex discrimination, pure and simple.

First, from the standpoint of sheer numbers, the goal of the MSSA is badly served by excluding all women. Between 1980 and 1992 the population of young males will decrease by almost 25 percent. The

decreasing male population has in fact been one of the pragmatic reasons for the increased utilization of women in the armed services in the past decade.

Second, utilization of women ensures a higher quality pool of registrants. Common sense dictates that selection from a pool including men and women will yield a better quality force than will the arbitrary elimination of one-half the potential pool. Women today are an important factor in our nation's workforce and an essential part of the technically trained and trainable pool of young people needed to operate the modern military. In light of the increasingly technological nature of the current military, the female percentage in the pool of people with the required skills is steadily increasing. Indeed, women are a vital part of the administrative, computer, communications, medical and other technical personnel of this nation, all of whom are essential to the military.

Third, many performance indicators confirm the high quality of women as soldiers. Women are being promoted at the same or higher rates than men in all military occupations open to women. Women recruits are less likely to have discipline problems and they lose less time than men for absence without leave, desertion, alcoholism and drug abuse. These data demonstrate that the inclusion of women would significantly enhance the quality of the pool of registrants.

Indeed, the judgment of the military's own experts is wholly at odds with the fears voiced about registering women and the Congressional decision to exclude them.

The district court correctly concluded that the exclusion of women from registration is counterproductive to the goal of military flexibility and readiness.

* * *

In its brief in this Court, the government argues for the first time that the Selective Service Act does not draw a line between men and women but between those who are "combat-eligible" and those who are not.

Moreover, women are serving and have throughout our history served successfully in many "combat" roles.

Indeed, recent evidence suggests women had a larger role than was previously acknowledged during wars of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. In World War II and the Vietnam War, hundreds of thousands of women served in "combat" roles in battle zones. Nor have women been spared the risk of capture. The female hostages in Iran, the women soldiers in Vietnam, and the Army and Navy nurses held prisoners of war in the Philippines during World War II were all exposed to such dangers.

Finally, as noted above, the evidence is overwhelming — indeed, undisputed — that women are capable of filling current positions that bear "combat" labels.¹

¹Studies testing women police officers' ability to command respect, use authority, respond with force when necessary and face physical and often armed resistance are also persuasive evidence that women possess the skills required for combat. The central finding of these studies is that women police and highway patrol officers "were equally as effective as males in all observed facets of police work."

New York elections

Barbaro outbids Mayor Koch on beefing up police force

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — With his provocative contributions to the spread of the twin poisons of racism and anti-unionism, Mayor Ed Koch has earned the justified hostility of Blacks, Latinos, and many other New York City workers.

Acting to capitalize on this anti-Koch sentiment, State Assembly member Frank Barbaro challenged Koch for the Democratic mayoral nomination. Despite meager finances, Barbaro won 36 percent of the primary election vote and is now contesting for mayor in the general election.

Barbaro is running under the ballot designation, Unity Party, but carefully notes he's still a Democrat.

To give credence to his anti-Kochism, Barbaro's campaign rhetoric is generally designed to convey that he's anti-racist, prolabor and protenant.

But, as with his record as a five-term member of the legislature, Barbaro's campaign declarations don't stand up too well under scrutiny. There is really only one issue on which Barbaro is unambiguous — cops and "crime."

But, unfortunately, on that issue Barbaro is a match for Koch.

Barbaro's hard-on-crime campaign posture is consistent with his record in Albany.

In the State Assembly he has voted as a liberal Democrat. His record includes support to measures generally seen as progressive and others that are reactionary. This includes voting for "anti-crime" bills, which add up to curbs on civil liberties.

The "anti-crime" part of Barbaro's record is quite concrete. But when you get to the "progressive" side, you find there's more form than substance.

For instance, under the heading "Frank Barbaro Delivers," a campaign brochure asserted that he "wrote the law that guarantees a tenant's right to apartment safety and services."

Frankly, like a lot of other New York City tenants, we never realized such a law exists. And, we suspect, neither does our landlord.

There may be a law on the books which says tenants are entitled to safety and services. But it's a bit of a bad joke to tell New York City tenants that such rights are "guaranteed."

Similarly, the brochure declares that Barbaro "fought for and got a basic occupational health and safety law for New York State."

This seemed particularly impressive to the *Daily World*, voice of the Communist Party, which is enthusiastically campaigning for Barbaro.

The *Daily World*, August 27, saluted Barbaro as a "pro-labor, pro-occupational safety and health" mayoral nominee. It cited the key provisions of the Barbaro-sponsored Right to Know law, including the right of workers to have toxic chemicals identified, to refuse to work with a substance if the request for information about it is not met, etc.

The *Daily World* offers a lyrical description of all this but apparently deemed it judicious to add a muted caution about the law, which was enacted in 1980. The paper adds:

"The actual administrative mechanisms for enforcing these 'right to know' provisions are still being worked out."

Or, to put it another way, it's a nice law except it has no teeth.

Many of Barbaro's campaign positions trail off in a similar way.

For instance, a Barbaro position paper in the August 24 *New York Times* said real estate tax assessments should be reviewed to ensure that business "pays its fair share."

Business probably wouldn't argue with that. The problem only comes when you get down to cases — spelling out what constitutes a "fair share." Barbaro doesn't say.

Similarly, an August 18 *Daily News* profile of Barbaro reported he favors a measure to ensure that landlords get only a "specific and limited profit."

The paper dryly observes, "Exactly what that profit would be has yet to be decided."

The one place where Barbaro spells out his position is on cops.

He pledges that if elected he will add 7,000 more cops to the New York City police force.

This is consistent with his voting record in the legislature.

In 1976 Barbaro voted for a new law penalizing "loitering for the purpose of engaging in a prostitution offense." The New York chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) had opposed the measure "because it is unconstitutionally vague and gives unfettered discretion to the police."

In 1977 he voted for a bill that would have compelled parents and children to accept court-ordered psychiatric treatment even against their wishes. The ACLU opposed it "because it unconstitutionally compels medical treatment without due process."

In 1979 Barbaro voted for a bill which, if enacted, would have authorized attendance teachers to initiate abuse and neglect proceedings against the parent of a truant child. The ACLU characterized it as increasing the likelihood of unfair prosecutions.

In 1980 he voted for a pre-hearing detention bill which would extend from seventy-two hours to five days the time a person accused of a felony can be held prior to a hearing. The ACLU opposed it as improperly increasing "the pre-trial punishment of incarceration."

Barbaro's proposal to expand the police force by nearly 30 percent is of the same reactionary cloth.

Cops curb crime?

Until the recent budget cutbacks virtually every major police force in the country was steadily expanded. Can anyone seriously argue that this contributed anything to reducing the number of hold-ups, break-ins, and similar petty larceny? Not to speak of bigtime crime.

Cops contribute more to the perpetuation of crime than they do to combating it. That goes for the penny ante bribe-taker on the beat to the higher-ups whose collusion with the international drug operators ensures a steady flow of narcotics.

The "anti-crime" demagoguery of Barbaro, Koch, and other capitalist politicians contributes zero to reduction of crime. But it does contribute to a right-wing atmosphere that encourages police brutality.

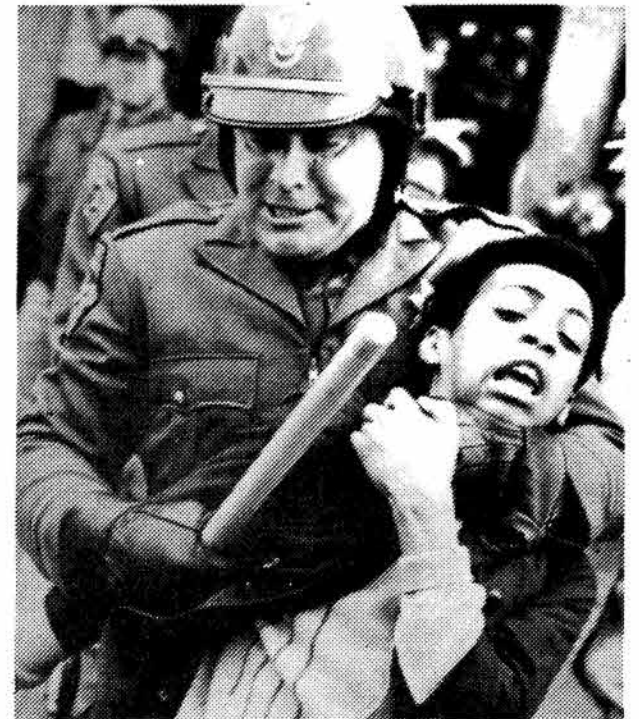
A bigger police force means more crooks in uniform. It means more strike-breakers. It means more trigger-happy cops in the Black and Latino communities, where they are rightly feared and hated as an occupation army.

When Mayor Koch's club-swinging cops recently plowed into community and labor protestors against the closing of Harlem's Sydenham Hospital, they provided a vivid reminder of what cops are about.

That's not the way Frank Barbaro sees it. Barbaro formally announced his candidacy in a speech last May 14. In that speech he declared:

"When you talk about priorities, you have to talk about crime. A clear and present danger to all New Yorkers is the criminal class that rules this city from sunset to dawn."

"It is essential that we re-take the city's streets from the muggers and drug addicts. . . . Putting thousands more cops really onto the street will make



Do New Yorkers need more of this?

a difference, and I can do that. Seeing to the certainty of swift punishment will make a difference, and I can do that."

Some of Barbaro's more enthusiastic supporters have hailed him as a "working-class leader." His rhetoric about crime and cops sounds more like Reagan's recent address to the international chiefs of police.

Does Barbaro really believe there's a "criminal class that rules this city from sunset to dawn?"

That would make sense if he were talking about the employers, bankers, rent sharks, and super-market moguls who run this city from dawn to dawn. They steal more from working people in a single day than all the muggers combined would dream of getting in years.

Some of the radicals who are supporting Barbaro have said nothing about his reactionary stand on this issue. Others have criticized him.

It remained for the *Daily World*, to salute his pro-cop propaganda.

Shameless

The August 19 issue offered the following:

"Standing on the northeast corner of Times Square, notorious for its drug traffic, prostitution and pornography shops, Barbaro charged that 'the criminal is winning the war against crime under Mayor Koch.' He called for restoring police forces to the 1974 level of 31,000 officers."

Citing figures offered by Barbaro on the increase in street crime under Koch, the *Daily World* added this bit of racism:

"This alarming trend even shows itself in the borough of Queens. . . . Queens has been traditionally viewed as a 'safe haven' for middle class residents fleeing the deterioration and turmoil of the other boroughs."

This is really a graphic commentary on the political degeneration of the Communist Party. And there's a logic to it. Years ago the Communist Party abandoned the working-class principle of independent anti-capitalist political action.

Instead it has been giving its support to allegedly progressive major party politicians like Barbaro. Inevitably, such support has led to adaptation to the right-wing procapitalist positions of these politicians.

Barbaro can at least plead that there is consistency to his pro-cop position.

In one of his fund letters, Barbaro declared he was "running to save the Democratic Party." (Emphasis in original.)

He wants to "return the Democratic Party to its historic, authentic roots."

Barbaro doesn't identify those "roots." But the reality is that the roots of the Democratic Party are in the capital system it so consistently defends. Today that system relies more and more on brute force to ensure its survival.

By beating the drums for a bigger police force, Barbaro is simply being a Democratic Party politician.

It's one more strong argument in favor of the one genuine working-class alternative in this election — the Socialist Workers Party ticket led by its mayoral nominee, Wells Todd.

Barbaro: Koch fails in combating crime

By ALBERTA FRISCIA

NEW YORK — Assemblyman Frank Barbaro, Mayor Koch's chief opponent in the elections, challenged the mayor's position as an enemy of crime at a Times Square press conference last Thursday, by citing the administration's cutbacks in police, the lack of jobs, housing and the "mess in the judicial system."

Standing on the northeast corner of Times Square, notorious for its drug traffic, prostitution and pornography shops, Barbaro charged that "the criminal is winning the war against crime under Mayor Koch." He called for restoring police forces to the 1974 level of 31,000 officers, and a long-range plan for court reform and crime prevention.

Barbaro said the way to fund the restoration of police and other city services was through a 60 percent assessment of luxury commercial real estate properties in Manhattan; ending tax abatements for plush housing and commercial development in midtown Manhattan; and the hiring of new tax auditors to collect all sales and withholding taxes owed the city.

"Crime has escalated." Quoting from a "white paper" on crime prepared by his staff, Koch's opponent in the September 10 Democratic Primary said that "the crime rate escalated between the Beame and Koch eras," noting that the murder rate went up 27 percent since the mayor took office. This rate set "a new

American record for cities" in 1979 and 1980.

Robbery rates went up 40 percent since 1977, Barbaro said and last year the percentages rose in 70 out of 73 precincts. This alarming trend even showed itself in the borough of Queens, where the robbery rate went up 27 percent from last year. Queens has been traditionally viewed as a "safe haven" for middle class residents fleeing the deterioration and turmoil of the other boroughs.

"Crime has escalated in both 1979 and 1980, yet Ed Koch has refused to raise commercial property taxes or stop the tax giveaway in the booming Midtown and Wall Street markets," Barbaro stated in a press release distributed on page 11.

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'Daily World,' August 19, 1981

Socialist campaigners press fight for ideas

Good media in Indianapolis

By Jenny Austin and Bill Baker

INDIANAPOLIS — The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are off and running in a campaign for an election that is still a year off.

Beth Julien, a young auto worker, has been nominated for the 1982 U.S. Senate race.

Dave Ellis, an electrical worker, is running for Congress in the 10th District.

Among other things, Indiana's restrictive election laws require that independent candidates file nominating petitions tens months before the election. To avoid petitioning in the dead of winter, the socialists decided to petition this fall.

Their energetic campaign has been winning extensive media coverage. A news conference announcing the candidates was covered by four TV stations, two radio stations, and both daily papers — almost the entire Indianapolis media.

Because of the state ballot laws, which are among the worst in the country, Beth Julien will not have a ballot place. The law presently requires the signatures of a minimum of 7,000 registered voters, a big amount here, and the legislature is planning to make it 28,000 for the 1984 elections.

Restrictions on write-ins are totally undemocratic. Plus, the law says, at twenty-five, Julien is "too young."

For Congress, it is necessary to file 700 signatures of registered voters who live in the district. The socialist campaign has set a target of 2,000 for Ellis in the event of a discriminatory challenge. Also, advance support for his right to a ballot place is being won.

A very successful kickoff campaign rally was held at the Militant Bookstore October 10. The meeting heard support for minority ballot rights from Gabriella Boursier of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Harold Karabell, Citizens Party candidate for Congress in the 10th District.

In addition to Julien and Ellis, the meeting also heard Jesse Smith, a Gary steelworker running for Congress on the SWP ticket.

YSA chairperson Curt Steinmetz spoke about the case of Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, an Iranian student facing deportation because of her membership in the YSA.

Local radio stations have taped statements by the candidates on various issues, including their response to the Sadat assassination and Reagan's



DAVE ELLIS

Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

budget-slashing message. One station arranged for Ellis to phone in comments from Washington, D.C., on the September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration.

Special campaign material is being directed to the 11,000 auto workers at the GM subsidiary where Julien works.

In a recent statement, Ellis called on Indianapolis officials to shut down Weir Cook airport until the demands of the striking air controllers are met. He charged that with the use of scabs at the airport, the Federal Aviation Authority was "playing Russian roulette with the lives of thousands of passengers."

Layoffs hit on Iron Range

VIRGINIA, Minn. — The Socialist Workers Party candidates here have distributed an open letter to co-members of Steelworkers Local 1938, which represents iron ore miners at U.S. Steel's Minntac mine in Mountain Iron, which is right next to Virginia.

The socialists are running Rich Stuart for mayor of Virginia, a town of 12,000, and Kathy Wheeler for alderman.

The Minntac mine, biggest in the country, produces taconite pellets from the low-grade iron ore so abundant on the Mesabi Iron Range.

The pellets are shipped to the steel mills of the Midwest, where they are melted down into iron to make steel.

Minntac and other Iron Range mines have just announced layoffs, the biggest ever.

Two mines near Hibbing, National Steel Pellet and Butler Taconite, announced six-week layoffs.

They all have the same story — steel sales are down and imports are up. So

take it out on the workers.

It may be a cold winter on the range, with thousands of miners and their families trying to get by on unemployment pay.

In their open letter, Stuart and Wheeler explain that, as socialists "who believe working people ought to run this country," they are convinced that "workers can do a better job than the antilabor politicians and corporate executives who are leading us to economic ruin."

They note that both of them are among the 1,500 Minntac workers "being dumped on the unemployment rolls by U.S. Steel's callous layoff."

Stuart is a concentrator millwright apprentice. Wheeler is an agglomerator laborer.

"In our opinion," the letter declares, "there are two main ways to fight against spiraling layoffs and rampant inflation, the growing attack on the basic human rights of women and oppressed minorities, and the government's war-like policies."

One means of fightback, the socialist candidates said, is to continue such massive protests as Solidarity Day in Washington. The other, they declared, is the building of a labor party, "a solidarity party to fight in the political arena for the needs of working people."

They invited co-workers and others interested in their campaign to visit the Solidarity Bookstore at 1012 Second Avenue South. Campaign meetings are being held there each Saturday morning at 10 a.m. until the election.

Boston: Yes on district vote

BOSTON—John Rees, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate for Boston City Council, and David Walsh, SWP candidate for Boston School Committee, are urging a "yes" vote on two binding referenda that would increase the possibility of Black and Hispanic representation on the Boston City Council and Boston School Committee. The proposals are designated on the ballot for the November 3 election as Questions One and Two.

Only two Blacks and no Hispanics have been elected to the City Council and School Committee in the last thirty years.

Though Boston's Black and Hispanic communities are approaching 30 percent of the city's population, the system of at-large citywide elections to the city council and school committee has guaranteed that virtually no candidates from the national minority communities

would be elected.

The Campaign for District Representation, a community-based organization spearheaded by independent State Representative Mel King, gathered over 26,000 signatures to place the questions on the ballot. Participants include the NAACP, the Boston People's Organization, the League of Women Voters, the Black Political Task Force, and many other groups and individuals.

Louisville ticket fights exclusion

By Dennis Rosa

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — The Socialist Workers Party is making a determined protest against being excluded from candidate debates organized by the League of Women Voters.

Patricia Van Houten, the party's candidate for Jefferson County judge, was excluded from a televised debate October 5. The League also said it would exclude SWP mayoral nominee Chris Rayson from a slated October 24 debate.

Only the Democratic and Republican candidates were invited, with the League arguing that only "serious" candidates should participate.

Using Catch-22 logic, the civic group arbitrarily defined a "serious" candidate as one who gets 20 percent of the vote. But, the SWP asked, how are you supposed to get 20 percent if groups like the League of Women Voters join with the media in denying candidate exposure?

To make the protest known, twenty Socialist Workers campaign supporters picketed outside TV station WLKY, which was telecasting the debate from which Van Houten was excluded.

Mayoral candidate Chris Rayson passed out statements explaining the purpose of the protest.

The picket did win some media attention. It was covered by two of the three local TV stations, as well as by the city's major daily.

Supporters of the right of the SWP candidates to be heard have signed petitions and written letters to the League.

One such protest came from Martha Pickering, a member of the League's board of directors.

In a letter to the League, she said, "The Socialist Workers Party has competent candidates in both races. It may be that they represent National League's stated positions on various issues more fully than do some of the candidates who are going to debate."

"I do want to go on record as saying I believe all candidates in a particular race should have a chance to participate."

Seaside socialist hits election date juggling

By Janice Lynn

SEASIDE, Calif. — The issue of community participation in making decisions that affect residents of Seaside was raised several times by Seaside City Council member Mel Mason at an October 15 council meeting.

Mason, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, was elected to the city council in March 1980 with what he describes as "grass roots support," especially from the Black community. Mason is also a leader of the recently formed National Black Independent Political Party.

One of Mason's campaign planks, along with pledging to work for more affordable housing, more jobs, affirmative action, and youth programs, called for increasing citizen participation in government.

Before the council October 15 was a proposed ordinance to set the Seaside municipal elections that take place in even-numbered years in November with the statewide general elections. Municipal elections in odd-numbered years

would remain in April.

Mason protested that the residents of Seaside had not been consulted about this new ordinance.

One immediate effect of the proposed ordinance would be to extend the terms of the mayor and two right-wing city council members by six months. Much of the Seaside Black community has become increasingly concerned about the right-wingers' disregard of the growing number of police brutality incidents in Seaside.

At Mason's insistence, the council was forced to postpone adopting the ordinance and to schedule a public hearing for November 5 to hear the views of the community.

Mason was the only council member who voted to oppose a resolution several weeks ago protesting proposed cuts at Fort Ord. The prowar resolution had also stressed Fort Ord's importance to the "military defense of the nation."

But even with only one vote against it, the resolution did not carry because a quorum was not present.

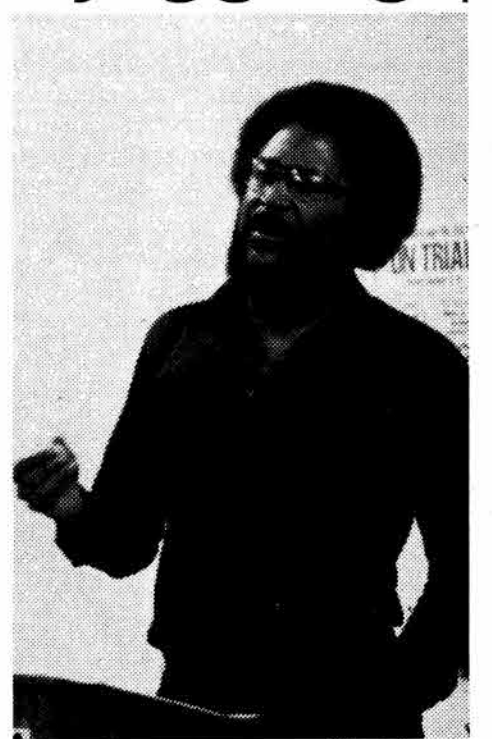
Seaside is the only community on the Monterey Peninsula that did not pass this type of prowar resolution. U.S. Congressman Leon Panetta, Democrat from Carmel Valley, had pressed for adoption of such resolutions to bring to Congress.

Mason's dissent raised the ire of the *Salinas Californian*, the city of Salinas's daily newspaper.

"Mason has chosen the wrong forum to articulate his philosophical opposition to the military," a September 26 editorial stated, "and his differences with Panetta's stance on unrelated issues."

Mason had denounced Panetta as a "hawk." And he criticized Panetta for not fighting the cutbacks in social services programs such as the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, as vigorously as he was fighting the sham cuts in military troops.

"The issue Mason should be concerned with," the editorial went on, "is the well being of the city that elected him to look out for its best interests."



MEL MASON

Militant/Jim Levitt



Didn't have opportunity — William Bell, tapped by Reagan to head the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, claimed he was an active member of the Detroit NAACP. Local NAACP officials said there was no record he ever was a member. Responded Bell, "Well, I'm a member philosophically. I guess my wife hasn't paid my dues lately."

Holy mike! — California officials placed bugs in the chapels of three state reformatories. A chaplain said they were found in vestibules, counseling of-

fices and sanctuaries. An official said they were installed so they would hear if there was a disturbance.

Role model — Prince Charles of England, who recently upped his own pay to \$750,000, dedicated a plaque at a youth center in an area of London hit by recent youth rebellions. The visit by the good prince was made "amid tight security."

Sanctity of humans — Dr. Jeronimo Dominguez, New York mayoral nominee of the "right-to-lifers," favors an "amputation sentence" for criminals.

Cut off a finger for each conviction, he opines, and crime will diminish.

P.S. — Dr. Dominguez is as clear-thinking as he's humane. He sees a link between abortion and municipal problems. "Think about it," he says. "We didn't have the problem of abandoned buildings in New York until 1970 when abortions were allowed. God was punishing us for allowing abortions."

For their own good — David Stockman, White House director of budget-chopping, favors Medicaid patients pay-

ing part of the physician's fees to reduce "frivolous" visits to the doc's office. And those food stamp cuts will help reduce unnecessary visits to the dinner table.

Really — "In the end, the consumer always pays." Chrysler's Lee Iacocca on the high price of cars.

That they know — Consolidated Edison shut down its Indian Point 2 nuclear reactor in New York to repair a leak. Officials said they didn't know how long the repair would take, but that it would result in an increased cost to consumers.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

REAGANOMICS: HOW WE CAN FIGHT BACK AND WIN. Speakers: Harold Myerson, national executive committee, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Carol Ono, chair, Greater L.A. Action Coalition Against Cutbacks and Government Repression; Fred Halstead, national committee, Socialist Workers Party; Paul Worthman, research director, Service Employees International Union Local 660. Fri., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3326.

OAKLAND

AFTER SADAT: THE FUTURE OF PALESTINIAN LIBERATION. Speaker: Georges Sayad, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Oct. 30, 8 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

SAN DIEGO

POLAND: SOLIDARITY CONGRESS SHOWS THE WAY FORWARD. Speaker: Debbie Madden, member, International Association of Machinists Local 755, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. Speaker: Ellen Musialele, representative, South West Africa People's Organisation, and founder, Council for Women's Movement in Southern Africa. Fri., Oct. 30, 8 p.m. 3207 Dublin. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MINNESOTA VIRGINIA

FIGHT FOR JOBS! PUT WORKERS IN CITY HALL. Speaker: Rich Stuart, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Virginia; Kathy Wheeler, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Alderman. Fri., Oct. 30, 7 p.m. 1012 2nd Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

POPULAR CULTURE: HOW IT REFLECTS OUR LIVES. A panel discussion. Sun., Nov. 1, 8 p.m. 4715-A

Troost St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEBRASKA LINCOLN

CLASS: INTRODUCTION TO MARXISM. Sat., Oct. 24, 1 p.m. UNL East Campus Union. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (402) 483-6236.

THE DANGERS OF NUCLEAR ENERGY. Speakers: Merle Hansen, farmer, representative of Nebraskans for Peace; Robert Williams, conductor, member of United Transportation Union (UTU) Local 305; State Senator Robert Wittala; Cheryl Porch, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 471; John Bohlman, chairman, UTU Safe Energy and Full Employment Committee. Mon., Nov. 2, 8 p.m. Glass Onion, 235 N. 11th St. Ausp: Nebraskans for Peace.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

INDOCHINA TODAY — U.S. INVOLVEMENT CONTINUES. Speakers: Chan Bun Han, Kampuchean national, will show slides from recent trip to Kampuchea; Abe Weisburd, Committee in Solidarity with Viet Nam, Kampuchea, and Laos; member of Committee of Vietnamese Patriots in the U.S. Sat., Nov. 14, 8 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK BROOKLYN

JOBS NOT BOMBS: THE DRAFT AND ATTACKS ON YOUTH. Speakers: Janette Williams, Young Socialist Alliance; Representatives from Central American Solidarity groups; others. Fri., Oct. 30, 8 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: The Young Socialist and the Militant. For more information call (212) 852-7923.

MANHATTAN

PICKET SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS TO PROTEST DEATH SENTENCES FOR SIX POLITICAL PRISONERS. Speakers: Amiri Baraka, Rev. Herbert Daughtry, others. Sat., Oct. 31, 12 noon. South African Airways, 602 Fifth Ave. and 49th St. Ausp: Black United Front and N.Y. H-Block/Armagh Committee. For more information call (212) 436-4770.

NORTH CAROLINA WINSTON-SALEM

SLIDE SHOW ON GRENADA. Sat., Oct. 31, 7 p.m. Grenadian dinner, 8 p.m. slide show. 216 E. 6th St. 2nd floor. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OREGON PORTLAND

THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Speaker: Bev Hansen, delegate to National Organization for Women conference and member of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 1, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA HARRISBURG

MIDDLE EAST CRISIS — REAGAN'S VIETNAM? Panel discussion on U.S. military build up in the Middle East. Sun., Nov. 1, 4 p.m. Friends Meeting House, 6th and Herr St. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (717) 232-7302.

TEXAS DALLAS

BURNING ISSUES IN THE SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION. Speakers: Gregory Preston, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board, District 2; other candidates for District 2. Sat., Oct. 24, 7:30 p.m. 5442 E. Grand Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

HOUSTON

FILM: 'LAST GRAVE AT DIMBAZA.' Speaker: Dr. John Indakwa, African Studies Department, University of Houston. Fri., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 6333 Gulf Freeway, Suite 222. Donation \$2. Ausp: Friday Night Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 674-2790.

WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

'SONG OF THE CANARY,' A FILM ON OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH. Sat., Oct. 31, 7:30 p.m. 957 University. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

PLANT CLOSINGS, RUNAWAY SHOPS: WHAT CAN THE UNIONS DO? Speakers: Roger Bybee, Editor, Racine Labor Press; Nancy Cole, member International Association of Machinists Lodge 66, Socialist Workers Party; slide show by Roger Quindel. Sun., Nov. 1, 5:30 p.m. 4707 W. Lisbon. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

N.Y. Campaign

News Forum, channel 4 will have a panel of candidates for mayor of New York City, which will include Wells Todd, Socialist Workers Party candidate. This program will be aired October 25 at 11 a.m. and 8 p.m. for one hour.
On November 2 the Barry Farber Show on WMCA radio (570 AM) will air a New York City mayoral debate. It will be heard at 1 p.m. in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut.

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Youth Economy Tour — August 8-15, 1982 — eight days, \$425

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Letters

Labor party

I attended Solidarity Day in Washington and more than ever feel that it is time for labor to break from the political parties of the ruling class and form a labor party. Mice must vote for mice — not cats.

Alan D. Orr
Aurora, Illinois

Iran — I

I followed with dismay the *Militant's* confused analysis of the conflict in Iran. Echoing the Khomeini government's line that the Mujahedeen are agents of American imperialism, the *Militant* headlines, "... Terror campaign in Iran plays into imperialist hands."

In this estranged view, "terror campaign" refers not to the government executions of its leftist opponents, but to the fragmented efforts of the Mujahedeen to respond to its own defense.

Yes, there are attacks against the Iranian revolution coming from American imperialism, but is that any reason to allow the Khomeini government to pose itself as defender of the revolution, when in fact it is this very same government itself which is in the forefront of dismantling the Iranian revolution's ability to defend itself?

So what is the *Militant's* view of what might the Mujahedeen better be doing to build the Iranian revolution? Roll over and play dead — literally? Or is it to safely spout abstractions on the sidelines as the *Militant's* cothinkers are reduced to doing in Iran to keep from getting obliterated?

While the Mujahedeen's embrace of Bani-Sadr is extremely opportunistic, and its politics much less than ideal to say that it is "aligned with imperialism" is an odious charge. The last that I had heard, neither Reagan nor the American media were exactly singing the praises of the Mujahedeen.

Tony Abdo
Portland, Oregon

Iran — II

I cast my vote for publishing in pamphlet form the recent article explaining what is going on in Iran. The article by Dave Frankel in the October 9 issue of the *Militant* is perfect for explaining this complex issue.

Everyone is confused on this question, from workers to Iranians here in the city. Even socialists were having a tough time with it, until this article came out.

We recently brought to a meeting of Iranians at the University of California San Diego a mimeographed copy of the editorial from the *Militant* dated September 11. The thrust of the polemics at the meeting was "Death to the Islamic Republic."

People took our leaflet, read it, and we had a comradely discussion about it.

The editorial is not adequate though, because of the brevity required.

The Frankel article, as a short, inexpensive pamphlet is very much needed.

John Naubert
San Diego, California

Equal justice

The next time someone tells you that the law in this country serves all Americans equally, remember the recent ruling on the Philadelphia teachers' strike. The School Board signed a contract with the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, you see, and then it decided that because it lacked "sufficient funds," it would break the contract.

So the School Board will be thrown in jail for breach of contract, right? Wrong. Instead, it's the teachers who have been ordered back to work by Common Pleas Judges Bradley and Takiff. In 1973, during the last strike, hundreds of teachers and some top union leaders were jailed. The schools reopened only when the city was threatened with a general strike.

Although unlikely, it would be interesting if the recent ruling were to establish a uniformly applied precedent. Imagine this scenario: you obtain a mortgage, buy a home, and then tell the bank you're broke and that they'll have to

accept reduced payments. The bank refuses to go along.

So the courts throw the bankers in jail.
Albert Cassorla
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

More 'equality'

A columnist here made a good point. When Bobby Sands, the Irish hunger striker died, former President Ford piously said, "If a person commits a crime, he has to pay the penalty."

The columnist asked, "Wasn't it Ford who pardoned Richard Nixon to make sure that he did not pay any penalty for his crimes?"

M.F.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Progress in L.A.

When I first moved to Los Angeles, people would tell me about the different parks and the many things they had to offer.

The biggest and best known is Griffith Park. Now you can't even drive through there without paying.

One day they just put up five toll booths at main entrances. It costs fifty cents on weekdays and a dollar on weekends.

They reported on TV that the grandson of the Mr. Griffith, who I think the park was named for, is going to sue the city to stop this. "Parks should be free," he said.

This also hits the many people who cut through the park as a timesaver on the way to work.

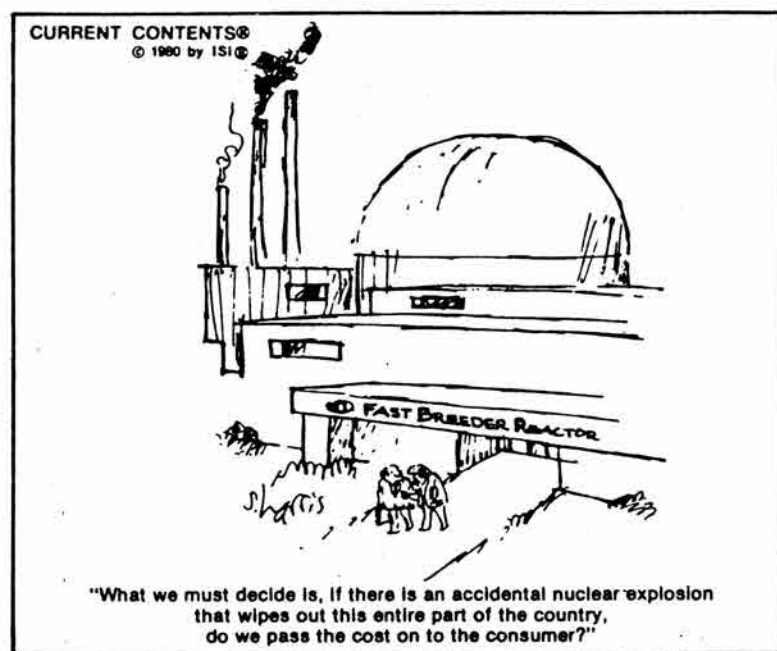
At the Lockheed plant where I work this has caused an uproar.

Nancy Brown
Los Angeles, California

Alpha 66 pickets

Some fifteen to twenty people, mostly Cubans, picketed outside the October 3 Militant Forum in San Diego. Inside, a slide show was being given by two members of the Young Socialist Alliance recently returned from Cuba.

Picket signs identified them as from the Alpha 66 group, a well-known, CIA-trained, exile Cuban terrorist outfit. Several were overheard planning to damage cars parked in front of the forum, not realizing members of the defense squad in



front of the meeting hall understood Spanish.

The police were called and told of the threats, whereupon one of the police persons told them "I know who you are" so don't block the forum entrance and don't damage the cars. How the cop knew them is not clear.

The forum attracted a sizable crowd, none of whom were deterred by the menacing attitude of the pickets and the forum proceeded without disruption.

Michael Kelly
San Diego, California

Disagrees

The *Militant* of September 18 carried a half-page article on the fight now being waged against nuclear power brokers in the state of Washington.

A large part of the union movement here believes that this is a crucial political struggle.

The current estimated construction cost of five nuclear power plants is \$24 billion. Construction costs are being financed by the sale of Washington Public Power Supply System (WPPSS) bonds. The cost will be passed on to consumers in the form of drastically higher electric bills.

The fight against this, at this stage, takes the form of Initiative 394, which will be on the November ballot. If enacted, the new law will require a public vote on all bonds sold by WPPSS after July 1, 1982.

The basic argument of the campaign for I-394 is that the energy supply system is a public agency, and that it should be under direct public control. Whether I-394, if passed, will accomplish this goal remains to be seen.

Certainly it will not, unless more is done after the election. But passage of it will be an encouragement to the unions and concerned persons here to take action, I believe.

The *Militant* article argued that I-394 "will not allow a clear vote on nuclear power . . . [and] only affects the sale of bonds." Therefore, "it is no solution and should be defeated."

I don't think I-394 will solve all the problems resulting from the so-called "energy crisis," or that it will stop the bankers from preying on the public. But it may put a crimp in their style for a while.

It seems to me that the SWP is in mighty poor company when it calls for a "no" vote on this proposition. If you expect to influence working people, it is a poor start to join the greatest enemies of the working class in matters of this kind.

I wish you the best of luck.

Shaun Maloney
Seattle, Washington

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

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THE MILITANT

Greek election deals blow to NATO nuclear plan for Europe

By Suzanne Haig
and Dean Athans

Scoring a resounding victory in the October 18 parliamentary elections in Greece, the Pan Hellenic Socialist Movement (Pasok), headed by Andreas Papandreou, brought an end to thirty-five years of rule by various right-wing regimes and military dictatorships.

Newly elected Prime Minister Papandreou campaigned on a platform of radical change in foreign and domestic policy, including pulling Greece out of NATO and shutting down the four U.S. military bases in the country.

Opposition to NATO runs deep in Greece. Last October, between 300,000 and 500,000 people marched in Athens against the government's decision to re-enter NATO's military command.

To millions of Greeks, Papandreou's victory signals a new epoch. Across the country, huge crowds took to the streets waving the party's green flag, shouting, "Victory for change," "Pasok and the people to power," and "The right has died, the change has happened."

Of the fourteen parties that ran in the election, only three received enough votes to participate in parliament. Pasok won 48 percent of the vote and 174 of the 300 parliamentary seats, soundly defeating the New Democracy Party (NDP), led by George Rallis. The NDP, which had been in office since 1974, carried out a vitriolic campaign of red baiting and violence against Pasok. The extreme right wing and the monarchists either supported or literally dissolved themselves into the NDP, which received 36 percent of the vote and 113 seats.

Rallis, who ran on an openly pro-NATO, pro-Washington, pro-big business platform, had carried out a harsh austerity drive against Greek workers and farmers while he was in office.

The Communist Party won 11 percent of the vote and 13 seats. Pasok and the CP together gathered 57 percent of the vote. The center parties did very poorly, receiving less than 1 percent of the vote.

In the days leading up to the elec-

tion, massive rallies — virtual mobilizations of the population — occurred in the twenty-five cities visited by Papandreou.

A gigantic rally took place October 15 in Athens, which some Greek papers estimated to be the largest ever held in Greece.

On October 7, on the island of Pirgo, off the Turkish shore, 60,000 people turned out for a Pasok rally.

While Pasok supports a capitalist economy, it appealed to the working class by including in its program promises for increased wages, a cost-of-living clause for wages and pensions, a forty-hour work week, and socialized medicine.

Pasok called for childcare centers, equal pay for equal work, and an end to sex-role stereotypes in education. At a women's rights rally September 21, Papandreou stated that "A real social transformation cannot be without the liberation of women, without equality of men and women."

Young people were the backbone of Pasok's campaign. An October 17 article in the pro-Pasok daily, *Free Press*, explained why youth supported the party. It said in part, "Our youth demand of us peace . . . because they know they would be the ones to fight and die [as] in Vietnam. Middle East wars, the war preparations of 1974 [when Greece almost went to war with Turkey over Cyprus]. . . ."

While millions of Greeks hailed Pasok's victory, the U.S. government reacted with grave concern. The election represented still another blow to Washington's plans for beefing up its military forces in Europe.

In an article entitled, "U.S. faces antinuclear tide as it seeks NATO support of its weapon's proposals," the October 20 *Wall Street Journal* correctly linked the election results in Greece with the October 10 demonstration of 300,000 in Bonn, West Germany, against the stationing of nuclear weapons in Europe.

Pasok's victory is another reflection of the powerful antimissile, anti-NATO movement in Europe, which is increas-



Greek people took to the streets to celebrate victory of Andreas Papandreou.

ingly visible. This movement is also reflected in the growing opposition to NATO in the British Labour Party, the mass reformist-led social democratic parties, and many trade unions in Europe. Moreover, like the May election of Socialist Party leader François

Mitterrand as president of France — with whom Papandreou identifies himself — and the growth of the militant left-wing in Britain's Labour Party, Pasok's victory shows the growing radicalization of workers in Europe in the face of the employers' offensive.

Union protests gov't harassment at war plant

By John Studer

Three socialist workers at the McDonnell-Douglas Corporation in St. Louis have received letters from the federal government calling for a full-scale investigation of their political views and activities.

The letters, received October 16 from the Defense Industrial Security Office (DISCO), follow earlier demands by the company and DISCO that the three employees complete special secret security forms.

The three — Jody Curran, Harris Freeman, and Barry David — are all machinists for McDonnell-Douglas, one of the nation's largest war contractors. They are the only workers out of 35,000 at their plant to be confronted with these demands.

They have received the backing of their union, Lodge 837-B of the International Association of Machinists, in insisting on a legal explanation from the

government for this selective harassment.

The new letter from the government spells out the political character of the campaign and the underlying threat to the workers' jobs.

The letter, dated October 13, states: "Information has come to our attention which may have a bearing upon your continuing eligibility for the contractor-granted Confidential security clearance which you now possess. When such information is received, Department of Defense Regulation 5220.22-R, Para. 2-320b requires that we initiate an investigation in order to validate and resolve any issues addressed by this information. In order to request this investigation, the forms which we have asked you to complete are required."

"We are not at liberty (due to Exemption (K)(5) of the Privacy Act of 1974) to discuss the details of the information which we have received, but should the results of the investigation indicate that

administrative action concerning your security clearance is necessary, you will be apprised of the specific reasoning for such action and, of course, be given full due process to refute any allegations made."

The letter is signed "Jonathan S. Van Horn, Colonel, USA, Chief."

The DISCO letter raises an ominous precedent. Special political investigations can be launched against anyone, at any time, whenever some mysterious "informant" sends some government agency poison-pen letters about their political or union activities.

This is a threat to the entire union movement because it allows the employer to harass and victimize workers at will, regardless of contract and seniority protection.

The moves by the government and the company have been broadly publicized by both of St. Louis's daily papers.

The IAM has filed a formal grievance,

charging the company with "political harassment and intimidation."

The three socialists have retained Lou Gilden, a prominent St. Louis labor and civil liberties attorney. He was the lawyer for J.B. Johnson, a Black youth well known as a frame-up victim in the mid-1970's. They are prepared to take McDonnell-Douglas to court to protect their jobs.

The Political Rights Defense Fund is planning a broad rally in St. Louis for November 14. The rally will be a focus for labor, civil rights, antiwar, and civil liberties groups to end their voices in defense of Curran, Harris, and David. Andree Kahlmorgen, victim of a similar attack on her job because of her political ideas by Lockheed in Marietta, Georgia, is on a national tour for PRDF and will join them on the platform. The rally is scheduled for 7:30 p.m., November 14, in the Episcopal Church of the Holy Communion, 7401 Delmar, in University City, just outside St. Louis.