

THE MILITANT

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

Solidarity stands fast against gov't threats

Polish workers: 'End shortages, reprisals'

By Suzanne Haig

A meeting of the 107 member National Commission of Solidarity opened November 3 in Gdansk to discuss the economic crisis, stepped-up government harassment of union members, and local strikes going on in various parts of the country.

A resolution presented to the leadership body called for the following:

- The establishment of a social council to supervise the administration of the economy, free from the control of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, the Communist Party).

- Implementation of workers' participation in local government and — through workers' councils — in the factories.

- An immediate halt to all legal proceedings against members of Solidarity. Currently more than 200 cases are pending against Solidarity members. The most recent and serious is that of Solidarity leader Marian Jurczyk of Szczecin, who, according to the November 3 *New York Times*, "is being investigated on charges of slandering the state and Communist system" in an October 25 speech he gave to furniture plant workers.

Solidarity has received important backing for its demand for a social council from the 1.5-million-member union of private farmers, Rural Solidarity.

At a news conference in Warsaw Octob-



er 29, Rural Solidarity representatives said that farmers had lost all confidence in the authorities and were dismayed by government threats of confrontation. They said that it was necessary to set up a social council in which both Solidarity and Rural Solidarity would be able to con-

trol the production and distribution of food.

These proposals by Solidarity and Rural Solidarity come as the union movement continues to demonstrate the extent of its authority.

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Union-busters target miners

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Lenin on the Russian revolution

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U.S. threats mount in Caribbean

Stronger economic sanctions against Cuba. A naval blockade. Even an invasion by U.S. troops.

Those are the threats that the Reagan administration is now leveling against the people of that Caribbean island, a people whose only crime has been to refuse to bow to the dictates of their much more powerful neighbor.

These threats are the most serious that have been made since Reagan came to office. According to a report in the November 5 *New York Times*, Secretary of State Alexander Haig has ordered the Pentagon to quickly draw up plans for possible direct attacks against Cuba, as well as the people of Nicaragua and El Salvador.

"On Cuba," the *Times* reported, "the military was asked to study a show of airpower, large naval exercises, a quarantine on the shipment of arms to the island, a general blockade as part of an act of war, and an invasion by American and possibly Latin American forces."

According to the *Times*, "Most of the officials said that the procedure was more than simple contingency planning, given the short deadlines for producing the plans and the general feeling that something must be done to prevent the collapse of the Salvadoran Government of President José Napoleón Duarte."

Despite significant U.S. military aid and a veritable bloodbath against the people of El Salvador, the U.S.-backed junta in that country has totally failed to score any military gains against the Salvadoran revolutionary forces.

In an effort to cover up the real reasons for the junta's weakness — the massive opposition

of the Salvadoran people to its oppressive rule — Washington has launched a smear campaign, blaming the fighting in El Salvador on the Cubans and Nicaraguans.

Over the past two weeks, some American newspapers have been spreading the lies — originating from the White House — that about 500 Cuban troops were in Nicaragua, ready to move into El Salvador. Haig's memorandum accused Cuba of being the "source" of the problems in the region.

These charges have been categorically denied by the Cuban government, which has challenged the Reagan administration to provide any proof of its accusations.

Even the *New York Times*, in its November 5 report, noted that "specialists in the Central Intelligence Agency are said to maintain that there is no strong evidence to support this."

While Cuba is not the "source" of the insurgency in El Salvador, it is an inspiration to peoples throughout the hemisphere fighting against poverty, oppression, and U.S. domination.

That is why the Reagan administration is now escalating its threats against Cuba.

But the Cuban people, who have successfully resisted U.S. aggression for twenty years, are still more than ready to defend themselves.

According to reports from Havana, Cuban military reserves have been partially mobilized, troops have been restricted to barracks, and anti-aircraft guns and observation posts have been set up on rooftops in Havana. Newspapers have been calling on the Cuban people to defend their country against aggression.

The people of Cuba need to know that they do not have to fight off a U.S. attack alone. Now, more than ever, they need the solidarity of working people in the United States.

U.S. hands off Cuba, Nicaragua, and El Salvador!

'Lighter hearts,' fatter profits

Which is more important — our lives and limbs or fatter profits for General Motors? The Reagan administration has made its choice clear.

The government had been planning to require all the auto companies to provide air bags and automatic seat belts. Under Reagan's "deregulation" program these requirements have been dropped. So has the requirement for a minimum field of direct view through the windshields of cars and trucks.

A regulation that would have required crash

test results to be displayed for car purchasers was also squashed.

But General Motors president Roger Smith is still not happy. "The ones I think are important, the bumpers, the E.P.A. [Environmental Protection Agency], the ones that have the big money in them, we haven't seen any of those," he complained to the *New York Times*.

Smith does admit, however, that "If nothing else, our hearts are lighter." And he has reason to be happy. General Motors is already raking in an extra \$500,000 daily, thanks to the rule changes.

Unfortunately the *Times* didn't give any estimate on how many more people will be killed or maimed in auto accidents in order to "lighten the heart" of this giant monopoly corporation.

Feeding the sharks

Scrap public housing. Leave responsibility for providing adequate housing for working people to private business.

That is the recommendation of President Reagan's commission on the housing question. The commission is not concerned about the lack of adequate housing for working people. On the contrary, the commission cynically concludes that there is quite enough housing already.

Rather the Reagan commission is concerned about the competition that publicly subsidized housing is giving the real estate sharks. To relieve this problem Reagan's advisers want to halt any further use of federal funds for public housing. From now on it says the construction and renting of housing should be left entirely to private business.

In place of public housing the president's commission wants a system of housing vouchers. This is how it would work. Those that qualify would receive a voucher from the government. The voucher would then be used to defray part of the rent to a private landlord. The landlord would then present the voucher to the government and would be paid in cash. It would work much like the food stamp system.

Of course, in keeping with the current belt-tightening drive of the Reagan administration, the commission wants the issue of the proposed housing vouchers to be *strictly limited*. It therefore recommends that no family receive housing vouchers unless their income was less than 50 percent of the median income prevailing in the given area.

The majority of working people would thus be deprived of any assistance for housing, whatsoever, from the federal government. The very poor would receive meager payments, barely enough to rent the worst available apartments from profit-hungry landlords.

About this newspaper . . .

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

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

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

We support the massive movement in Western Europe against U.S. nuclear missiles, the neutron bomb, and NATO. We hail the struggle of the Polish workers.

We are active in helping to build solidarity with the revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada and against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

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

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

We support the idea of a labor party based on our

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

To find out more about the party, read *Socialism on Trial*, a book that presents clearly the basic views of the SWP in the form of questions and answers in a courtroom.

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

- ☐ I want to join the SWP.
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Referenda results

More-jails bond squeaks through in N.Y.

By Harry Ring

Few of the contests in the November 3 elections evoked much serious interest, and voter turnout was generally low.

But there were a number of significant referenda issues on the ballot in various states. Some of these were reported in the *Militant*, along with our position on the particular issue.

These are initial reports on several where the outcome was available to us at press time.

In New York, officials claimed a hairline victory for a prison bond issue. With nearly 2.5 million votes

cast, a 4,000-vote margin was claimed. A spokesperson for Voters Against the Prison Construction Bond said the coalition was considering demanding a recount.

The measure authorizes a \$500-million bond issue to expand prison facilities. With interest piled on, the final cost to taxpayers will be some \$1.5 billion.

The proposition was pressed by Gov. Hugh Carey and New York Mayor Ed Koch, both Democrats.

They used it to promote a right-wing "anticrime" atmosphere and demagogically argued passage would reduce crime and prison overcrowding.

They ignored the fact that prison facilities in the state have virtually doubled in the past decade, with no one claiming a reduction in the crime rate.

The "overcrowding" argument got mud in its eye with the November 1 revelation that of the 9,410 people in New York City jails, 1,228 — 13 percent — have been held more than six months without trial. Nearly 4 percent more have been held over a year. The claimed overcrowding rate is 11 percent.

The NAACP, Black United Front, American Civil Liberties Union, prisoner rights groups, and others opposed the proposition.

In the New York mayoral contest, only Wells Todd, Socialist Workers nominee, took a firm stand against the reactionary measure.

Washington, D.C., voters massively rejected a racist, anti-working-class measure that would have permitted those with children in private schools to take a \$1,200-per-child exemption on their city taxes.

Since only wealthy people pay that

kind of city tax, it would have been a handout to rich people using private, segregated schools while the children of working people suffer a continually deteriorating public school system. With a Black population of some 70 percent, D.C. voters said "no" by a 9-1 margin.

A serious attack on Ohio's workers' compensation law was soundly defeated by voters in that state. The measure would have permitted employers the option of withdrawing from the state compensation insurance fund and arranging coverage by private companies. The proposition was promoted by insurance companies banded together in the "Ohio Committee for Free Enterprise Competition."

With two-thirds of the votes counted, the proposition was being defeated by a 79 percent majority. In Cleveland-area Cuyahoga County, an 83 percent "no" vote was piled up.

The AFL-CIO campaigned actively against the reactionary scheme. A good deal of literature was distributed and there was wide discussion among workers on the issue.

In the state of Washington, voters approved a measure that many saw as a curb on nuclear power, or at least a check on the state's big power utility.

Actually, the proposition does nothing to stop the building of nuclear plants. Its limited function is to require voter approval of a budget ceiling before the Washington Public Power Supply System goes to the bond market for further financing of five nuclear plants now under construction. If the voters should set a lower ceiling than the utility sought, it would not prevent the company from arranging other means of financing the five

plants, which have been hit by huge cost overruns.

Early returns indicated the measure was winning 60 percent voter approval in the Seattle area, and running 50-50 in eastern Washington.

In Boston, a districting plan for the city council and school board won voter approval, opening the way for greater Black representation on these bodies. Currently, both the council and school board members are elected on a citywide basis. The proposition approved by some 53 percent of the voters mandates the city council to establish districts for the 1983 election.

Then, each body will consist of nine members elected from districts and four elected on a citywide basis.

A similar ballot proposition was defeated in 1977.

With the present election, there are only two Black members of the school committee and one of the city council.

In Minneapolis, a proposition described by proponents as a "rent control" measure was heavily defeated.

It provided for creation of a seven-member board including the mayor, plus three tenants and three "non-tenants" to be appointed by the mayor.

If it passed, rent increases would have been set at 7 percent until July 1982, at which time the board would agree on a new increase rate. There were broad exceptions to the 7 percent limit. It would not apply to dwellings built after passage of the law, to buildings of less than four units — of which there are many in the city — and to units where the owner lives on the premises.

Also, landlords not enjoying a "fair" profit could seek exemptions.

There were additional provisions relating to condominiums and co-ops.

Morris Chertov: 1908-1981

Morris Chertov, a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), died November 2 in Los Angeles. He suffered a heart attack while hospitalized for medical tests. He was nearly seventy-three years old.

A veteran of many years of activity in the labor movement and as a party militant, Chertov remained committed, despite declining health, to the fight against capitalist rule. He was a member of the Los Angeles branch of the SWP for the last several years.

A meeting in tribute to Chertov's many years of party-building activity will be held Sunday, November 8 at 3 p.m. at 2211 N. Broadway in Los Angeles.

A future issue of the *Militant* will recount the contributions Chertov made to the struggle for a socialist future.

National Black party sets anniversary activity

By Malik Miah

BALTIMORE — More than 100 members and observers attended the first Central Committee meeting of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) here on October 30-November 1.

The Central Committee (C.C.) is made up of two elected representatives (male/female) from each chapter plus one official observer from each party local organizing committee. In addition, the two co-chairs of the five national commissions (Women, Youth and Student, Labor, Elderly, and Prisoners), the seven national officers, and representatives from state and regional committees are on the C.C.

Several important decisions were made at this meeting. First, the C.C. voted to establish a temporary national headquarters in Washington, D.C. The permanent site will be determined at a future C.C. meeting.

The C.C. also voted that chapters organize public activities around the first anniversary date of the founding of the party. NBIPP was formed at a conference of 1,500 Nov. 21-23, 1980, in Philadelphia. National Party Representative, Barbara Arnwine, explained that these public forums can "politically assess the first year of the party and celebrate our existence."

The Central Committee adopted a proposal made by national party representative Rev. Ben Chavis to issue a sharp public statement against the FBI and cops for their racist harassment and victimization of Black political activists since the arrest of former members of the Weather Underground following the Brink's Bank robbery in New York City a few weeks ago.

Sister Kikora Ras Tabasimu, a national presiding officer, also made a proposal that the party issue a state-

ment supporting the rights of the Haitian refugees and blasting the Reagan administration for the murder of thirty-three Haitians off the coast of Florida. The national party representatives were instructed to do so.

Sister Arnwine explained that the party has been quite active since the Chicago Congress. She reported that party representatives have been on the National Black Network radio and Public Broadcasting Stations; organized a contingent to the 500,000-strong Solidarity Day demonstration and held a forum on the plight of Black workers; participated in a conference on Southern Africa where 1,000 NBIPP brochures were distributed; and raised the views of the party at the October All People's Congress.

Rev. Chavis added that he spoke at the annual conference of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), attended by over 1,000 people, and received a warm response by many of those present even though he challenged the CBC's policy of working in and building the Democratic Party.

Chavis spoke at a meeting of the National Black Leadership Roundtable, which includes the main leaderships of the traditional civil rights organizations; and a meeting of the National Council of Black Churches where it was decided that Chavis would draft a special tract to be used in Sunday School services explaining the views of the party. In the coming weeks Chavis will be speaking before a Black Economic Justice Conference in Chicago and the national conference of Blacks in cable television in February.

The work of the party, Chavis noted, has not been limited to domestic affairs. He recently met for several hours with Caldwell Taylor, Grenada's ambassador to the United States. Among the points

they discussed, Chavis reported, was the need to increase collaboration between the NBIPP and the New Jewel Movement.

National co-chair Ron Daniels reported that Grenada had invited the party to attend an international Solidarity Conference in Grenada on November 18-21. Daniels said he or another leader would attend.

In a workplan presented to the C.C. by Daniels and co-chair, Elsa Brown, they proposed "That a person be designated to coordinate a tour to Grenada during March, 1982 for the celebration of the Grenadan Revolution. This kind of tour would have substantial political impact as well as modest economic impact in Grenada and raise some monies for the Party." The proposal was adopted.

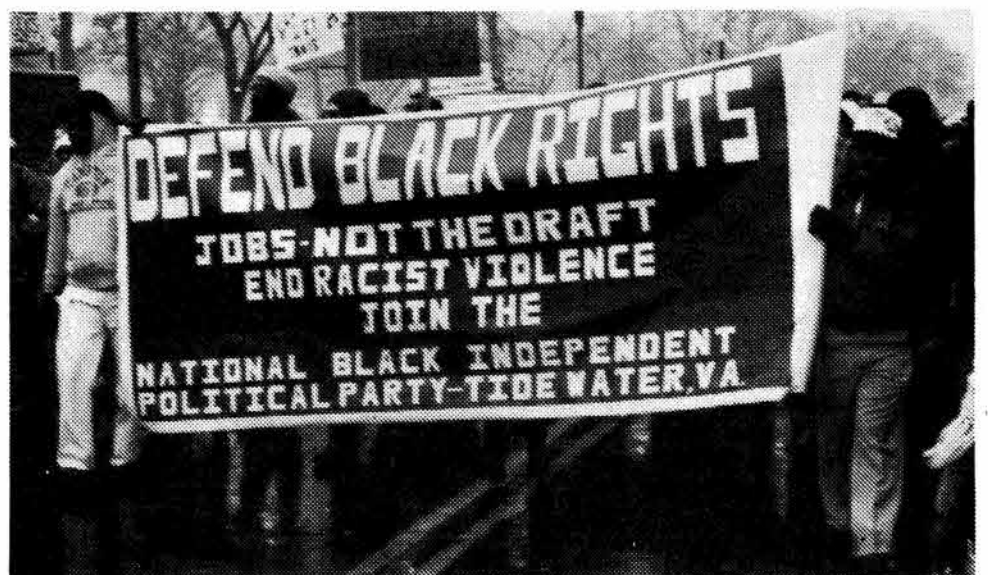
Ron Daniels reported that he would be attending a conference in Havana, Cuba, on November 17-19 to discuss the situation of the oppressed national mi-

norities in the United States. Along with forty other guests, Daniels will be presenting NBIPP's perspectives. The conference is being sponsored by Casa de la Americas and the Center for Studies of the Americas.

Other important decisions reached at this very productive meeting were to establish a national speakers bureau, get out new literature including the party's program, and other party paraphernalia. There was a discussion on raising more funds to finance the work of the party.

This first Central Committee meeting marked a further step forward for the party. The opening of the party's headquarters in Washington especially should help facilitate the party's work and win new activists to NBIPP.

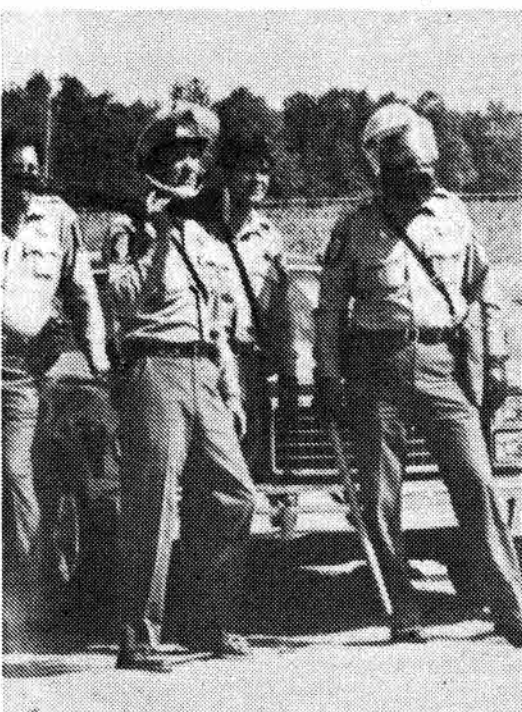
For those who want further information the NBIPP's new national address is 2728 Twelfth Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20001.



National Black Independent Party participants in January 15 Martin Luther King Day demonstration in D.C.

United Mine Workers union under attack

Industry and gov't push nonunion mines, health and safety cuts



Mine owners and government have always used violence against miners and their union. Cartoon at left, from 1920s, shows King Coal and his gunmen. Photos are Illinois State Police and a National Guard helicopter attacking miners protesting the nonunion Kerr-McGee mine being built at Galatia. The protest was August 18. Every UMW mine in Illinois shut down that day.

By Marty Anderson and Stu Singer

Like the rest of the labor movement, the United Mine Workers (UMW) is under attack from the bosses and the government. This attack did not just begin.

When the operators tried to force union-breaking contracts down the miners' throats in 1977 and earlier this year, they ran up against 160,000 coal miners who will not work without a contract and who will not vote for a contract if they think they can get a better one. In spite of weak national leadership that bent to the operators, the miners exercised their democratic rights and their power to stop coal production and prevented the operators from getting what they wanted.

The miners are now subjected to the dismantling of safety protection and black lung benefits by the Reagan administration and congress. The coal companies are on a new drive to open nonunion mines right in the strongest union areas.

The union protests so far have not even slowed down these attacks.

When the black lung cuts were first announced, the union organized a two day mine shutdown and 8,000 miners marched on Washington last March.

Black lung disease strikes almost every coal miner. It comes from breathing coal dust. It is incurable. The operators and the government refused to recognize it as a disease until forced by

Marty Anderson is a coal miner in southern Illinois. He is a member of Local 2295 of the United Mine Workers of America. Stu Singer, a former iron ore miner, is a staff writer for the Militant. He covered the 1981 coal strike.

massive miners' protests a decade ago.

But while mass action in the past won the black lung benefits program, the protests this year have not been able to protect it. The government has already moved to tighten eligibility requirements and the operators are fighting black lung claims even harder.

The UMW participated in the Solidarity Day demonstration of a half-million people in Washington, September 19. But the government did not back down on the cutbacks affecting miners or any other workers. In fact, Reagan announced further cuts.

Mine safety enforcement has already been reduced. The government feels the cost in miners' blood and lives will be made up by higher profits.

Illinois

In southern Illinois, 98 percent of coal is produced by UMW miners. But giant energy companies are pouring money into building new nonunion mines.

Mapco began to sink a mine near Carmi a few years ago. The construction is being done by nonunion workers and it will open next year with nonunion miners, like the Mapco mines in other states.

Shell Oil's Turris Coal Company is planning a deep mine in Elkhart, near Springfield, to open nonunion.

Kerr-McGee, the Oklahoma based company implicated in the murder of union activist Karen Silkwood, has non-union construction work going on at a mine site near Galatia.

At least two other energy companies, Atlantic Richfield and Gulf, are also planning nonunion coal mines in Illinois.

This invasion of a union area was first

answered with picketing by UMW construction workers.

Four pickets at the Kerr-McGee mine were arrested. The construction workers felt the attack first. Of the 1,200 UMW construction workers in Illinois, 90 percent are out of work.

On August 18, every UMW mine in the state was shut down and 2,000 miners demonstrated in Galatia. In the protest, two and a half miles of chain link fence and all the fence posts were torn down. Some construction vehicles and a company office were burned.

State police and the National Guard, who had been stationed inside the mine site, attacked the demonstrators using grenade launchers and helicopters to drop tear gas.

Since August 18, the combined forces of the company, the state and federal government, and the news media have stepped up their drive against the United Mine Workers.

Union leaders have been slapped with injunctions prohibiting picketing; twenty miners have been arrested and more arrests are planned; the FBI is charging demonstrators with violating the federal antilabor law, the Hobbs Act.

Shortly after the August 18 action, a woman was almost killed when a Kerr-McGee truck hit her car near the mine site. The cops gave her a ticket. Other women picketed the mine site. They were photographed and threatened with arrest.

Victims and criminals

In southern West Virginia, Elk Run mining is building a nonunion mine in the union's District 17. The company is using steelworker union members in-

stead of the UMW construction workers to build the mine.

During the coal strike last spring, miners rallied nearby and marched to the Elk Run site. They temporarily shut it down; some mine buildings were wrecked.

Union leaders and members in West Virginia are facing the same kind of charges and antiunion propaganda barrage as in Illinois.

Politicians, mine operators, radio, television, and the newspapers are screaming for the blood of the UMW. They portray the union as greedy, strike-happy, and weakened by too much democracy.

The nonunion coal operators are por-

An Illinois miners support group, Support Unions Now (SUN), is organizing a fund raising event for the miners facing charges from the August 18 protest against Kerr-McGee.

UMW President Sam Church is scheduled to speak at the November 11 meeting in Harrisburg, Illinois, near Galatia. A film about Karen Silkwood and Kerr-McGee will be shown.

trayed as benevolent, trying to bring jobs to areas where there is high unemployment.

But these benevolent companies have a different aim: they are out to break the United Mine Workers and destroy the standards the union has set for mining. Wages, pensions, safety and working conditions in all coal mines are based on the gains won by the UMW over decades of struggle.

What next?

Stopping the nonunion mines is as much a political question as stopping the attacks on black lung and defending mine safety.

Democratic and Republican politicians are voting for the government cutbacks and clamoring for even stronger antilabor laws. And they point to the union protests in Galatia and Elk Run as evidence of why they need to crack down harder.

Both Galatia and Elk Run were shows of strength by the union. They worried the bosses a little. But neither was enough to stop the nonunion drive. At Galatia, the scab workers are building a high earthen wall to back up the new fence as a fortification against the union. The police and National Guard will be out in greater force if another demonstration is organized.

More demonstrations are necessary. But they are not enough.

Union political action is also needed. But here the union is very weak.

In Virginia, for example, the Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC), the union's political arm, recently announced its backing for

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'Not enough discipline'

The democratic rights exercised by miners are a real obstacle to the coal bosses.

Jack Katlic is the head of the West Virginia Coal Association, the employers' group in the state. He is a vice-president of Island Creek Coal Company. In a recent interview with the Raleigh, West Virginia Register, Katlic said, "It's a built-in flaw in the union. I'm talking about contract ratification and the union elections.

"It used to be you had some kind of discipline on the local level when a local union got a little out of hand. They can't do that now."

The reporter asked Katlic his views on the UMW District 29 election in southern West Virginia. Katlic said he disapproved of several candidates but wouldn't voice a preference. "It'd be the kiss of death." Miners would consider that candidate unacceptable.

UMW decisive in coal

In order to break the influence of the UMW over coal production, the operators channeled a lot of investment to new mines in the West. The UMW is weak or nonexistent in many areas there and has had little success in organizing those mines.

While organizing the West remains a big challenge for the union, the threat posed by nonunion mines in areas where the UMW has been strong for decades is as big a challenge.

The coal industry is not pushing into the strong union areas just to score points against the union. Economically, these are more important coal areas than those in the West.

The areas where the union is strong, have almost all the metallurgical coal, used in steelmaking.

The steam coal, used mainly for generating electricity, has many advantages from the mines in the

union areas, as opposed to the western mines. Appalachian and midwestern coal generally has a higher heat content and is much closer to the population and industrial centers where it is used.

The news media and the coal industry have thrown out the figure that UMW members only mine 44 percent of U.S. coal. But the October 16-31 UMW Journal explains the actual figure is 53 percent. The 44 percent figure is the amount of national coal production from mines covered under the UMW contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). The UMW has other separate contracts.

Also, as shown again this year, when UMW miners are on strike many nonunion miners do not work.

The UMW is weaker than at some times in the past, but it still has a decisive influence over coal production in the United States.

Phila. teachers return to work without contract

By Vivian Sahner

The labor movement lost another round when the Philadelphia teachers returned to work on October 28. The union leadership voted to end the fifty-day strike hours after the Commonwealth Court upheld the city's right to tear up the union's 1980-1982 contract.

The court ruled that the second year of the contract was "unenforceable" because the city claimed there are no funds.

The Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT), the largest union in the city, went on strike September 8 after city officials laid off 3,500 school employees and refused to pay a 10 percent wage increase due under the PFT contract.

The 23,000 PFT members returned to work under last year's contract provisions, without any wage increase, and with no protection against new layoffs. The city, however, was ordered to take back the 3,500 laid off employees while a new contract is negotiated.

The strike was provoked by the city and it came under sharp attack from the beginning. There were court injunctions restricting picket lines. On September 9, 209 picketers were arrested. Other arrests and harassment by police and Board of Education security officials continued throughout the walk-out. Fifty-three PFT members were suspended by the board after being arrested. The strike ended without these unionists being reinstated to their jobs.

An earlier court ruling had ordered the school employees to return to work October 12 and imposed fines of \$10,000 a day against the union. This was later increased to \$15,000 a day. The union owed more than \$200,000 by the time the strike ended.

City and state officials organized a massive media campaign to undercut support for the strikers. Black state legislator Milton Street, and his brother John Street, a Philadelphia city councilman, charged the union was racist, not interested in teaching the city's students, 70 percent of whom are Black. The PFT is 60 percent white.

The union distributed thousands of leaflets explaining that the cutbacks hurt children's education as well as threatening the jobs and incomes of the PFT members.

But the city did undercut support for the PFT. Some Black groups blamed both the city and the union for the strike.

The PFT membership held solid during the strike. Picket lines were organized daily out of PFT district meetings. Most schools were shut down. City officials say only 900

crossed the picket lines, and that included principals and other non-union personnel.

There were several demonstrations in support of the strike. On September 14, 10,000 people rallied at city hall. Eight hundred parents, teachers and PFT members flooded a special session of the city council on October 1 to demand that the school cuts be rescinded.

On October 9, 2,500 school employees and their supporters showed up outside William Penn High School in response to an announcement that the city was going to try to open the school.

On October 18, 5,000 attended a support rally in Philadelphia's Civic Center.

The Philadelphia AFL-CIO Council had voted three days earlier to hold a one-day "general strike" on October 28 if the PFT strike wasn't settled. But the dramatic sounding proposal was hardly mentioned by labor officials at the October 18 rally.

The general strike resolution was a bluff to pressure the city administration. It had worked once before. In 1973, reactionary Mayor Frank Rizzo gave in to some of the demands of the striking teachers less than twenty-four hours before a similar "general strike" called by the AFL-CIO Council.

But this time the city did not back down. They knew AFL-CIO officials never intended to go through with a general strike.

The AFL-CIO resolution left up to each union whether or not to participate. A number of unions, such as the United Auto Workers, announced that they would not strike. Officials of other unions told members to decide individually whether or not to go to work, a move that opens the union's ranks to victimization.

And some union officials encouraged members not scheduled to work to attend a city hall demonstration October 28.

The PFT's executive board decision to end the strike October 27 caught many union members by surprise. Negotiations between the city and union officials were kept secret from the membership. And publicly PFT president John Murray continued to say the union would not return to work without its contract.

"I've got some questions," Cassandra Shearlds, a math teacher, told the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. "Has the strike gone on for nothing? Have we been defeated? And if these negotiations don't go anywhere, are we going to go back out on strike?"

These are questions being asked by many PFT members today.

Solidarity of the union movement is needed in political action also. Solidarity of putting the interests of workers first, acting politically to defend those interests. That would require a labor party.

Union solidarity is impossible when the unions are tied to supporting the political parties of the bosses.

At a number of turning points in labor history, it was the coal miners who led the way. In its ninety year history, the UMW has set an example of industrial unionism, militancy and solidarity which has often inspired other workers. The miners played a very important role in building the industrial unions in the 1930s. The miners' fights for democracy and for job safety and health benefits have had an impact on every worker in the country.

...miners

Charles Robb, Democratic candidate for governor. Robb, a supporter of the state's "right-to-work" law, is so anti-union the state AFL-CIO decided not to endorse any candidate for governor in the November 3 election.

The UMW members in Virginia will be no better off if Democrat Robb is elected than with four more years of an antiunion Republican.

UMW can show the way

The coal miners' tradition of solidarity is very strong. The kind of solidarity demonstrated in the September 19 demonstration, of unity and cooperation by the entire labor movement, is the direction needed.

Reagan's successful attack against the air controllers shows the price that is paid for a lack of union solidarity.

National Picket Line



GM, Ford step up union-busting

On October 21, Ford Motor Company told the workers at its aluminum casting plant in Sheffield, Alabama, that they had to take a 50 percent cut in wages and benefits or arrange to buy the plant by January 1. If the 1,000 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 255 refuse, the company says it will shut down operations there.

This blackmail scheme is similar to the one used by GM against the UAW members in Local 736 who work at General Motors's (GM) Hyatt bearing plant in Clark, New Jersey.

Early this year, GM said it was closing up shop at Hyatt. Now they have three years of orders amounting to \$300 million at the plant.

What changed their tune? The auto workers and local management agreed to reduce the workforce by half, take a 30 percent pay cut, and to buy the plant from GM for \$60 million!

According to the *New York Times* GM chairman Roger Smith "expressed delight about developments at Clark. . . . The episode fits neatly into his campaign to persuade the UAW to accept wage reductions before the current contract expires next year."

Many of the local's members are angry about the deal. "We're supposed to be buying the place, and they treat us worse than dogs," one worker told the press. But Jim Zarrello, president of UAW Local 736, defends the agreement. "I'm not saying what we're doing is the only answer. But the UAW has done nothing to save jobs or help its membership facing plant closings."

A spokesman at the UAW's national headquarters in Detroit told the *Times*, that the situation at Hyatt was "a local matter."

Out for more than blood

The AFL-CIO's September *Report on Union Busters* begins "We are distressed to report that several local chapters of the American Red Cross, which has always been somewhat akin to Mom and apple pie to most trade unionists, has utilized union-busting consultants. . . ."

The Tidewater, Virginia chapter hired the Canoles, Mastracco, Martone, Barr, and Russell firm in 1979 to keep out the Retail Clerks.

"We are opposed to the union because it does not share our common bond of dedication to the Red Cross," read the letter sent out on Red Cross stationery to the unit's employees. "No union can deliver on its promises. Only management can deliver," it says.

The Baltimore Red Cross chapter hired a notorious union-buster, Earl Shawe, to break a Teamster organizing drive there. The Teamsters lost.

And training sessions in union-busting, provided by Robert Smith of the Morgan, Lewis and Bockius firm, have been conducted for chapter managers.

Management, Smith tells them, is not required to agree to any union demands at the bargaining table. He teaches them how to use supervisors and strikebreakers to maintain services during a strike. To encourage scabbing, Smith advises management to tell workers that even in a union shop they only have to pay dues, they don't actually have to be union members. Tell the union members they are fortunate because they can cross the picket lines, Smith says.

FUNKY WINKERBEAN



Bob Jones's Birthday

Seventy-five percent of the 3,000 auto workers at Chrysler's stamping plant in Twinsburg, Ohio, didn't go to work on October 19. The members of United Auto Workers Local 122 named the one day work stoppage "Bob Jones's Birthday" after the assistant plant manager, Robert Jones.

Bob Weissman, president of UAW Local 122, said the action was an "expression of protest at the ingratitude a company shows toward workers." Along with the contract takebacks, Chrysler acts as if it has "a license to disregard safety and other working conditions," he said.

Chrysler says the protest amounted to an unauthorized strike and that they are going to sue the UAW for \$125,000 in damages. And, they say, it was not Jones's birthday.

—Vivian Sahner

Let us know what's happening in your area—strike news, union resolutions, local press clippings, whatever—drop us a line at the 'Militant', 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Behind Kirkland's phony 'Solidarity' campaign

How can U.S. labor movement aid

By Suzanne Haig

For more than a year, the Polish workers and their union, Solidarity, have set an inspiring example of struggle for workers in the United States and throughout the world.

But, under the guise of "supporting" the struggle of workers in Poland, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is conducting a reactionary campaign to drum up support for Washington's foreign policy and peddle anticommunism.

The principal instrument for this effort is the Polish Workers Aid Fund, formed by the AFL-CIO officialdom in September, 1980. Tapping broad support for the Polish workers among unionists in this country, the fund raises money to buy equipment and supplies for Solidarity, and to distribute literature about the independent Polish union to AFL-CIO members.

Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, and member of the AFL-CIO Executive Board gave funds and office space to a private agency set up to provide news on Solidarity which closed after two months on October 30.

In addition, Frontlash, a labor youth group working with COPE (the AFL-CIO's political arm) to register young people to vote, formed the Polish Workers Task Force. The task force has set up committees on several East Coast college campuses and sells Solidarity T-shirts and buttons.

The central objective of this campaign is the utilization of the Polish events to disseminate anticommunist propaganda and reinforce support for Washington's imperialist foreign policy.

This reactionary purpose can be seen in the text of the fund's poster, printed for union, factory, and office bulletin boards.

It states, "We in America often take human rights for granted. The rights we enjoy as a matter of course, however, are denied to millions of people around the world. . . .

"Confronted by a hostile government and surrounded by unfriendly Communist regimes and Warsaw Pact troops, [Polish workers] must look to us, who already have won the rights for which they are fighting."

The message here is clear: American workers are lucky to live under capitalism with its concern for human rights and its free trade unions. That's what the Polish workers are fighting for.

Ronald Reagan or James Carter couldn't have said it better.



AFL-CIO officials claim to support Polish workers, but at same time want more U.S. missiles in Europe — which are pointed directly at East Europe and Soviet Union. Antimissile movement, with demonstrations like this one of 100,000 in London, October 24, has potential to stay U.S. warmakers.



The reference to "unfriendly Communist regimes and Warsaw Pact troops" underlines the fact that the bureaucracy is using this propaganda campaign around Poland to reinforce support for Washington's military objectives. At the same time that it is waging its Polish "support" campaign, it is calling on Washington to put U.S. nuclear-tipped missiles and the neutron bomb in Europe.

An article in the September *Free Trade Union News* asserts that the U.S. is losing the arms race and needs to drive ahead with nuclear weapons and the cruise missile for NATO.

The AFL-CIO officialdom hopes that U.S. workers, unlike millions of their brothers and sisters in Europe, will go along with these plans.

What they fail to mention, however, is that the U.S. missiles in Europe are pointed directly at the people of Poland, the rest of Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union. If they are to be used, it will be the Russian, Polish, and other working people of Eastern Europe who will be the victims.

Supporting Washington's militarization drive is not in the interests of the Polish workers, as the AFL-CIO leaders want U.S. workers to believe.

Furthermore, the rulers of capitalist America, so highly praised by the AFL-CIO leaders, have no love for the Polish workers. In their eyes they are simply wage workers whose labor power can be exploited.

That's why the big imperialist banks are attempting to strangle the already weakened Polish economy by demanding that Warsaw use its hard currency to pay back its debts along with huge interest payments. It's out of the hides of Poland's working people that these payments will come.

Anti-missile movement

Any movement in the United States that intends to support the Polish workers must include as its major demands: "U.S. missiles out of Europe!" "Get the imperialist banks off the backs of the Polish workers!"

But this is not the perspective of the AFL-CIO officialdom.

They oppose the most significant ally of the Polish workers to date: the gigantic, growing movement in Europe against the presence of U.S. missiles. This movement has support from within the mass social democratic parties, from the British Labor Party, and from trade unions throughout Europe.

This struggle is also playing a vital function for the Polish workers in another way. It helps to make more difficult a military invasion by the Soviet government.

Moscow does not want nuclear weapons placed in Western Europe, but by invading Poland, they would put the kiss of death on the antimissile movement. An invasion of Poland would be cynically grabbed by the ruling classes

in Europe and the U.S. as a weapon to undercut the antimissiles movement.

The AFL-CIO's assertion that American workers are lucky to live under capitalism with its concern for human rights and its free trade unions, totally glosses over the grim reality of the ruling class offensive today in the U.S. It miseducates and demobilizes the labor movement to fight back against this offensive.

What Polish workers want

Contracts are being ripped up, wage-cuts are becoming commonplace, social services are being slashed, and union-busting efforts are being stepped up.

When the air traffic controllers went on strike in August, this action was declared illegal. Workers were fired and their union decertified.

These "rights that we enjoy as a matter of course" are not what the Polish workers are fighting for.

The Polish workers want their own independent union to defend their interests. They want the right to strike and the right to organize. They want to make the section of their constitution that says the factories belong to the people a reality.

They are fighting against the rule of a self-seeking, privileged bureaucracy that is responsible for the mismanagement and repression in Poland and which is an obstacle to achieving socialism.

The Polish revolution is providing working people around the world with an inspiring example. They are showing in action that socialism does not equal the rule of the bureaucracy in Warsaw and Moscow.

But this is not the lesson that the AFL-CIO leadership wants the U.S. workers to absorb.

Taking the heat off

Part of the reason the AFL-CIO leadership is effusively praising the Polish workers is to take the heat off their failure to fight for the interests of their own membership.

In response to the offensive against labor, they have collaborated with the employers and Washington to help implement wage cuts and union busting actions. Some are willing to reopen their union contracts for further givebacks to the employers.

The AFL-CIO leadership's failure to fight on behalf of the air traffic controllers is their most serious default.

Unionized airline workers, united in a show of militant solidarity, could have exerted tremendous pressure on the government to negotiate with the striking air controllers.

The AFL-CIO Executive Board, however, refused to launch the kind of solidarity campaign that was necessary.

How free are U.S. trade unions?

The AFL-CIO's Polish Workers Fund claims that the Polish workers are fighting for the right to have "free trade unions" like we have in the United States.

The Reagan administration's assault on the air traffic controllers however, has brought into sharp relief the very absence of such freedom.

The labor movement is hamstrung by a tight net of laws and government regulations.

Using a government law denying federal employees the right to strike, Reagan was able to fire and lock out the air controllers.

The courts carried through this union busting by decertifying the controllers' union, PATCO. Thus with one clean stroke of the law, the government was able to render the union null and void. While PATCO has appealed this decision, the employers are viewing these actions as a major victory.

In addition, city, state, and county laws bar some other public em-

ployees, including local government workers, teachers, and transit workers from the right to strike.

The most well known and comprehensive of these anti-labor laws is the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act — a compendium of onerous union-busting laws.

It has allowed states to pass so-called right to work laws, prohibiting the closed shop, thus making union membership voluntary.

It grants the president of the United States powers to determine whether any strike affects the nation's "health and safety." The president can seek a federal injunction declaring a strike illegal for eighty days. Under this section of Taft-Hartley, the government does the same thing to unions in private industry as it did to PATCO. Penalties for violation of the act's provisions include fines and jail terms.

The 1959 Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act gave the government

control over union internal matters, requiring, among other things, the filing of union financial statements with the Secretary of Labor.

Theoretically, the government already has the legal power to break the labor movement. What holds it back therefore, are not the absence of legal means, but the power of the labor movement, itself.

The failure of the AFL-CIO leadership to come to the aid of PATCO, however, is a signal to the employers and their government that they can push even further against the union movement without risking a major confrontation.

A tremendous battle involving the entire labor movement will be necessary to break through these laws. To win, the unions will have to end their traditional support to the Democratic and Republican parties, which are both responsible for the formulation, passage, and implementation of these antilabor laws.

—S.H.

workers' struggle in Poland?

Such a campaign would have included mass rallies and a call on all their affiliates to honor the picket lines.

Miseducates Polish workers

The AFL-CIO officials' procapitalist propaganda campaign, dressed up as a "solidarity" effort, serves to miseducate the Polish workers by creating illusions about trade unions in capitalist America and about capitalism itself. Most Polish workers are unfamiliar with the workings of U.S. imperialism and Washington and Wall Street's attacks on the American labor movement. Messages to Solidarity from the Polish fund and the AFL-CIO leadership do not clear up this confusion — which the Polish workers' movement must overcome. Instead the politics of the fund give a handle to the Warsaw and Moscow bureaucracies as well as to those in Poland who want to return the country to capitalism.

The speech Lane Kirkland prepared for presentation before Solidarity's national congress in Gdansk in September of this year had this provocative statement:

"There is no task more urgent than unlinking human rights and freedom from the question of who owns the means of production." Kirkland could not attend the congress because he was denied a visa by the Polish government, but his speech was presented anyway.

Moscow and Warsaw are quick to use remarks like this from the AFL-CIO leadership and its fund to smear the class struggle aims of Solidarity. *Tass* called the AFL-CIO aid a "fund for subversive activity" and "direct backing of antisocialist forces" in Poland.

The Polish workers do not need that kind of "aid" from the AFL-CIO.

The equipment that is sent by the fund to Poland cannot be separated from its political aims. Every item that ends up at Solidarity headquarters comes with a reactionary price tag attached, which aids the enemies of the Polish

union in Washington, Poland, and the Soviet Union.

The attempt to use the Polish workers' struggle to aid Washington's military build-up comes at a time when American workers do not want a draft or another Vietnam and are questioning the need to cut vital social services to beef up the military.

AFL-CIO officials however, opposed any protest against U.S. foreign policy and the military budget.

In fact, the AFL-CIO leadership is concerned lest the Reagan cuts fuel antimilitary sentiment.

"By increasing defense spending at the expense of vital social programs, the Administration risks the creation of new antidefense constituencies among workers, the poor, minorities, and the elderly," said a statement adopted by the Executive Board in August.

These officials are concerned about the growing awareness among American workers that Washington is not fighting for the world's oppressed, but is protecting big oil's profits and other corporate interests abroad against the struggles of superexploited workers and farmers.

Campaigns like the Polish fund are an attempt to reverse this trend by providing a progressive veneer for the foreign policy of the employers' government.

What kind of aid

American workers support the Polish workers and identify with their struggle against repression. But they don't know what the Polish workers are ultimately fighting for. How could they, given the lies and confusion generated by the big business press, capitalist politicians and the labor officials?

The most important task today in support of the Polish revolution is to cut through this maze of distortion and explain what the Polish workers are really fighting for; the role of the capitalist banks and NATO; the dangers posed by Washington's foreign policy; the impor-

tance of supporting the antinuclear missile movement in Europe; and the need for a movement here that clearly opposes Washington's war drive.

Labor needs its own foreign policy independent of the objectives of big business. It needs a policy where genuine working class solidarity is the central feature, and not support for the employers' policies under the false pretense of "solidarity."

The stakes are very high in this fight — both for the Polish workers and the

American labor movement.

The struggle in Poland provides a living example of the power of a united, militant working class and of the kind of trade union movement needed to defend labor's interests.

It also shows us that the kind of society the working class is fighting for can truly take humanity forward.

This is the message — not the one peddled by the AFL-CIO leadership — that must be brought to the American labor movement.

POLAND Workers in Revolt



By Dave Frankel,
DeAnn Rathbun,
and Ernest Harsch

48 pp. \$1.25. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please include \$.75 for postage.) Write for a free catalog of socialist books and pamphlets.

...Solidarity stands fast

Continued from front page

For months, the Polish government and party leadership have been trying to reassert their authority over the country, with little result.

In just one hour on October 28, from noon until 1 p.m. millions of workers in factories, mines, offices, and other workplaces laid down their tools in a massive and disciplined display of strength — the largest single protest strike called by the 10 million member union since March.

The action came just two days after hundreds of small military units were sent to 2,000 Polish communities allegedly to resolve any unrest and oversee food distribution and production.

One poster plastered up all over Warsaw in the form of a telegram stated the main demands of the strike. It read: "Hunger stop Repression stop We demand formation of a social economic council We demand a self-managed republic All Poland warns stop."

Although the authorities tried to claim that the strike call was a failure, Solidarity announced that between 90 and 100 percent of its members who were asked to strike did so. (Health services, radio and television, and electric plants were exempted from the strike call, although workers in those sectors displayed their support by wearing red and white armbands.)

Party officials were forced to admit that many of their own rank-and-file members joined the strike, in defiance of explicit orders from the party leadership not to do so.

Lech Walesa, the chair of Solidarity, visited workers at one plant in Warsaw, the Rosa Luxemburg light bulb factory, named after the Polish revolutionary leader.

Walesa spoke to the strikers about the need to adopt a new form of struggle, called the "active" strike.

During such a strike, workers would continue producing, but under the directives of a strike committee, not the management.

"Look, there is a shortage of detergent and panty hose in Poland," Walesa told the workers. "Well, then, next time we declare a strike at a detergent or panty hose factory, let's make it an active one. We will work to our own instructions and distribute what we produce ourselves. That way it will go where it is most needed."

"We must find ways of striking so as to hurt them, not us," he said.

Several Solidarity chapters have announced an end to local strikes, following repeated pleas by the union leadership for an end to all uncoordinated actions.

The strikes reflect the growing anger and impatience among workers at the government's continual failure to ease the food shortages.

A ten-day strike by 120,000 sulfur miners and steel workers ended in Tarnobrzeg, November 2, after an appeal from Walesa.

In Zielona Gora Province, some 150,000 workers have been on strike demanding the dismissal of local officials

responsible for the firing of a Solidarity activist at a state farm.

At a coal mine in Sosnowiec, miners returned to work after striking October 27 when a homemade poison gas bomb was thrown at miners from a passing car, sending more than fifty of them to the hospital.

In Zyrardow, a textile manufacturing center just west of Warsaw, 12,000

women workers went into the third week of their occupation strike in protest against the shortages of meat and other food supplies. "The Government does not care about us and our work," one striker in Zyrardow told a reporter. "If they did, why wouldn't they come here to talk to us? We are not asking them to arrive with a suitcase full of meat, but why won't they talk to us?"

Find out what's happening in Poland

'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' carries week-to-week news on Poland, documents from the Solidarity movement, on-the-spot coverage from 'IP' correspondents.

The 'Militant' just doesn't have room for the extensive articles on world politics that 'IP' carries every week. Subscribe to 'IP.' You can't afford to be without it.



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PATCO leaders back St. Louis fight against harassment on the job

ST. LOUIS — Leaders of the air traffic controllers union here have joined the public protests over the government's harassment of three members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM). The three unionists — Jody Curran, Harris Freeman, and Barry David — work at the huge McDonnell-Douglas aircraft plant here. They are members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The government is demanding that they fill out special security clearance applications, even though the three already have security clearances. The IAM has filed a grievance, charging the company with "political harassment and intimidation."

In a letter of protest to Sanford McDonnell, who is the chief executive of McDonnell-Douglas, officials of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) Local 352 linked the threats against the three IAM members to PATCO's own experience with "the harassment and clandestine surveillance methods of the FBI and other government investigative arms."

The PATCO officials, Don Maloney and Vincent Micciche, president and vice-president of Local 352, also charge that the harassment and threats aimed at the socialist workers have "tones of McCarthyism." They urge McDonnell "to abort this witch-hunt within your corporation."

The letter reads as follows:

"We have recently become aware of the fact that 3 of your workers (Jody Curran, Barry David and Harris Freeman) have been singled out for a special Security Investigation by the Department of Defense. These workers have already been employed by your company for nearly 2 years and meet all security criteria for their positions.

Now they are being investigated and asked to submit to questionnaires indicative of security credentials far above their original requirements. The fact that all three of these people, who are members of IAMAW Lodge 837B, are also members of the Socialist Workers Party lends credence to the assertion that they have been victimized solely due to their political philosophies.

"As members and officers of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization we have felt the harassment and clandestine surveillance methods of the FBI and other government investigative arms. Although we in no way defend these actions, it must be mentioned that there is, at least, allegation of illegality to warrant such procedures. In the case at hand there is no such allegation of wrongdoing and thus accents the investigation of Curran, David and Freeman with tones of McCarthyism.

"With these points in mind, we strongly urge that you do all that is necessary to abort this witch-hunt within your corporation. The freedom to espouse philosophies and political ideologies of one's own choosing is the cornerstone of American Freedom. While there is room for disagreement amongst political points of view, there is none for any attempt to stifle such differences."

Vincent Micciche is among those scheduled to speak at a November 14 rally in St. Louis, sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is defending the three unionists. The rally will be held at the Episcopal Church of the Holy Communion, 7401 Delmar Blvd. (at Jackson), on Saturday, November 14, with refreshments at 6:30 p.m. and the program beginning at 7:30.

Gov't refuses responsibility for paid informers

By Matthew Herreshoff

The FBI's paid informers are not "employees of the government." Therefore, the FBI is not legally responsible for their activities.

Says who?

Says the FBI's lawyers in a brief filed in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the political police.

This claim means that FBI provocateurs and stool-pigeons can operate against organizations like labor unions and Black groups — breaking the law and trampling on constitutional rights — and the FBI cannot be held accountable in court.

Informers are a key weapon in the government's antidemocratic arsenal.

FBI informers like Gary Rowe have been implicated in the murders of civil rights activists.

FBI finks in San Diego helped frame up three union members at the NASSCO shipyard in that city.

Testimony in the socialist suit against the secret police reveals that the FBI has used over 250,000 such informers since World War II.

The socialists are a major target of the FBI finks.

They proved that between 1960 and 1976, the FBI used 300 informers to infiltrate the SWP and YSA — as many as eighty-three posing as members in any year.

The finks played a big part in the government's efforts to disrupt the two groups. Secret FBI documents revealed in the case explain how informers are used for "fanning the flames" of discord and discontent.

The informers stole over 12,000 documents from the SWP and YSA.

The FBI paid them \$1.68 million for their dirty work.

No wonder the FBI wants to disclaim responsibility for its activities.

The SWP and YSA suit is a major challenge to the political police, their finks, and their informers.

The Political Rights Defense Fund has launched a fall campaign to build support for the case. At the center of this is a \$125,000 fund-raising effort.

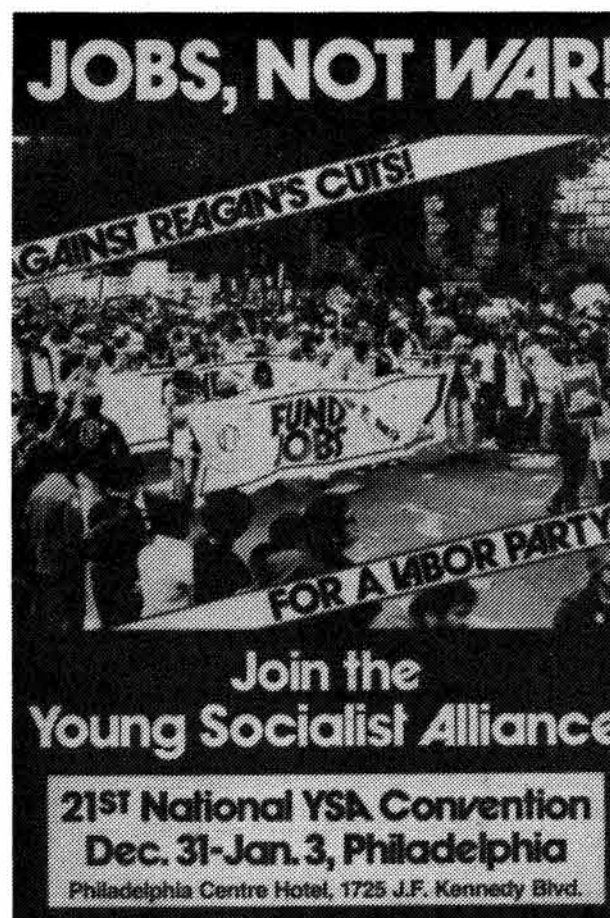
The government has spent millions of dollars trying to disrupt the SWP and YSA — from its informer program to its slanderous attempts to link the socialists to the armored car robbery in New York.

It has spent millions more to cover up its crimes, and to defend its illegal activities.

So far, PRDF has collected \$38,000 toward the \$125,000 fund.

To wage this battle against government crimes against democratic rights — to respond to the new FBI claims, and to answer the FBI's lies — much more support is needed.

If you can help contribute to this fight, send in the coupon below.



21st National YSA Convention

The YSA will hold its national convention in Philadelphia from December 31 to January 3. For more information contact YSA, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003, (212) 989-7570; or the local chapter of the YSA or SWP listed on page 23.

Draft statistics show youth are antiwar

By Margaret Jayko

The government has just admitted that one-fourth of those who were supposed to register for the draft this year didn't bother. According to government statistics, this equals about 300,000 eighteen-year-old men.

Since draft registration was reintroduced last year, 800,000 men haven't registered. This is the largest number to refuse to register in one year since the Selective Service began keeping detailed records, more than thirty years ago.

One Selective Service spokesperson explained that the low registration rate is not due to spreading opposition to the draft and Reagan's military build-up. It is just "taking a little time" to adjust to a new procedure.

Selective Service Director Thomas Turnage termed the registration drive a success already, and claimed that he sensed widespread support for registration.

While Reagan claims to oppose a "peacetime" draft, there have been several ominous moves made toward a draft, including some by his administration.

- On June 25, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of registration and the draft.

- On July 20, the Justice Department received the names of 134 men for possible prosecution for not registering.

- Selective Service is beginning to set up local draft boards.

- There are several bills before Congress to revive the draft itself.

Reagan is expected to make a definitive statement on registration next month.

Andrew Walden, the national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, told the *Militant*: "These figures show that the Reagan administration is not having much success with its attempt to win over youth to its stepped-up preparations for a new Vietnam."

"We should be ready to respond to whatever Reagan announces about the draft."

"And I'd like to urge all young people who are interested in discussing the causes and solutions to this militarization drive to come to the YSA national convention in Philadelphia, December 31-January 3."

Los Angeles rally hits attacks on abortion

By Nancy Brown

LOS ANGELES — More than 250 people marched around the Westwood Federal Building on October 17 to protest the anti-abortion Human Life Amendment and to celebrate Freedom of Choice Day.

Many carried picket signs with a picture of a woman behind bars and the caption, "In the future, women who want abortions will find new places to go."

The rally was sponsored by the Caucus for Women's Right to Choose, an ad hoc committee of women primarily from the entertainment industry.

Pickers included members of the American Civil Liberties Union, California Abortion Rights Action League, Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse, National Organization for Women, Planned Parenthood, and the Pro-Choice Coalition.

To publicize the rally, the Caucus for Women's Right to Choose published an ad in the *Hollywood Reporter* defending a woman's right to abortion. The ad was signed by more than 600 individuals, most of them from the entertainment industry.

The picket line occurred as U.S. Senate hearings continued on constitutional amendments to restrict or outlaw abortion.

In addition to the different versions of the Human Life Amendment, Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT) has proposed a new "states' rights" amendment which would give Congress and the individual states joint jurisdiction over abortion. This would, in effect, overturn the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

Its supporters advocate it as a first step toward banning abortion outright.

Reagan is a staunch supporter of an anti-abortion amendment to the Constitution.

All this anti-abortion activity flies in the face of yet the latest poll showing majority support for legalized abortion.

An Associated Press-NBC News poll released on October 5 showed that 78 percent of those questioned said the decision to have an abortion should be left to a woman and her physician, and 66 percent said they oppose an amendment to the Constitution that would make it illegal to have an abortion.

International Socialist review

'A new era in world history' Lenin on the 4th anniversary of the Russian revolution

Reprinted below is an article by V.I. Lenin, central leader of the Russian Bolshevik Party. It was written on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Russian revolution, and first appeared in the October 18, 1921, edition of 'Pravda,' the Bolshevik newspaper.

The fourth anniversary of October 25 (November 7)¹ is approaching.

The farther that great day recedes from us, the more clearly we see the significance of the proletarian revolution in Russia, and the more deeply we reflect upon the practical experience of our work as a whole.

Very briefly and, of course, in very incomplete and rough outline, this significance and experience may be summed up as follows.

The direct and immediate object of the revolution in Russia was a bourgeois-democratic one, namely, to destroy the survivals of medievalism and sweep them away completely; to purge Russia of this barbarism, of this shame, and to remove this immense obstacle to all culture and progress in our country.

And we can justifiably pride ourselves on having carried out that purge with greater determination and much more rapidly, boldly and successfully, and, from the point of view of its effect on the masses, much more widely and deeply, than the great French Revolution over one hundred and twenty-five years ago.

Both the anarchists and the petty-bourgeois democrats (i.e., the Mensheviks² and the Socialist-Revolutionaries³, who are the Russian counterparts of that international social type) have talked and are still talking an incredible lot of nonsense about the relation between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist (that is proletarian) revolution. The last four years have proved to the hilt that our interpretation of Marxism on this point, and our estimate of the experience of former revolutions were correct. We have consummated the bourgeois-democratic revolution as nobody had done before. We are advancing towards the so-

cialist revolution consciously, firmly and unswervingly, knowing that it is not separated from the bourgeois-democratic revolution by a Chinese Wall, and knowing too that (in the last analysis) *struggle alone* will determine how far we shall advance, what part of this immense and lofty task we shall accomplish, and to what extent we shall succeed in consolidating our victories. Time will show. But we see even now that a tremendous amount — tremendous for this ruined, exhausted and backward country — has already been done towards the socialist transformation of society.

Let us, however, finish what we have to say about the bourgeois-democratic content of our revolution. Marxists must understand what that means. To explain, let us take a few striking examples.

The bourgeois-democratic content of the revolution means that the social relations (system, institutions) of the country are purged of medievalism, serfdom, feudalism.

What were the chief manifestations, survivals, remnants of serfdom in Russia up to 1917? The monarchy, the system of social estates, landed proprietorship and land tenure, the status of women, religion, and national oppression. Take any one of these Augean stables, which, incidentally, were left largely uncleansed by all the more advanced states when they accomplished *their* bourgeois-democratic revolutions one hundred and twenty-five, two hundred and fifty and more years ago (1649 in England); take any one of these Augean stables, and you will see that we have cleansed them thoroughly. In a matter of *ten weeks*, from October 25 (November 7), 1917 to January 5, 1918, when the Constituent Assembly was dissolved, we accomplished a thousand times more in this respect than was accomplished by the bourgeois democrats and liberals (the Cadets⁴) and by the petty-bourgeois democrats (the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries) *during the eight months* they were in power.

Those poltroons, gas-bags, vainglorious Narcissuses and petty Hamlets brandished their wooden swords — but did not even destroy the monarchy! We cleansed out all that monarchist muck as nobody had ever done before. We left not a stone, not a brick of that ancient edifice, the social-estate system (even the most advanced countries, such as Britain, France and Germany, have not completely eliminated the survivals of that system to this day!), standing. We tore out the deep-seated roots of the social-estate system, namely, the remnants of feudalism and serfdom in the system of land-

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'We have consummated the bourgeois-democratic revolution as nobody had done before. We are advancing towards the socialist revolution consciously, firmly, and unswervingly.'

1. Under Czarism Russia used the old Byzantine calendar which was thirteen days behind the Gregorian calendar used by the rest of Europe. After the October revolution Russia went over to the more modern calendar.

2. Mensheviks — the minority faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party after the split with the Bolsheviks in 1903. Believed that the working class must support the liberal bourgeoisie to overthrow Czarism and establish a democratic republic.

3. Social Revolutionary Party — formed in 1900 and emerged in 1902-03 as the political expression of all the earlier populist currents. It had the most influence among the peasantry before the 1917 revolution.

4. Cadets (Constitutional-Democratic Party) — the chief party of the liberal bourgeoisie in Russia.

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Missile protests worry Washington

Opponents of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's plans for a massive nuclear arms buildup went on the offensive throughout Western Europe in October. The resulting demonstrations dealt a serious blow to Washington's plan to install 572 medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Opposition to the NATO missile plan has been fueled by President Reagan's decision to begin assembling neutron bombs for use in Europe and his recent public confirmation of his belief in the possibility of fighting a "limited" nuclear war in Europe. Some European opponents of NATO's plans have begun to describe this as Reagan's "Euroshima" perspective.

White House Deputy Press Secretary Larry Speakes tried to downplay the impact of the demonstrations, claiming in a prepared statement that "while these are obvious expressions of concern by a free people, they do not represent a widespread view of Western European citizens."

Presidential advisor Edwin Meese told the *Washington Post* that "we feel this will not impact on our policies." He insisted that the missiles would be deployed regardless of the protests.

U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger admitted that the demonstrations had to be taken seriously, but claimed "it doesn't change the policies of the government." Weinberger argued that he has the same goal as the demonstrators. But he added that "it's the wrong way to get the result we all want — no war."

Despite the Reagan administration's brave front, it cannot deploy the missiles without the agreement of the European governments involved. And as the October protests showed, these governments are facing tremendous opposition on this issue.

Reagan's Propaganda Dilemma

Washington faces a major stumbling block in its propaganda drive to build support for its own massive arms buildup and to pressure its allies to boost their arms spending. The U.S. rulers must address different audiences at once.

First, they must break down the deep aversion among working people in the United States to military intervention abroad, the so-called Vietnam syndrome. In order to do that, the Reagan administration has unleashed a propaganda campaign blaming "Soviet expansionism" for every revolutionary development anywhere in the world. The Pentagon also claims that the Soviets have been far outspending Washington in arms for decades, and that the U.S. must increase its military strength "to catch up with the Russians."

Washington has to focus on the Soviet "threat" in its internal propaganda because American working people have absolutely no in-

This month's column is by Will Reissner, a member of the editorial staff of Intercontinental Press.



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terest in sending U.S. troops to a place like Saudi Arabia to protect the corrupt and brutal monarchy there, as Reagan has promised to do. The White House therefore feels it has a better chance of making the threat seem credible if it is portrayed as a Soviet grab for "our oil."

'Japanese Get Very Nervous'

But the problem is not restricted to Europe, as James Reston wrote from Japan in the October 25 *New York Times*. "It would be hard to overstate," says Reston, "the negative effects here of the President's light-hearted and mindless statements about nuclear war" and the "emphasis by Secretaries [Alexander] Haig and [Caspar] Weinberger on military responses to the world's problems."

Reston adds that "when United States officials keep emphasizing military solutions to every problem from El Salvador to Saudi Arabia to Pakistan to the Sea of Japan, the Japanese get very nervous."

"And when President Reagan talks off-the-cuff about 'limited nuclear war' they give you a present — a book titled: 'Hiroshima and Nagasaki — The Physical, Medical and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings.'"

NATO Plans Public Relations Push

NATO's Nuclear Planning Group met in late October to reaffirm the decision to deploy the 572 missiles. In the words of NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns of the Netherlands, the gathered defense ministers "support a very strong public relations effort on the part of the various governments" to build support for the missile plan.

The momentum, however, is now clearly with opponents of the missiles. And the antimissiles movement should continue to grow as it becomes clearer to European working people that these weapons are designed for a first-strike nuclear attack against the Soviet Union and are not, as NATO pretends, a response to previous Soviet missile deployments.

Objections to Reagan's Rhetoric

Former U.S. Vice-president Walter Mondale gave a major foreign policy address on October 20 in which he stated "I am convinced that the alliance is in more trouble today than at any time since the North Atlantic Treaty was signed."

While Mondale was and remains a strong proponent of the NATO arms buildup and missile plan, which was begun under the Carter administration, he warns that Reagan is losing the political battle by not talking enough about peace while building up the U.S. and NATO warmaking capability.

As a result, Mondale warned, "some people in Europe are even muttering that the U.S., not

the Soviet Union, is the greater threat." He adds that Reagan's rhetoric makes it seem "that it is we, and not the Soviet Union, which is unwilling to talk."

Although the White House tries to downplay the antimissiles movement, an October 25 editorial in the *New York Times* soberly ran down the problems facing the Reagan administration in Europe:

"The British Labor Party demands nuclear disarmament no matter what the superpowers do. West Germany's Socialists are dangerously split by the question, which is stirring the biggest rallies since Hitler. The issue agitates politics from the Arctic to the Aegean; Greek Socialists won office last week after promising to withdraw from NATO and to close American bases."

Watching the glue of NATO melt, the Kremlin turns up the heat. For months, its every utterance has been calculated to play upon the fears, to deny the preponderance of Soviet military power, to portray Americans as madmen wanting to fight to the last European. . . .

The *Times* editorial continues that "the Reagan Administration, congenitally obsessed by Soviet power, has fed the anxieties by playing the heavy, threatening East-West confrontations and de-emphasizing arms control."

But, the *Times* warns Reagan, "Merely harping on Soviet perfidy is the worst possible American response. No European believes the Russians intend to march to the North Sea."

Opposition to 'American Connection'

In an October 26 editorial, the *Washington Post* acknowledged that "the massive demonstrations against nuclear weapons, in four European capitals last weekend. . . . showed how far the European anti-nuclear movement has reached beyond its traditional bases in religious pacifism and far-left politics." The *Post* warns that "this autumn's peace marchers are conveying an accurate warning of the costs of any defense policy that cannot hold the support of a broad European consensus."

Walter Laqueur addressed the same topic in an October 25 column in the *New York Times*. Laqueur warned:

"The movement toward neutralism and unilateralism in Western Europe is far stronger than similar, earlier campaigns. The situation differs from country to country but in West Germany, Britain, the Benelux countries, and Scandinavia, a considerable part of the young generation now opposes the 'American connection.' They believe that in the conflict between the superpowers the United States is more to blame than the Soviet Union; that the conflict has nothing to do with Europe and that Europe should keep out of it. Official spokesmen deny it, yet the noise of the demonstration is drowning out their words."

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**International
socialist
review**

Editor: Fred Feldman
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...Lenin

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ownership, to the last. "One may argue" (there are plenty of quill-drivers, Cadets, Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries abroad to indulge in such arguments) as to what "in the long run" will be the outcome of the agrarian reform effected by the Great October Revolution. We have no desire at the moment to waste time on such controversies, for we are deciding this, as well as the mass of accompanying controversies, by struggle. But the fact cannot be denied that the petty-bourgeois democrats "compromised" with the landowners, the custodians of the traditions of serfdom, for eight months, while we completely swept the landowners and all their traditions from Russian soil in a few weeks.

Take religion, or the denial of rights to women, or the oppression and inequality of the non-Russian nationalities. These are all problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The vulgar petty-bourgeois democrats talked about them for eight months. In not a single one of the most advanced countries in the world have these questions been completely settled on bourgeois-democratic lines. In our country they have been settled completely by the legislation of the October Revolution. We have fought and are fighting religion in earnest. We have granted all the non-Russian nationalities their own republics or autonomous regions. We in Russia no longer have the base, mean and infamous denial of rights to women or inequality of the sexes, that disgusting survival of feudalism and medievalism, which is being renovated by the avaricious bourgeoisie and the dull-witted and frightened petty bourgeoisie in every other country in the world without exception.

All this goes to make up the content of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. A hundred and fifty and two hundred and fifty years ago the progressive leaders of that revolution (or of those revolutions, if we consider each national variety of the one general type) promised to rid mankind of medieval privileges, of sex inequality, of state privileges for one religion or another (or religious ideas), "the church" in general, and of national inequality. They promised, but did not keep their promises. They could not keep them, for they were hindered by their "respect" — for the "sacred right of private property". Our proletarian revolution was not afflicted with this accursed "respect" for this thrice-accursed medievalism and for the "sacred right of private property".

But in order to consolidate the achievements of the bourgeois-democratic revolution for the peoples of Russia, we were obliged to go farther; and we did go farther. We solved the problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in passing, as a "by-product" of our main and genuinely proletarian-revolutionary, socialist activities. We have always said that reforms are a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle. We said — and proved it by deeds — that bourgeois-democratic reforms are a by-product of the proletarian, i.e., of the socialist revolution. Incidentally, the Kautskys, Hilferdings, Martovs, Chernovs, Hillquits, Longuets,

MacDonalds, Turatis and other heroes of "Two-and-a-Half" Marxism⁵ were incapable of understanding this relation between the bourgeois-democratic and the proletarian-socialist revolutions. The first develops into the second. The second, in passing, solves the problems of the first. The second consolidates the work of the first. Struggle, and struggle alone, decides how far the second succeeds in outgrowing the first.

The Soviet system is one of the most vivid proofs, or manifestations, of how the one revolution develops into the other. The Soviet system provides the maximum of democracy for the workers and peasants; at the same time, it marks a break with bourgeois democracy and the rise of a new, epoch-making type of democracy, namely, proletarian democracy, or the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Let the curs and swine of the moribund bourgeoisie, and of the petty-bourgeois democrats who trail behind them, heap imprecations, abuse and derision upon our heads for our reverses and mistakes in the work of building up our Soviet system. We do not forget for a moment that we have committed and are committing numerous mistakes and are suffering numerous reverses. How can reverses and mistakes be avoided in a matter so new in the history of the world as the building of an unprecedented type of state edifice! We shall work steadfastly to set our reverses and mistakes right and to improve our practical application of Soviet principles, which is still very, very far from being perfect. But we have a right to be and are proud that to us has fallen the good fortune to begin the building of a Soviet state, and thereby to usher in a new era in world history, the era of the rule of a new class, a class which is oppressed in every capitalist country, but which everywhere is marching forward towards a new life, towards victory over the bourgeoisie, towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, towards the emancipation of mankind from the yoke of capital and from imperialist wars.

The question of imperialist wars, of the international policy of finance capital which now dominates the whole world, a policy that must inevitably engender new imperialist wars, that must inevitably cause an extreme intensification of national oppression, pillage, brigandry and the strangulation of weak, backward and small nationalities by a handful of "advanced" powers — that question has been the keystone of all policy in all the countries of the globe since 1914. It is a question of life and death for millions upon millions of people. It is a question of whether 20,000,000 people (as compared with the 10,000,000 who were killed in the war of 1914-18 and in the supplementary "minor" wars that are still going on) are to be slaughtered in the next imperialist war, which the bourgeoisie are preparing, and which is growing out of capitalism before our very eyes. It is a question of whether in that future war, which is inevitable (if capitalism continues to exist), 60,000,000 people are to be maimed (com-

5. The Two-and-a-Half International — was founded in Vienna in 1921 at a conference of centrist parties and groups which, under pressure of the revolutionary-minded masses, temporarily seceded from the Second International and returned to it in 1923.

pared with the 30,000,000 maimed in 1914-18). In this question, too, our October Revolution marked the beginning of a new era in world history. The lackeys of the bourgeoisie and its yes-men — the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, and the petty-bourgeois, allegedly "socialist," democrats all over the world — derided our slogan "convert the imperialist war into a civil war." But that slogan proved to be the truth — it was the only truth, unpleasant, blunt, naked and brutal, but nevertheless the truth, as against the host of most refined jingoist and pacifist lies. Those lies are being dispelled. The Brest peace⁶ has been exposed. And with every passing day the significance and consequences of a peace that is even worse than the Brest peace — the peace of Versailles — are being more relentlessly exposed. And the millions who are thinking about the causes of the recent war and of the approaching future war are more and more clearly realising the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape imperialist war, and imperialist peace (if the old orthography were still in use, I would have written the word *mir* in two ways, to give it both its meanings)⁷ which inevitably engenders imperialist war, that it is impossible to escape that inferno, except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution.

Let the bourgeoisie and the pacifists, the generals and the petty bourgeoisie, the capitalists and the philistines, the pious Christians and the knights of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals vent their fury against that revolution. No torrents of abuse, calumnies and lies can enable them to conceal the historic fact that for the first time in hundreds and thousands of years the slaves have replied to a war between slave-owners by openly proclaiming the slogan: "Convert this war between slave-owners for the division of their loot into a war of the slaves of all nations against the slave-owners of all nations."

For the first time in hundreds and thousands of years that slogan has grown from a vague and helpless waiting into a clear and definite political programme, into an effective struggle waged by millions of oppressed people under the leadership of the proletariat; it has grown into the first victory of the proletariat, the first victory in the struggle to abolish war and to unite the workers of all countries against the united bourgeoisie of different nations, against the bourgeoisie that makes peace and war at the expense of the slaves of capital, the wage-workers, the peasants, the working people.

This first victory is not yet the final victory, and it was achieved by our October Revolution at the price of incredible difficulties and hardships, at the price of unprecedented suffering, accompanied by a series of serious reverses and mistakes on our part. How could a single backward people be expected to frustrate the imperialist wars of the most

6. Brest peace — the peace treaty imposed on Russia by Germany in early 1918. It placed especially hard conditions on Russia.

7. In Russian, the word *mir* has two meanings (world and peace) and had two different spellings in the old way of spelling.



Less than one year after 1917 revolution, the new Russian workers state was plunged into civil war and invaded by fourteen imperialist armies. Above, soldiers of the Soviet Red Army, which emerged victorious in that struggle.

'The first Bolshevik revolution has wrested the first hundred million people of this earth from the clutches of imperialist war and the imperialist world.'

'We solved the problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in passing, as a "by-product" of our main and genuinely proletarian-revolutionary, socialist activities. We have always said that reforms are a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle.'

powerful and most developed countries of the world without sustaining reverses and without committing mistakes! We are not afraid to admit our mistakes and shall examine them dispassionately in order to learn how to correct them. But the fact remains that for the first time in hundreds and thousands of years the promise "to reply" to war between the slave-owners by a revolution of the slaves directed against all the slave-owners has been completely fulfilled — and is being fulfilled despite all difficulties.

We have made the start. When, at what date and time, and the proletarians of which nation will complete this process is not important. The important thing is that the ice has been broken; the road is open, the way has been shown.

Gentlemen, capitalists of all countries, keep up your hypocritical pretence of "defending the fatherland" — the Japanese fatherland against the American, the American against the Japanese, the French against the British, and so forth! Gentlemen, knights of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals, pacifist petty bourgeoisie and philistines of the entire world, go on "evading" the question of how to combat imperialist wars by issuing new "Basle Manifestos" (on the model of the Basle Manifesto of 1912).⁸ The first Bolshevik revolution has wrested the first hundred million people of this earth from the clutches of imperialist war and the imperialist world. Subsequent revolutions will deliver the rest of mankind from such wars and from such a world.

Our last, but most important and most difficult task, the one we have done least about, is economic development, the laying of economic foundations for the new, socialist edifice on the site of the demolished feudal edifice and the semi-demolished capitalist edifice. It is in this most important and most difficult task that we have sustained the greatest number of reverses and have made most mistakes. How could anyone expect that a task so new to the world could be begun without reverses and without mistakes! But we have begun it. We shall continue it. At this very moment we are, by our New Economic Policy,⁹ correcting a number of our mistakes. We are learning how to continue erecting the socialist edifice in a small-peasant country without committing such mistakes.

The difficulties are immense. But we are accustomed to grappling with immense difficulties. Not for nothing do our enemies call us "stone-hard" and exponents of a "firm-line policy." But we have also learned, at least to some extent, another art that is essential in revolution, namely, flexibility, the ability to effect swift and sudden changes of tactics if changes in objective conditions demand them, and to choose another path for the achievement of our goal if the former path proves to be inexpedient or impossible at the given moment.

Borne along on the crest of the wave of enthusiasm, rousing first the political enthusiasm and then the military enthusiasm of the people, we expected to accomplish economic tasks just as great as the political and military tasks we had accomplished by relying directly on this enthusiasm. We expected — or perhaps it would be truer to say that we presumed without having given it adequate

8. Basle Manifesto — the manifesto against imperialist war adopted unanimously by a congress of the Second International in Basle, Switzerland in 1912. When World War I broke out in 1914, the leaders of the Second International (Karl Kautsky, etc.) who had voted for the manifesto consigned it to oblivion and supported their own imperialist governments.

9. New Economic Policy — initiated at the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party in 1921 to revive the economy after the civil war. Was adopted as a temporary measure allowing a limited revival of free trade inside the Soviet Union and foreign concessions alongside the nationalized and state-controlled sectors of the economy.

consideration — to be able to organise the state production and the state distribution of products on communist lines in a small-peasant country directly as ordered by the proletarian state. Experience has proved that we were wrong. It appears that a number of transitional stages were necessary — state capitalism and socialism — in order to prepare — to prepare by many years of effort — for the transition to communism. Not directly relying on enthusiasm, but aided by the enthusiasm engendered by the great revolution, and on the basis of personal interest, personal incentive and business principles, we must first set to work in this small-peasant country to build solid gangways to socialism by way of state capitalism. Otherwise we shall never get to communism, we shall never bring scores of millions of people to communism. That is what experience, the objective course of the development of the revolution, has taught us.

And we, who during these three or four years have learned a little to make abrupt changes of front (when abrupt changes of front are needed), have begun zealously, attentively and sedulously (although still not zealously, attentively and sedulously enough) to learn to make a new change of front, namely, the New Economic Policy. The proletarian state must become a cautious, assiduous and shrewd "businessman," a punctilious wholesale merchant — otherwise it will never succeed in putting this small-peasant country economically on its feet. Under existing conditions, living as we are side by side with the capitalist (for the time being capitalist) West, there is no other way of progressing to communism. A wholesale merchant seems to be an economic type as remote from communism as heaven from earth. But that is one of the contradictions which, in actual life, lead from a small-peasant economy via state capitalism to socialism. Personal incentive will step up production; we must increase production first and foremost and at all costs. Wholesale trade economically unites millions of small peasants: it gives them a personal incentive, links them up and leads them to the next step, namely, to various forms of association and alliance in the process of production itself. We have already started the necessary changes in our economic policy and already have some successes to our credit; true, they are small and partial, but nonetheless they are successes. In this new field of "tuition" we are already finishing our preparatory class. By persistent and assiduous study, by making practical experience the test of every step we take, by not fearing to alter over and over again what we have already begun, by correcting our mistakes and most carefully analysing their significance, we shall pass to the higher classes. We shall go through the whole "course," although the present state of world economics and world politics has made that course much longer and much more difficult than we would have liked. No matter at what cost, no matter how severe the hardships of the transition period may be — despite disaster, famine and ruin — we shall not flinch; we shall triumphantly carry our cause to its goal.

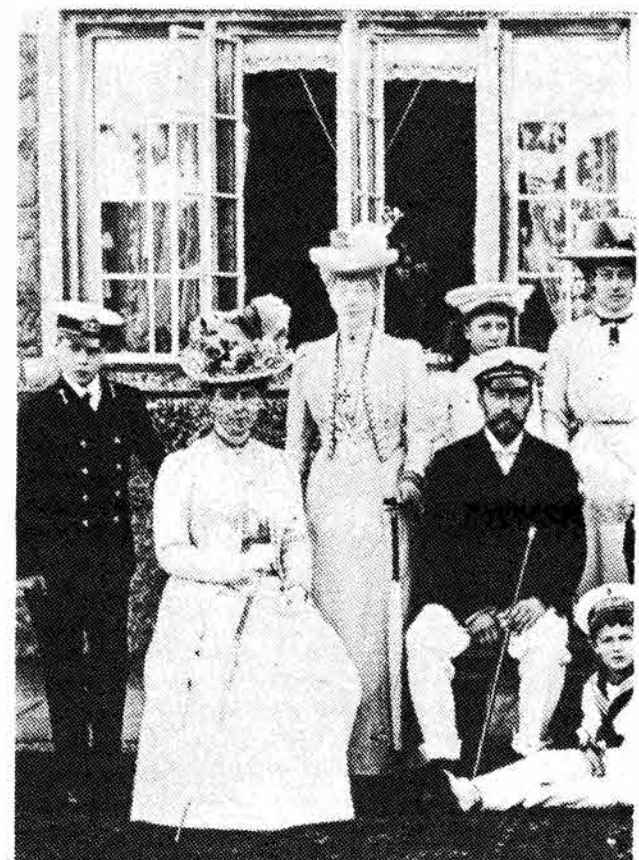
How Lenin saw the Russian

By Doug Jenness

In October 1917, the councils of workers and peasants of Russia, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, took governmental power and began carrying out the greatest revolution of this century. In the nineteenth century, revolutionists admired and absorbed the lessons, and even the language, of the French Revolution of 1789. They compared and contrasted their own revolutions to that great historic watershed.

Similarly, for more than sixty years, revolutionists of our century have drawn inspiration and learned from the first successful proletarian revolution. We have turned to the Russian revolution to learn how to lead the working class to power in our countries. Where the masses have overturned capitalist rule in such countries as Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and Vietnam, revolutionaries study how the Bolsheviks in power handled some of the problems they face.

World-wide, the working class is indebted to the Russian revolution in another way. The October victory altered the relationship of class forces between the imperialist rulers and the toiling masses in favor of the latter. The failure of the imperialist powers to overturn the basic social conquests of the Russian workers and reinstitute capi-



'We tore out the deep-seated roots of the social-estate in the system of landownership, to the last.' Above: land's royal family poses with the tsar and his family.

talism on Russian soil remains a fact of momentous historical importance.

It is precisely because of this change in the relationship of forces made possible by the Russian people that imperialism has not been able to crush the Chinese, Cuban, and Indochinese revolutions, which at crucial moments have received military and economic aid from the Soviet workers state.

On this sixty-fourth anniversary of the October revolution, we are publishing an article Lenin wrote in 1921 to celebrate the revolution's fourth anniversary.

Lenin was the central leader of the Bolshevik party and of the Soviet workers state in its early revolutionary years. The best place to learn the lessons of Bolshevism — to understand how the Bolshevik party was trained, carried through the October revolution, and led the organization of the world's first workers state — is Lenin's writings and speeches.

In this anniversary article, Lenin explains how the Russian revolution combined both the bourgeois-democratic and the socialist revolutions. He indicates that, with the workers and peasants wielding governmental power, the bourgeois-democratic revolution was carried through more thoroughly than in any country ever before. And that, to consolidate this achievement, they had to go further and begin the socialist revolution.



stem, namely, the remnants of feudalism and serfdom
asant family in prerevolutionary Russia. Below: Eng-

in revolution

The relationship between the bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions in Russia had been debated among Russian Marxists since the turn of the century.

The program of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, adopted at its second congress in 1903, called for the overthrow of capitalism and explained, "A necessary condition for this social revolution is the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . ." It also indicated that "on the way to achieving" this "ultimate aim" the Social Democrats had to undertake certain immediate tasks. The most important of these was to overthrow the tsarist autocracy and convoke a constituent assembly, freely elected by the entire people.

At the 1903 congress, there were no fundamental differences on the program expressed by the two principal factions, the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.

But the 1905 revolution in Russia revealed deep differences between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks over the class forces that would carry through the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the relationship of this revolution to the socialist revolution.

Two Approaches

Reviewing the different approaches in a polemic

with Karl Kautsky in November 1918, Lenin wrote:

"The Russian revolution is a bourgeois revolution, said all the Marxists of Russia before 1905. The Mensheviks, substituting liberalism for Marxism, drew the conclusion from this that, hence, the proletariat must not go beyond what was acceptable to the bourgeoisie and must pursue a policy of compromise with it. The Bolsheviks said that this was a bourgeois-liberal theory. The bourgeoisie, they said, was trying to bring about the reform of the state on bourgeois, *reformist*, not revolutionary lines, while preserving the monarchy, landlordism, etc., as far as possible. The proletariat must carry through the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the end, not allowing itself to be 'bound' by the reformism of the bourgeoisie. The Bolsheviks formulated the relation of class forces in the bourgeois revolution as follows: the proletariat, joining to itself the peasantry, will neutralize the liberal bourgeoisie and utterly destroy the monarchy, medievalism, and landlordism.

"The alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry in general reveals the bourgeois character of the revolution, for the peasantry in general are small producers who stand on the basis of commodity production. Further, the Bolsheviks then added, the proletariat will join to itself the entire *semi-proletariat* (all the toilers and exploited), will neutralize the middle peasantry and overthrow the bourgeoisie; this will be a Socialist revolution, as distinct from a bourgeois-democratic revolution (see my pamphlet *Two Tactics*, published in 1905 and reprinted in *Twelve Years*, St. Petersburg, 1907)." (*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*)

The course projected by the Bolsheviks gave an accurate portrayal of the line of march the Russian workers would follow and how the revolution would unfold. It armed them to participate effectively in the class struggle and to assume a leadership role in the revolution. In October 1917, the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry in general overthrew the capitalist government and proceeded to smash all the remnants of the monarchy, medievalism, and landlordism. Governmental power gave the working class and the poor peasants an effective instrument to lead the revolution in their interests.

As Lenin explained in a report to the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party in March 1919, ". . . our revolution was largely a bourgeois revolution until the Poor Peasants' Committees were set up, i.e., until the summer and even the autumn of 1918. We are not afraid to admit that. We accomplished the October Revolution so easily because the peasants as a whole supported us and fought the landowners for they saw that as far as they were concerned we would go the limit. . . . But from the moment the Poor Peasants' Committees began to be organized, our revolution became a proletarian revolution. . . . And only when the October revolution began to spread to the rural districts and was consummated, in the summer of 1918, did we acquire a real proletarian base; only then did our revolution become a proletarian revolution in fact, and not merely in our proclamations, promises and declarations." (*Speeches at Party Congresses: 1918-1922*)

The developments in the countryside that Lenin describes here coincided with the outbreak of the civil war, which saw the rich peasants and the capitalists going over to the counterrevolution. By the fall of 1918, virtually all industry had been nationalized.

Lenin explained that ". . . if the Bolshevik proletariat had tried at once, in October-November 1917, without waiting for the class differentiation in the rural districts, without being able to prepare for it and bring it about, to 'decree' a civil war or the 'introduction of Socialism' in the rural districts, had tried to do without a temporary bloc (alliance) with the peasants in general, without making a number of concessions to the middle peasants, etc., that would have been a Blanquist distortion of Marxism, an attempt of the minority to impose its will upon the majority; it would have been a theoretical absurdity, revealing a failure to understand that a general peasant revolution is still a bourgeois revolution, and that without a series of transitions, of transitional stages, it cannot be transformed into a Socialist revolution in a backward country." (*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*)

Lenin commented further on the nature of the Russian revolution in an April 15, 1919, article, "The Third International and Its Place in History." He wrote, "I have had occasion more than once to say that it was easier for the Russians than for the advanced countries to begin the great proletar-

ian revolution, but that it will be more difficult for them to continue it and carry it to final victory, in the sense of the complete organization of a socialist society.

"It was easier for us to begin, firstly, because the unusual — for twentieth-century Europe — political backwardness of the tsarist monarchy gave unusual strength to the revolutionary onslaught of the masses. Secondly, Russia's backwardness merged in a peculiar way the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie with the peasant revolution against the landowners. That is what we started from in October 1917, and we would not have achieved victory so easily if we had not. As long ago as 1856, Marx spoke, in reference to Prussia, of the possibility of a peculiar combination of proletarian revolution and peasant war. From the beginning of 1905 the Bolsheviks advocated the idea of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." (*Lenin Collected Works*, Vol. 29)

Revolutionary-Democratic Dictatorship

The 1905 revolution included both a massive upsurge of the working class and peasant uprisings. These powerful struggles posed for the first time the real possibility of overthrowing the monarchy and establishing a new government. This gave impulse to the debate among Russian socialists as to what kind of government should replace the autocracy. The Mensheviks argued that the Social Democrats should not participate in a provisional revolutionary government in the event the monarchy was overturned. For the party of the working class to raise the possibility of its participation in such a government, according to the Mensheviks, would pose the question of the socialist revolution, which was premature in Russia.

They argued that the Social Democrats should pressure the capitalist parties to take their rightful place as leaders of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Lenin rejected this approach as "tail-ending" the bourgeoisie. He countered by stating, "Marxism teaches the proletariat not to keep aloof from the bourgeois revolution, not to refuse to take part in it, not to allow the leadership of the revolution to be assumed by the bourgeoisie but, on the contrary, to take a most energetic part in it, to fight resolutely for consistent proletarian democracy, to fight to carry the revolution to its completion." (*Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*)

The class forces that the Bolsheviks saw could carry through the democratic revolution most resolutely were the working class in alliance with the revolutionary peasantry as a whole. Thus, they proposed that the monarchy be replaced with a revolutionary government to achieve the goals of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, in which the workers and peasants would exercise political power and repress their oppressors. This was the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

Lenin wrote, ". . . such a victory will assume the form of a dictatorship, i.e. it is inevitably bound to rely on military force, on the arming of the masses, on an uprising, and not on institutions established by 'lawful' or 'peaceful' means. It can only be a dictatorship, for the introduction of the reforms which are urgently and absolutely necessary for the proletariat and the peasantry will call forth the desperate resistance of the landlords, the big bourgeoisie and tsarism. Without a dictatorship it will be impossible to break down that resistance and to repel the counterrevolutionary attempts. But of course it will be a democratic, not a socialist dictatorship." (*Two Tactics*)

Lenin described the revolution that would bring the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship into being as a "people's revolution." "Social Democracy," he said, "has justly fought and continues to fight against the bourgeois-democratic abuse of the word 'people.'" The revolutionary workers party, he explained, "must present to the whole of the people the tasks of a democratic revolution as widely and as boldly as possible." (*Two Tactics*)

The Bolsheviks also explained that a victory for the democratic revolution in Russia was connected to the proletarian revolution in Europe. "Such a victory," Lenin wrote, "will enable us to rouse Europe, and the socialist proletariat of Europe will then throw off the yoke of the bourgeoisie and in turn help us to carry out a socialist revolution." (*Two Tactics*)

'Uninterrupted Revolution'

Lenin believed that the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship would create the most favorable

Continued on page ISR/8

Socialists challenge FBI 'national security' claim

Brief from historic lawsuit against government spying

Can FBI agents spy on a union even when they admit it isn't involved in anything illegal? Can they use informers to infiltrate political groups, even if no one is accused of criminal activity? Can the political police keep dossiers on the activities of members of Black rights groups, even when they concede no laws are being broken?

These are among the most important questions raised by the landmark case known as *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General*. This case, which went to trial last spring in federal court, is now the subject of extensive legal briefs being filed by both sides.

According to the FBI, CIA, and INS, the authority to decide "how many to investigate and how to investigate" is "committed to the discretion of the executive branch."

Why? Because it is up to the president, and those he appoints, to protect the "national security."

For the first time ever, this concept is being

directly challenged in a public legal battle. The SWP and Young Socialist Alliance are arguing that not only are specific methods used by the FBI (such as burglaries) illegal, but the entire "investigation" of the socialists — which began when the SWP was founded in 1938 — has been unlawful. As their brief puts it, "the investigation as a whole abridged plaintiffs' First Amendment rights, and was an arbitrary denial of liberty in violation of the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment."

Excerpts from a section of the brief arguing this proposition are included below. The section immediately preceding the part we are printing here analyzes why thought-control statutes, such as the Smith Act, cannot be relied upon by the FBI as justification for its activities against the SWP and the YSA.

You can obtain a printed copy of the entire brief by sending \$10.00 to the Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

The shakiness of the foundation for any claim that the investigation of the SWP and YSA was based on any valid law enforcement premise can be seen in the following exchange with former FBI Special Agent Arthur J. Greene, who for many years was in charge of the investigation of the Young Socialist Alliance in New York, and who testified about FBI burglaries of the plaintiffs' offices:

BY THE COURT:

Q: You mean you were making these entries to determine whether they violated the Voorhis Act?

A: Yes. I was making them in regard to either the Voorhis or other Acts, the Smith Act or any other Acts that might also fall within —

Q: . . . [D]id the FBI come to any conclusion as to whether the Voorhis Act was violated or not?

A: I do not know. I don't recall.

Q: What I am trying to get at is what was the purpose? They had never been prosecuted for violation of the Voorhis Act, despite, you know, endless investigations and one would sort of think that maybe the FBI got enough information on that subject at some point to decide whether they were going to, you know, do anything about the Voorhis Act or not, and they never did anything.

So, was there any other objective besides the Voorhis Act? You know, the only statutes that we ever hear about are the Voorhis Act and the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Did anybody ever mention another statute?

MR. WILLIAMS: This witness mentioned the Smith Act.

THE COURT: There was a prosecution back in 1941. When have they been prosecuted since?

MR. WILLIAMS: I believe in 1941.

THE COURT: 1941. We are now in 1981, right? . . . So, aside from the Smith Act and the Voorhis Act, what other statutes were they worried about? . . . The federal government must have statutes prohibiting things like bombings and assassinations and kidnappings and sabotage. I never hear anything about that in this case. We hear all about the Voorhis Act.

THE WITNESS: If I might make a comment, your Honor, any information that came to our attention, whether it be through informants or entries, concerning a violation of any law of the United States, it was our responsibility to obtain it and furnish it.

The possession of firearms may have been one —

BY THE COURT:

Q: What illegal possession of firearms did you discover during these entries? Did you ever discover a firearm?

A: During the entries, no.

Q: Right. Did you ever discover a bomb?

A: No, I did not.

Q: Or a hand grenade?

A: No, but that was one of our objectives should we ever come across this —

Q: Did you ever discover any reason to believe you would find one?

A: No.

Q: OK. Now, did you ever discover anything about a plan to commit sabotage?

A: No.

Q: Did you ever discover anything about a plan to commit bombings?

A: No.

Q: An assassination?

A: No.

THE COURT: OK.

Finally, the defendants' efforts to hang onto even a semblance of justification for the investigation under federal criminal statutes are negated by one simple admission: In 1976, when the Attorney General ruled that the "domestic security" and "foreign counterintelligence" investigations of the plaintiffs be terminated, no consideration was even given to continuing the investigation under the "criminal" guidelines.

Faced with the poverty of evidence that the FBI investigation of the SWP and YSA was a good faith effort to detect and prosecute crime, the defendants of necessity relied heavily at trial on the claim that their operations against the plaintiffs were justified as a "national security" investigation, carried out pursuant to the "inherent powers" of the President.

This case presents the issue of whether the executive has authority, in the name of "national security," to engage in permanent investigation of political groups and their members engaged solely in constitutionally protected activities.

Plaintiffs submit that the executive has no such authority. [This point is developed at some length later in the brief — Ed.] However, even if such authority existed in the abstract to conduct such investigations, the investigation of the SWP and YSA cannot be held, on the facts presented by the record of this case, to have been a valid exercise of such authority.

'Foreign Counterintelligence'

The "national security" rubric is broken down by the defendants into two subcategories: "domestic security" and "foreign counterintelligence." This distinction, according to the defendants, was not "articulated" until the early 1970s, apparently in response to the Supreme Court ruling in *Keith* [a 1972 decision]. Recognizing that the *Keith* decision deals a heavy blow to any claim of "inherent" executive powers in the area of "domestic security" investigations, the defendants now insist that the investigation of the SWP always had a "foreign counterintelligence" aspect. Therefore, we will first consider why there is no justification for an investigation of the SWP and YSA on the basis of "foreign counterintelligence," and then look at

what justification might remain for investigating the SWP and YSA as "domestic security" threats.

The defendants' claim that the SWP and YSA are or were legitimate targets for "foreign" intelligence or counterintelligence investigation is fatally flawed by the undisputed facts: no articulated set of standards existed prior to 1976 for defining such targets, and when the first set of standards was promulgated by the Attorney General, he found, on the basis of an extraordinarily thorough review, that the SWP and YSA did not meet the standards.

Indeed, it is hard to conceive of a serious case being made that the SWP and YSA as organizations, which have chapters and branches in cities from coast to coast, whose members live and work in this country, who have consistently run candidates for public office, participated in labor, civil rights, and antiwar protest movements and other political activities in this country — and who have been engaged in similar activities in this country uninterruptedly for more than forty years — can meet any reasonable standard of a "foreign" intelligence target.

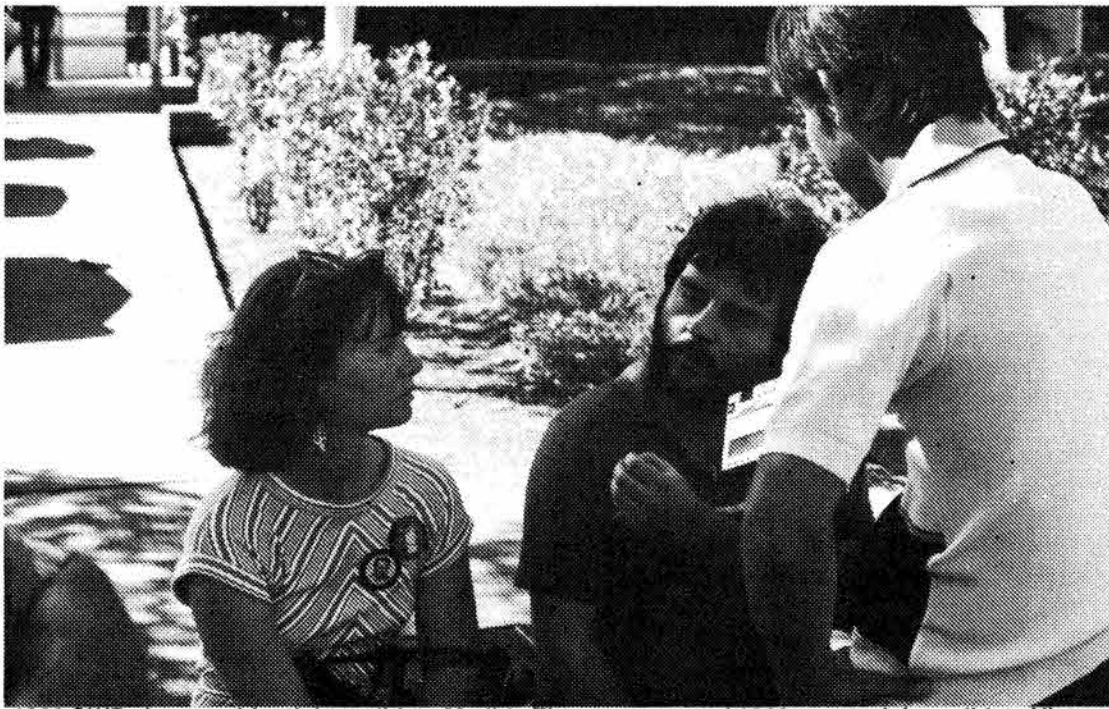
Whatever government action, if any, members of the SWP and YSA have left themselves open to as a result of their relations with socialists in other countries — their travels abroad, their exchange of views and information with groups and individuals in the United States in support of revolutions such as the Cuban or Nicaraguan revolutions, or other lawful activities — they have done so as part of American political life, in this country, with the goal of advancing, as they see it, the interests of the majority in this country. If their activity is to be regulated, stigmatized, or proscribed outright, surely it must be justified on the basis of what "domestic" groups shall be allowed, or not allowed, to do or say.

Investigation Groundless

In 1976, the Attorney General promulgated standards defining, for the first time, the "foreign counterintelligence" interest that must be demonstrated in order to justify FBI investigation of groups or individuals in this country. He requested the FBI, in collaboration with the CIA, to supply him with all relevant information — past and present — pertaining to the SWP and YSA which might show that an investigation was warranted under these guidelines, including all information relating to the plaintiffs' relations with the Fourth International. The FBI provided him with "highly sensitive" information, evidently not only from its own investigation, but also from the CIA and foreign intelligence sources. Upon review of that material, the Attorney General concluded that the SWP and YSA investigations could not be justified as a "foreign counterintelligence," any more than as a domestic security, investigation. That finding of the Attorney General is a critically important admission, for it is based on the best showing the defendants could make, unhampered by any of the self-imposed restraints of privilege which were asserted in this litigation by the government. The Attorney General's conclusion vitiates any possible argument that the investigation could be justified on "national security" grounds in the area of foreign affairs.

The judiciary's responsibility to scrutinize executive action which entrenches upon First Amendment freedoms is not diminished merely because the executive claims that the asserted "national security" interest somehow relates to its powers in the domain of foreign affairs. These powers are not "exempt from judicial review or limitations," and "the more directly 'foreign' actions affect domestic activities protected by the Bill of Rights, the more urgent is the need for judicial oversight, particularly when the actions have not been authorized by Congress and are not so public as to permit informed scrutiny and review through the political process." *Zweibon v. Mitchell*.

It is clear that under all existing standards — legislative, executive, and judicial — plaintiffs' activities in connection with the Fourth International and other socialist groups abroad do not supply a "foreign intelligence" interest justifying the investigation.



1980 SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann and 1980 senatorial candidate Victor Nieto being interviewed by Nicaraguan journalist during tour of that country last year.

'Their travels abroad, their exchange of views and information with groups and individuals in the United States in support of revolutions such as the Cuban or Nicaraguan revolutions, or other lawful activities — they have done so as part of American political life, with the goal of advancing, as they see it, the interests of the majority in this country.'

If no "national security" justification can be demonstrated on the "foreign intelligence" front, the Government is in an equally weak position on the "domestic security" side of the question. Here, too, no set of articulated criteria defining legitimate targets of a "domestic security" investigation existed prior to 1976. When standards were finally promulgated by the Attorney General, he immediately concluded, on the basis of a review of all relevant information in the possession of the FBI as well as the CIA that the plaintiffs did not meet the criteria.

Plaintiffs have amply shown that their activities fall well within the ambit of the First Amendment's protections, and that the government's investigation placed serious obstacles in the path of those activities. The government must demonstrate a "subordinating interest which is compelling" in order to justify an impairment of First Amendment freedoms, and further "that the means employed in furtherance of that interest are 'closely drawn to avoid unnecessary abridgment of associational freedoms.'" *In re Primus* (1978). The same test applies when the asserted government interest is in protection of the "national security," *United States v. Robel* (1967).

The Government was unable to articulate at trial any legitimate "national security" interest furthered by its decades of investigation of the plaintiffs, let alone a "compelling" one. When pressed by the Court about the Government's interest in the investigation, Mr. [Robert] Keuch of the Department of Justice had a difficult time:

THE COURT: I don't fully understand what the FBI is doing in investigating people where it is not intending or thinking about criminal prosecution?

THE WITNESS: Yes, Sir.

THE COURT: It is not thinking about the hiring of employees for the government, it is just doing something for National Security.

I just would like you to elaborate as much as you can on that.

THE WITNESS: Fine, Sir. May I refer to the Supreme Court opinion in *United States v. United States District Court*, which is popularly or unpopularly known as the *Keith* case, after Judge Keith.

I believe that when you asked what was the FBI doing investigating people on which there were no criminal prosecutions brought, the Supreme Court in the *Keith* case again discusses the difference between an Intelligence investigation which is to provide the President and the Executive with the power to take steps to protect ourselves and protect our form of government —

THE COURT: Where is that?

THE WITNESS: I can't point to a specific paragraph. It is a thread that runs throughout the opinion because this case —

THE COURT: The power to do what?

THE WITNESS: To conduct Intelligence operations and they distinguish Intelligence investigations from Criminal investigations; pointing out among other things that Intelligence investigations tend to be very open-ended, continue for periods of time, and may never eventuate in a criminal prosecution.

I also think —

THE COURT: For what purpose?

THE WITNESS: Again, to carry out this Presidential responsibility.

THE COURT: Yes, but — look, I have read the Constitution but I mean, what is the practical reason? I don't mean that it is such a difficult subject but I would still — you are the witness and you are from the government and I would just like to have some statement about it from your vantage point.

THE WITNESS: Well, I think I was about to say, your

Honor, that one of our difficulties, of course, is we are talking about a 40-year period. I think that inherent power of the President wanes to some degree. I think the outside limits of it may change —

THE COURT: Look, if it is not primarily to conduct criminal prosecutions, what is it to do? Is it to decide what orders to give to the Army or to take action to decide — to decide whether action of one kind or another has to be taken to protect the government?

Is that it —

THE WITNESS: I think the section of that is true and I think that could be anything from, to make a decision that certain types of statutes are necessary, to make a decision that certain types of Executive programs are necessary, to make a determination that things like the Security Index are required, to be able to advise the President as he requested in those directives — he simply wanted to know what were the activities and the aims and intentions of groups who potentially could be acting inimically to our form of government and there are different periods and different times and different needs.

A "domestic security" interest too elusive to articulate to the Court cannot be said to be legitimate, let alone compelling. *See Keith* ("If the threat is too subtle or complex for our senior law enforcement officers to convey its significance to a court, one may question whether there is probable cause for surveillance.").

Real Aim of Investigation

The proposition that a political party which violates no law may nevertheless be a target of permanent investigation is deeply repugnant to basic constitutional values.

The defendants' witnesses have conceded that, from the first day of the forty-year-long investigation to the last, the "intelligence" function of the investigation was inextricably bound up with a "preventive" purpose. The trial record amply reveals what it was that the defendants sought to prevent. It was not crime, since the investigation persisted for decades without producing any criminal indictments. It was not threats to the "national security," for it cannot seriously be argued that plaintiffs' activities ever imperiled the national security, unless it were to be held that the vigorous advocacy of profound change in the existing order endangers the national security. The Constitution permits no such conclusion. The fact that plaintiffs' lawful activities and advocacy are aimed at producing revolutionary economic, social, and political changes in our society does not lessen in the slightest degree the protection afforded them by the Constitution:

"[F]reedom to differ is not limited to things that do not matter much. That would be a mere shadow of freedom. The test of its substance is the right to differ as to things that touch the heart of the existing order." *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette*, (1943).

What the defendants sought to "prevent" in their permanent investigation of the SWP and YSA was the enjoyment by the plaintiffs of the same freedom to promote their political program as is enjoyed by "the regulation parties," as one government witness termed them.

When the executive asserts a right to spy upon, burden, and even "prevent" political activity which is within the law, it undertakes, in effect, to arrogate the function of the legislative branch by creating its own criminal code (and a secret code at that) striking at the heart of the republican form of government. It also usurps the judicial function,

taking it upon itself to make determinations of "guilt," and mete out "penalties," uninhibited by the strictures of due process:

"Our basic law . . . wisely withheld authority for resort to executive investigations, condemnations and blacklists as a substitute for imposition of legal types of penalties by courts following trial and conviction in accordance with procedural safeguards of the Bill of Rights." *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee v. McGrath*, (1951) (Black, J., concurring.)

Thus, the investigation as a whole offended basic First and Fifth Amendment values, in that it arbitrarily singled out plaintiffs on the basis of their lawful political activity, and had an overarching purpose of stifling, "preventing," and disrupting that activity.

Deserving attention as an especially pernicious aspect of the investigation are public governmental stigmatizations of the plaintiffs. The official form this stigmatization took was the designation of the SWP in 1948 as a "subversive" organization pursuant to Executive Order 9835, a designation which was carried over in 1953 under Executive Order 10450 and continued until the Attorney General's List was abolished in 1974. Even after the List was formally abolished, the government continued to brand the SWP and YSA as suspect under "thumbnail sketches" or "characterizations," which continue to the present to be disseminated and used as a basis for denying SWP and YSA members or supporters employment and threatening them with adverse agency action in other contexts.

In *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee v. McGrath*, the Supreme Court held that the Attorney General had no authority to designate lawful organizations as subversive on the ground that "[t]he Executive Order [9835] contains no express or implied attempt to confer power on anyone to act arbitrarily or capriciously — even assuming a constitutional power to do so."

In his concurring opinion, Justice Frankfurter took note of the fact that "[t]he injury asserted in the cases at bar does not fall into any familiar category." He concluded, however, that "[t]he novelty of the injuries described in these petitions does not alter the fact that they present the characteristics which have in the past led this Court to recognize justiciability"; for the [d]esignation works an immediate substantial harm to the reputations of petitioners.

Justice Black, in his concurring opinion, found the designation not only arbitrary and violative of due process guarantees; he further addressed what he considered the more fundamental problems:

"[T]he executive has no constitutional authority, with or without a hearing, officially to prepare and publish the lists challenged by petitioners. In the first place, the system adopted effectively punishes many organizations and their members merely because of their political beliefs and utterances, and to this extent smacks of a most evil type of censorship. This cannot be reconciled with the First Amendment as I interpret it. . . ."

The First Amendment "prevents use of the power to investigate . . . to prove at will and without relation to existing need." *De Gregory v. Attorney General of New Hampshire*, (1966). All the more does that Amendment forbid deliberate use of the power to investigate to interfere with the exercise of free speech and association.

... Lenin

Continued from page ISR/5

circumstances for the working class to make the transition toward the socialist revolution. In an article, "Social Democracy's Attitude Toward the Peasant Movement," written two months after *Two Tactics*, Lenin explained:

"... from the democratic revolution we shall at once, and precisely in accordance with the measure of our strength, the strength of the class-conscious and organized proletariat, begin to pass to the socialist revolution. We stand for uninterrupted revolution. We shall not stop half-way. If we do not now and immediately promise all sorts of 'socialization,' that is because we know the actual conditions for that task to be accomplished, and we do not gloss over the new class struggle burgeoning within the peasantry, but reveal that struggle. . . .

"To try to calculate now what the combination of forces will be within the peasantry 'on the day after' the revolution (the democratic revolution) is empty utopianism. . . . [W]e shall bend every effort to help the entire peasantry achieve the democratic revolution, in order thereby to make it easier for us, the party of the proletariat, to pass on as quickly as possible to the new and higher task — the socialist revolution." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 9)

The formation of workers councils, called soviets, during the 1905 revolution gave a glimpse of how the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship might emerge.

Lenin, in an article, "Our Tasks and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies," written in November 1905, drew special attention to the soviets as "the embryo of a provisional revolutionary government."

"I think," he proposed, "the Soviet should proclaim itself the provisional revolutionary government of the whole of Russia as early as possible, or should set up a provisional revolutionary government (which would amount to the same thing, only in another form)." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 10)

Dual Power

In 1917, after the February insurrection, the Soviets were again established. The authority of these organizations among the masses led Lenin to characterize the situation as one of "dual power."

"What is this dual power?" he wrote in early April. "Alongside the Provisional Government, the government of the bourgeoisie, another government has arisen, so far weak and incipient, but undoubtedly a government that actually exists and is growing — the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies."

"What is the class composition of this other government? It consists of the proletariat and the peasants (in soldiers' uniforms). What is the political nature of this government? It is a revolution-

ary dictatorship, i.e., a power directly based on revolutionary seizure, on the direct initiative of the people from below, and not on a law enacted by a centralized state power." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 24)

Following the February 1917 revolution, many of the older Bolshevik leaders adapted to the Mensheviks who were carrying out a bourgeois-liberal line and supporting the Provisional Revolutionary Government. This put these "old Bolsheviks" in the position of giving *de facto* critical support to the capitalist provisional government.

Lenin fought this tendency toward opportunism. He opposed supporting the Provisional Revolutionary Government and called for the soviets to take power.

He explained:

"The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry has already been realized, but in a highly original manner, and with a number of extremely important modifications. . . .

"According to the old way of thinking, the rule of the bourgeoisie could and should be followed by the rule of the proletariat and the peasantry, by their dictatorship.

"In real life, however, things have already turned out differently; there has been an extremely original, novel and unprecedented interlacing of the one with the other. We have side by side, existing together, simultaneously, both the rule of the bourgeoisie (the government of Lvov and Guchkov) and a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, which is voluntarily ceding power to the bourgeoisie, voluntarily making itself an appendage of the bourgeoisie." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 24)

Worker-Bolsheviks Were Ready

While many of the "old Bolsheviks" took opportunist positions, the majority of worker-Bolsheviks did not. It was this fact that made it possible for Lenin to win a majority for his line at the April 1917 party conference without a great deal of difficulty.

In the *History of the Russian Revolution*, Leon Trotsky explains:

"Already at the beginning of the war, when the government dealt the party a heavy blow by arresting the Bolshevik faction of the Duma, Lenin, speaking of the further revolutionary work, had demanded by the education of the party, of thousands of class-conscious workers, from among whom in spite of all difficulties a new staff of leaders will arise."

"Although separated from these workers by two war fronts, and almost without communication, Lenin had never lost touch with them. 'Let the war, jails, Siberia, hard labor, shatter them twice, ten times, you cannot destroy that stratum. It is alive. It is imbued with revolutionism and anti-

chauvinism.

This point helps underline the fact that Lenin approached the question of the Russian revolution from the standpoint of a party leader and builder. His writings reflect the collective experience and discussions of the Bolshevik party. They are stamped by the objective of arming the party to effectively participate in the class struggle and prepare for the revolution.

Transitional approach

At every stage, the Bolsheviks had to weigh their general conceptions of the revolution with the living reality of the struggle and determine the most effective slogans and arenas of party work.

The kind of party that Lenin sought to build was totally interconnected with his conception of the revolution. The Bolsheviks were a revolutionary workers party armed with the Marxist program. They participated in the mass organizations of the working class in bourgeois elections, and other arenas, with the sole objective of preparing the working class to take power.

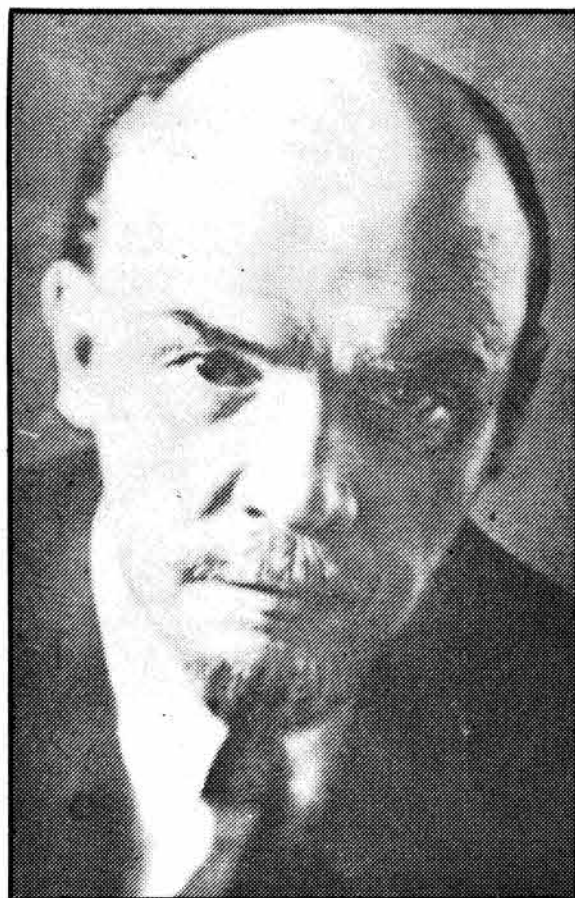
For example, Lenin explained that the work of party members in the trade unions was to educate the workers around the broad social and political issues. "It cannot be too strongly maintained," he wrote in 1902, ". . . that the Social Democrats' ideal should not be the trade union secretary, but the tribune of the people, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; . . . who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth before all his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for all and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat." (*What Is to Be Done?*)

Lenin's writings on the relationship between the democratic and socialist revolutions in Russia also demonstrate how he applied a transitional approach. The Bolsheviks, starting from the objective needs and the level of consciousness of the working class, sought to develop slogans that would help bridge the struggle from one stage to the next and lead it along the road toward socialist revolution.

As Lenin points out in his fourth anniversary article, the Bolsheviks never saw the struggle for immediate and democratic demands as the struggle for "reforms." Rather, struggles around such demands were seen as part of preparing and mobilizing the masses to take political power and, after seizing power, to use it to lead the revolution forward.

The October revolution testifies that Lenin's view of the dynamics of the Russian revolution and the kind of vanguard party it required effectively armed the Bolsheviks to carry through their historic task.

Further reading On socialism and the Russian revolution



By V.I. Lenin

Alliance of the Working Class and Peasantry
391 pp., \$2.45

Emancipation of Women
136 pp., \$1.65

Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism
128 pp., \$1.25

Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder
95 pp., \$1.25

Lenin on the United States
674 pp., \$3.65

Lenin's Collected Works
45 vols. (individual vols. not available), \$100.00

National Liberation Movement in the East
363 pp., \$2.45

On Trade Unions
540 pp., \$2.95

Selected Works of Lenin
3 vols., \$15.00

Speeches at Congresses of the Communist International
176 pp., \$3.45

State and Revolution
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Subscription scoreboard

As of October 31, 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
*Portland	75	70	0	0	75	70	93
New Orleans	110	99	0	2	110	101	92
Atlanta	165	144	10	0	175	144	82
San Diego	90	83	30	9	120	92	77
Salt Lake City	140	116	20	6	160	122	76
*Boston	200	163	25	5	225	168	75
Detroit	200	157	15	4	215	161	75
*Washington, D.C.	235	191	40	16	275	207	75
Philadelphia	110	100	40	11	150	111	74
*San Antonio	130	97	35	21	165	118	72
*Lincoln	40	26	0	2	40	28	70
St. Louis	115	84	5	0	120	84	70
Louisville	125	85	0	0	125	85	68
Newark	275	220	75	13	350	233	67
*Piedmont	180	120	0	1	180	121	67
Capital District	90	61	5	1	95	62	65
Denver	95	62	5	3	100	65	65
*Brooklyn	475	322	75	18	550	340	62
*Harrisburg	130	79	0	0	130	79	61
*Birmingham	200	116	0	3	200	119	60
Oakland	170	115	30	2	200	117	59
Kansas City	125	76	25	11	150	87	58
*Pittsburgh	290	168	10	3	300	171	57
Tucson	20	18	15	2	35	20	57
Chicago	215	122	35	8	250	130	52
Los Angeles	325	187	75	20	400	207	52
Milwaukee	150	85	25	5	175	90	51
Phoenix	75	41	25	10	100	51	51
Twin Cities	180	91	0	0	180	91	51
*Iron Range	110	55	0	0	110	55	50
**Cincinnati	70	32	0	0	70	32	46
Gary	115	57	10	0	125	57	46
Baltimore	130	59	5	1	135	60	44
**Toledo	50	21	0	0	50	21	42
San Francisco	150	76	50	6	200	82	41
Seattle	140	55	10	7	150	62	41
*Manhattan	705	301	245	43	950	344	36
Indianapolis	125	42	0	0	125	42	34
Morgantown	120	41	0	0	120	41	34
Albuquerque	60	24	25	2	85	26	31
Miami	90	26	10	3	100	29	29
Dallas	110	36	50	7	160	43	27
Tidewater	120	27	0	0	120	27	23
San Jose	90	20	40	5	130	25	19
Charleston	125	22	0	0	125	22	18
Houston	135	10	40	0	175	10	6
Miscellaneous		217		28		245	
TOTAL	7230	4476	1110	281	8340	4757	57
SHOULD BE		3468		532		4000	50

*indicates area that has raised goal
**indicates area petitioning to put SWP on ballot

'Mel Mason's paper' sells well in Seaside

By Nancy Rosenstock

Saturday, October 31, was a special day for socialists in Seaside, California. On that day, they were joined by socialists from Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Oakland for a busy round of door-to-door canvassing, introducing people to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The results: sixteen new subscribers to the *Militant*. In addition, fifty copies of the *Militant*, nine of the *Young Socialist*, and three of *PM* were sold.

Seaside is a particularly important place for socialists. In March 1980, Mel Mason, a longtime Black rights activist and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, was elected to the Seaside City Council.

Mason has been speaking out for low-rent public housing and affirmative action, and against cutbacks and police brutality. He is for increasing the decision-making of Seaside's citizens in local issues.

Knocking on doors throughout Seaside, socialists got an immediate response by introducing the *Militant* as "Mel Mason's newspaper." Mason's stand on issues is well known in Seaside, and those who share his views were interested in finding a paper that covered not only his activities, but national and international issues as well.

Two new readers live in Villa Del Monte, a senior-citizen housing project that Mason was successful in helping to obtain federal funds for.

Three subscriptions were sold at a barbecue held by the Citizens League for Progress, a group of mainly Black residents that supported Mason for city council.

One new reader is a member of the Laborers Union, another is a member of the California State Employees Association, and three are members of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), of which Mason is a national leader.

In addition to introducing people to the *Militant*, socialists helped to distribute leaflets for an upcoming forum on "How to Fight Reagan's Budget Cuts," sponsored jointly by the NBIPP, the Citizens League for Progress, and the NAACP.

Another team will be out next weekend to follow up on fourteen people who

expressed a desire to buy a subscription to the *Militant* but did not have the money at the time.

On November 9, they will set up a subscription table at Monterey Peninsula College, where Mason works.

This past week was also a special week for supporters of Betsy Soares, the SWP candidate for mayor of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. During the ten days leading up to the elections, socialists went on a big effort to distribute campaign literature and introduce people to the *Militant*.

Teams went door to door in Winston-Salem, Greensboro, and nearby Danville, a textile city. On the job, socialists were busy selling subscriptions. All in all, thirty-five new readers were gained.

Soares received considerable publicity just before the election as the result of a court order that put her name on the ballot. The ruling was the result of a suit filed by the SWP against undemocratic election laws.

In Miami, where thousands of Haitians are enraged about the recent deaths of refugees from their country, socialists have been attending meetings and selling copies of the *Militant* with back-page coverage of the recent tragedy. In three days, forty copies of the *Militant* were sold, as well as several subscriptions.

Renewals are rapidly coming in from those who took advantage of the *Militant's* special offer at Solidarity Day, September 19. To date, thirty-eight people have decided to renew the *Militant* for three months or longer.

Each new subscriber from Solidarity Day is offered a pamphlet with their renewal: either "Malcolm X Talks to Young People," "El Salvador: Why the U.S. Government Hides the Truth," or "Poland: Workers in Revolt." So far, interest in all three pamphlets is about equal.

In addition, each new subscriber is offered the chance to sell subscriptions to their friends. Several readers have taken us up on this offer, and have gotten their own subscription extended for two months at no extra charge.

A student from Bloomington, Indiana, summed up the feeling of many of these new readers: "Wonderful paper! Keep the articles so nice and in depth, and the great variety."



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☐ New ☐ Renewal
☐ Enclosed is a contribution to the *Militant*.

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Union/Organization _____

Rapid pace set in Toledo as socialists wind up campaign

TOLEDO — September 17, the day after the Toledo municipal primary, Sue Skinner, Socialist Workers Party city council candidate, appeared on a panel sponsored by Women In Toledo with other women candidates.

Though Skinner had narrowly lost in the "nonpartisan" primary election, she continued her campaign as a write-in candidate for council. She ran with Kurt Landefeld, the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor.

"None of the Democratic and Republican candidates campaign very much until after the primary," Skinner explained. "But now that the primary is over there are tons of candidates' programs sponsored by many community groups. We didn't want Toledoans to be cheated out of the chance to hear about some real alternatives in this election and the wonderful opportunity to continue important political discussions, so we decided to continue with a write-in campaign. The last few days of the campaign, I have had a speaking engagement at least once a night and sometimes twice!"

Skinner, a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 7-346 and an employee at the Sohio Refinery in Toledo, also attended a luncheon candidates' program at the Sun

Oil Refinery. "Most candidates stayed upstairs to eat and chat with the top brass," explained Skinner. "I went downstairs to the lunchroom where workers were eating and playing cards. As soon as they found out I was in their union and worked the cat cracker at Sohio, we never stopped talking."

"One worker came back to talk again — he had underlined different parts of the brochure he had questions about. When I got back to Sohio after lunch, everyone there wanted to know how it went and what's going on at Sun."

There is a lot of support for the socialist campaign at Sohio too. Several of Skinner's co-workers have donated money to her campaign and some have put up yard signs. "People really follow the campaign. Many let me know if they saw me on TV or in the paper. One worker told me about a candidates' program he saw on TV — he let me know because they hadn't invited me too."

At a recent local 7-346 union meeting, workers were discussing the need for OCAW to be involved in politics. One worker mentioned Skinner's campaign. The meeting voted unanimously to donate \$25.00 to the campaign and allow a sign to be put up in front of the union hall. The sign reads: "Put a Worker in Council. Write-in Sue Skinner!"

Racist gerrymander blocked in New York

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — If Blacks and Latinos comprise 50 percent of the city's population, how do you hold them to 19 percent on the city council? Easy. You gerrymander the district. And when the time comes for redistricting, you juggle some more and whittle it down to 18 percent.

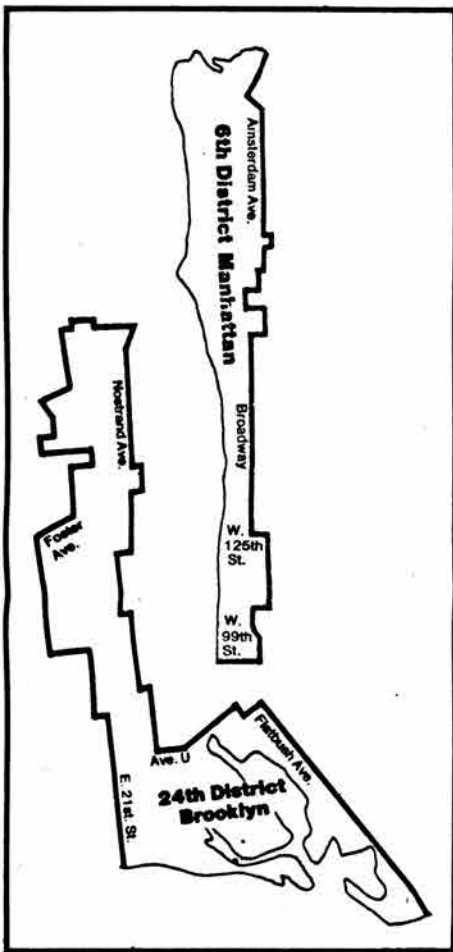
That's what New York officials were doing until the Puerto Rican Legal and Educational Defense Fund took them to court.

A federal judge barred scheduled elections to the council because the city had failed to obtain necessary Justice Department approval of the redistricting plan.

Now the Justice Department has found that the plan is discriminatory and must be redrawn.

They put it very delicately.

They said they were "unable to conclude" that the districts in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx "were drawn without any discriminatory racial purpose or effect."



Justice officials noted that one proposed Bronx district was "drawn in a convoluted manner and the unusual shape of the district contributes to the fragmentation of minority voting rights."

They pointed to a Brooklyn district that is nearly five miles long and, in places, less than a half-mile wide. This was intended, the department found, to take nonwhite voters out of a neighboring district "which would be controlled by white voters."

One slated district cuts a ribbon through Harlem and beyond — running six miles long and as little as three blocks wide.

Under the old plan there were eight Black or Latino members on a city council of forty-three. (Ten are elected at-large — all currently white — and thirty-three from councilmanic districts.)

Under the new plan, two new districts would have been added. But the number of nonwhite members would have been held to eight.

Last spring, state assembly member Al Vann, a Black Brooklyn Democrat, issued a study showing that if the councilmanic districts were fairly drawn, Blacks and Puerto Ricans would have nineteen of the thirty-three seats elected from districts.

The plan that was vetoed by the Justice Department was drawn up by the city council and signed into law by Democratic Mayor Koch, now running for reelection.

The Democrats have a big majority on the city council, and a majority of this majority is generally regarded as liberal.

The city council will now draw up a new plan for Justice Department approval. The state legislature will then set a new date for elections to the council. These had been slated to take place along with the elections for city-wide posts November 3.

The Socialist Workers Party has nominated Susan Wald for city council president, Ray Markey and Diane Wang for councilmembers at-large, Miriam McCray for the District 2 seat, and Victor Nieto for District 6.

The blatantly racist gerrymandering by the current council, and the mayor, is one more good reason to support the SWP ticket.

TV debates bring SWP good response

NEW YORK — The last weeks of the Socialist Workers campaign here included a symposium on the elections, final rallies in Manhattan and Brooklyn, and a number of TV and radio appearances by mayoral nominee Wells Todd.

The October 16 symposium on election policy included representatives of the Black United Front, Citizens Party, New Alliance Party, Black Independent Political Party, and Socialist Workers Party. Gilberto Girena Valentin, Democratic member of the city council, also participated.

Girena Valentin spoke in support of Unity Party nominee Frank Barbaro, as did the representatives of the Black United Front and the Citizens and New Alliance parties.

The National Black Independent Political party is not taking a position on this election. The SWP representative argued for independent working-class political action, as opposed to support for Barbaro.

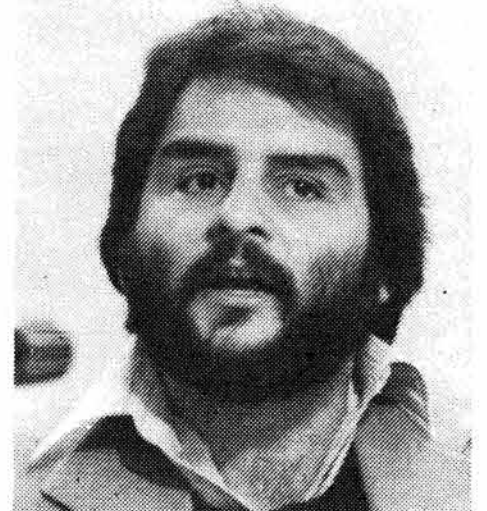
Wells Todd spoke at both the Manhattan and Brooklyn windup meetings.

In Manhattan he was joined on the platform by two leaders of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO), a Black student leader who was expelled from Queens College for his political activity, and a leading figure in the H-Block/Armagh Committee.

Tony Maimone, a PATCO northeast regional representative, and Mitch Cooke, former president of PATCO at LaGuardia airport, both vowed the union would continue its fight despite the heavy blow of decertification. Maimone scored AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland for failing to give more than "a little lip service" to the strike.

Father Don Kenna described the plight of Dessie Mackin, who is imprisoned here and fighting extradition to Northern Ireland where he faces British frameup charges.

Kenneth Nelson described his court fight to win reinstatement at Queens College. He was expelled on trumped-up academic grounds after inviting a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to speak on the campus, where Zionist groups are very influential, and for editing a Black campus paper that spoke out forthrightly on political issues.



Militant/Lou Howort
SWP city council candidate Victor Nieto.

Veronica Cruz, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, appealed for participation in the organization's activity and invited people to attend its national convention in Philadelphia, New Year's weekend.

At the Brooklyn meeting, PATCO leader Maimone again shared the platform with Todd, as did Kenneth Nelson. The meeting also heard William Henning, a staff representative of the Communications Workers of America, who is a partisan of building a labor party. Enriqueta Acevedo spoke for the YSA.

Todd also participated, to good effect, in two television debates with the other mayoral candidates. His working-class approach to issues and unequivocal answers to questions stood in marked contrast to incumbent Mayor Koch and the other candidates.

The effect was evidenced in audience response. On these two programs and another radio appearance, Todd mentioned briefly that a sample copy of the *Militant* could be obtained by phoning his campaign office.

Over a two-day period, seventy-five people called in for copies of the paper. At least half a dozen indicated they would like to subscribe. Most of those who called seemed to be young people. One exception was an enthusiastic caller who described himself as "a retired Polish worker." He said he strongly favored Todd's call for nationalization of the Con Edison power utility and other monopolies.

Labor parley to discuss nuke plants, weapons

By Norton Sandler

"If meltdowns don't get us, it would seem some fool (read Reagan, Haig etc.) is bound to push the button. . . . The question is, of course, the survival of the human race."

Like thousands of other unionists, Michael Olszanski, head of the Environmental Committee of Steelworkers Local 1010 at Inland Steel in Gary, Indiana, thinks the labor movement can help turn this situation around.

"If you want to find out where the American labor movement is at on the question of nuclear power and weapons," Olszanski wrote in a recent edition of his union local's paper, "don't fail to attend the second annual National Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment, in Gary, November 20 thru 22."

Olszanski is one of the key builders of the conference, which is sponsored by nine international unions including the United Mine Workers, the International Association of Machinists, and the United Food and Commercial Workers.

The conference comes at an important time. Reagan and the Democrats and Republicans in Congress are pushing ahead with plans to build the Clinch River Breeder Reactor in Tennessee, to streamline the licensing

process for new nuclear plants, and to produce the neutron bomb and MX missile system.

Opposition to the government's moves is mounting worldwide. In Europe, hundreds of thousands demonstrated against nuclear weapons in recent weeks. In Britain, West Germany, Belgium, and Italy, these were among the largest demonstrations since World War II.

In the United States, thousands of the unionists who marched in the AFL-CIO Solidarity Day demonstration on September 19 carried signs reading, "jobs, not bombs."

Thousands protested the proposed opening of the Diablo Canyon nuclear plant which is constructed on an earthquake fault in California.

Thousands more have protested plans to deploy the MX missile in Utah and Nevada.

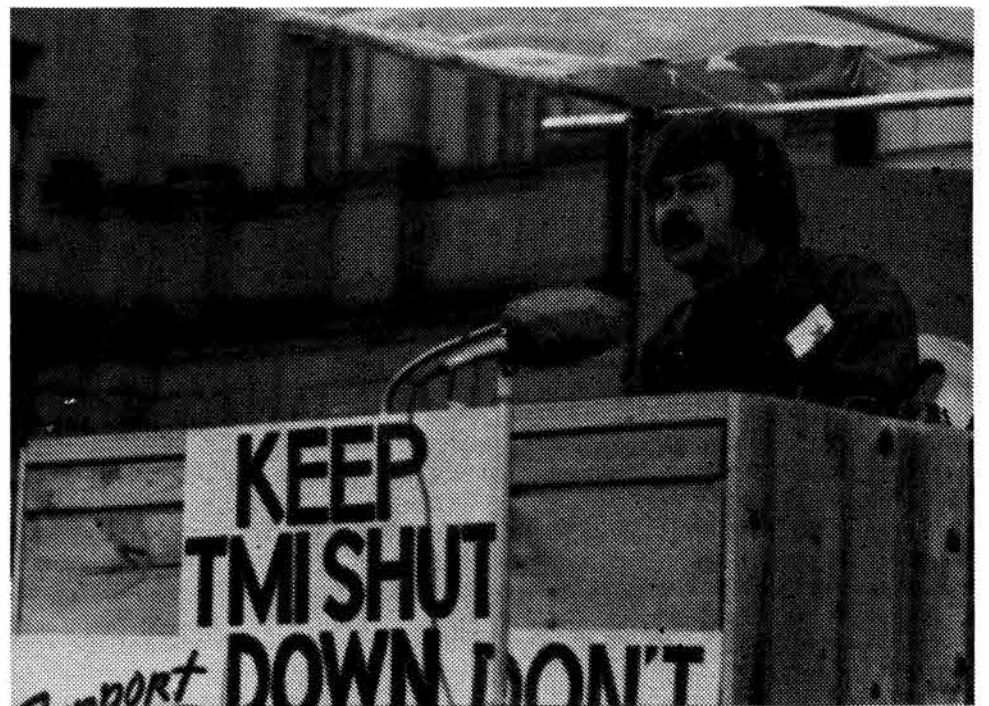
Opponents of nuclear power, led by the Steelworkers, scored an impressive victory in September when the Northern Indiana Public Service Company halted construction on the Baily nuclear plant in Gary.

But there is much left to do. Congress just passed a budget that significantly increased funds for nuclear power and weapons while slashing vitally needed social services.

"Political power is what it will take to change national priorities," says Olszanski. "Right now the priority is profits in bombs, missiles, and nuclear plants. That's why, though nobody wants them, they get built."

The miners, steelworkers, rail work-

ers, and other unionists who come to the Gary conference will have a chance to discuss charting not only an alternative energy policy but the political course needed to turn around the decisions being passed in the halls of Congress today.



Militant/Lou Howort
Steel unionist Mike Olszanski addresses Harrisburg antinuclear rally.

Mexican election campaign: PRT calls for workers gov't

By Matilde Zimmermann

MEXICO CITY — Television viewers here were introduced to a new type of election campaign the evening of October 11. It was the first of a series of scheduled broadcasts by the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International.

The program used film of workers' demonstrations and El Salvador support marches to show the PRT as a party of action. It was a clear statement of support for trade-union democracy, for the peasants' struggle for land, and against repression.

PRT leader Pedro Peñola expained the need for a workers government in Mexico, which he said was the only kind of government that could consistently stand up to imperialism. "Don't vote for the parties of the bosses," he said. "We must vote for a party of workers and struggle, for government that really represents our interests."

Censorship

The PRT has for the first time won official ballot status, and will participate as a registered party in the presidential elections scheduled for July 1982. This status gives it the right to present fifteen-minute programs twice a month from now until the elections. Each will be shown on four different television channels and broadcast over four radio stations. The PRT has offered some of its time to the El Salvador solidarity movement to use to build support for the Salvadoran revolution.

But Mexican "democracy" has its limits. The PRT fought for more than three years before it was finally registered as an official party. And on the very day of the first television program, five minutes were cut by government censors. The suppressed segment would have shown PRT presidential candidate Rosario Ibarra de Piedra interviewing relatives of two political prisoners who have "disappeared" in police custody.

The PRT announced the candidacy of Ibarra de Piedra at a rally of 1,400 in Mexico City last April 5. The candidate is a leader of the National Front Against Repression (FNCR) and the most prominent figure in the struggle for democratic rights in Mexico. She was one of the speakers at a rally of 60,000 that took place October 2 in Mexico City to commemorate the assassination of 300 student protesters in 1968.

Class independence

Among the central themes of the election campaign are working-class political independence, internationalism, and unity in action. For the activists of the PRT, these are more than just electoral slogans. In recent months, the PRT has been involved in supporting a strike of metalworkers at Laminadora Mexicana de Metales and a fight for union democracy at Goodyear Oxo; building an in-

ternational conference in solidarity with El Salvador; campaigning against the expulsion of Guatemalan peasant refugees from southern Mexico; and building October 2 and other demonstrations against repression.

In addition to Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, and Miguel de la Madrid, the candidate of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), two other candidates have been announced. One is from the right-wing National Action Party (PAN), and the other is Heriberto Castillo, the leader of the Mexican Workers' Party (PMT) and a prominent figure in the workers movement.

Although the PMT does not have official ballot status, the Mexican Communist Party (PCM) does. The PCM, PMT, and three smaller parties have announced they are fusing into a single party, which they say will be "the only party of the left."

Leaders of the PRT have proposed to the Castillo campaign and the new party that discussion be held to see if a united election campaign is possible. But these initiatives have not been answered.

Confront president

Both the PRT and Rosario Ibarra de Piedra as an individual have demonstrated that they are not afraid to speak up for the oppressed, not intimidated by the power of the ruling PRI. Nowhere was this clearer than at President López Portillo's annual speech on the state of the republic on September 1.

Because of its official status, the PRT had the right to send representatives to the speech and reception, although this status did not prevent the police from following and harassing them.

Ibarra de Piedra and several leaders of the PRT left for the Legislative Palace from a sit-in that the FNCR had been holding outside a church as a three-day protest against government repression.

At the reception, Ibarra de Piedra went up to López Portillo and said, "Mr. President, I didn't come to congratulate you. I came to demand an answer. I have the tremendous responsibility of representing 500 Mexican women, and we want you to answer us. We want you to deal with the problem of our 'disappeared' relatives."

"You must be Mrs. Rosario Ibarra de Piedra," said the president. To her demand for a meeting to discuss the problem of the "disappeared," he would only say, "we'll see," over and over.

Workers & peasants gov't

Bandera Socialista, the newspaper of the PRT, published an interview with Ibarra de Piedra in its October 12 issue. The candidate was asked what kind of campaign she thought was needed for the 1982 Mexican elections.

"The first thing that has to be made clear is that no candidate, even a candidate of the revolutionary left, is going to be able to solve the most pressing and serious problems. Anyone who says he or she can is just trying to trick the working masses."

"We have to make clear that only a government of the workers, the poor peasants, the oppressed sectors, can lay the basis for eliminating once and for all the causes of unemployment, poverty, ignorance, disease, and so on."

"We have to make people understand that in order to achieve this kind of government we have to build the kind of political movement that is strong enough to do away with the current government. We have to call on people to fight against the politics of austerity, low wages, inflation, and attacks on democratic rights — in other words against the politics of repression."

"Through constant struggles big and small, every day we must be building the kind of political force that can take on the PRI and its government."

From Intercontinental Press



Rosario Ibarra confronts López Portillo

Solidarity with Central America



and the Caribbean

Oregon AFL-CIO condemns junta

In an important development in the labor movement, the Oregon State AFL-CIO at its recent convention, held September 12-18, passed the following resolution calling on the U.S. government to end all military aid to El Salvador. It is the first state AFL-CIO convention to adopt such a resolution.

"Whereas the Human Rights Commission of the Archdiocese of San Salvador, El Salvador, has documented 16,700 assassinations, hundreds of disappeared and illegally detained persons in El Salvador between October 15, 1979, and July 1981 . . .

"And whereas the same Human Rights Commission has reported that approximately 80 percent of these assassinations have been committed by the El Salvador Armed Forces and Government-condoned paramilitary groups . . .

"And whereas the majority of the human rights violations have been committed against the working people of El Salvador, such as the bombing of Union halls, which has directly impeded the free trade union organizations . . .

"And whereas the U.S. government has fully supported the present El Salvador junta Government since its inception on October 15, 1979; and has recently stepped up its military aid to said junta . . . be it resolved,

"That the Oregon AFL-CIO go on record recommending that the National Executive of the AFL-CIO support the cessation of all U.S. military aid to El Salvador;

"And be it finally resolved that Oregon AFL-CIO goes on record recommending that the National Executive Council of the AFL-CIO adopt a policy towards El Salvador recognizing the right of El Salvadorans to determine their own political destiny, free from the intervention of outside political and military forces."

1,400 attend solidarity events in Wisconsin

Robert Dees reports from Milwaukee that over 1,400 people in four Wisconsin cities participated in El Salvador solidarity events October 9-12. The events included a tour by Salvadoran trade unionist Rosa Rivera, a teach-in and a public debate between the FDR and the U.S. State Department.

Rosa Rivera taught middle school in El Salvador for thirty years, and was a cofounder of ANDES, the National Association of Salvadoran Educators. She has lost a brother and a son to the government security forces.

During a six-day tour, Rivera spoke at citywide events in Milwaukee, Madison, and Racine. She also addressed the Wisconsin AFL-CIO State Women's Conference and two locals of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; had meetings at five college campuses; and was interviewed on two radio broadcasts.

When Rivera attacked the policy of cutting social programs in the United States to finance the murderous junta, the 200-plus women gathered at the women's conference interrupted her with applause and gave her a standing ovation.

During the conference, Catherine Conroy, an officer of the Communications Workers of America, introduced a resolution criticizing U.S. support to the junta, which passed unanimously.

In Milwaukee and Racine, Rivera shared the speakers' platform with William Troestler, international representative of United Auto Workers Region 10.

Among the sponsors of the tour were UAW Region 10; Joe Robison, executive director of AFSCME District Council 48; Ted Krukowski, President, United Electrical Workers Local 1111; Smith Steelworkers, DALU 19806; American Federation of Teachers Local 212; and the Central America Solidarity Coalition.

At the University of Wisconsin, the Latin American Solidarity Committee (LASC) sponsored a four-day teach-in, including films and lectures on U.S. intervention in Latin America and the liberation struggles.

The high point of the teach-in was a debate cosponsored by LASC and various university departments between Mario Velasquez of the FDR and State Department representative Michael Barry.

Mexican conference on El Salvador

Matilde Zimmermann reports from Mexico City that an overflow crowd of more than 300 delegates and observers from twenty-five countries gathered October 10 and 11 for the First International Conference in Solidarity with the Salvadoran Revolution. Initiated by the Mexican Committee in Solidarity with the Salvadoran People, the meeting brought together representatives of solidarity committees from Asia, Europe, and all over the Western Hemisphere.

The conference adopted concrete proposals to support and build coordinated demonstrations in European cities on November 27, the first anniversary of the assassination of FDR leaders in El Salvador; an international march in Mexico City January 22; and an International Forum on Solidarity with the Salvadoran Revolution in Mexico City in February 1982.

Marisol Galindo, a leader of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, addressed the conference participants. Heidi Tarver, a coordinator of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador in the United States, and Tom Hartley, a representative of the Irish republican movement, were also on hand at the conference.

—Nelson González

Please send information on activities in your area to Nelson González, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Government steps up attacks

Irish freedom fighters held in U.S. prisons

By Marc Lichtman

The past year has seen an upsurge in the struggle for Irish freedom, with a worldwide campaign in support of the hunger strikers' demands. In response, the U.S. government has supported Margaret Thatcher's policies in Ireland, and has attacked the movement in this country in support of Irish freedom.

Owen Carron, who was elected to the British Parliament from Northern Ireland to fill the seat vacated by the death of hunger striker Bobby Sands, was denied a visa to enter the United States for a one-week tour in October. His tour would have included meetings with more than twenty members of the U.S. Congress.

Dessie Mackin was arrested in October 1980 when he came to this country without a visa to organize a speaking tour for former H-Block prisoners. Denied bail, he has been in jail since then.

Mackin had agreed to accept deportation to the Irish Republic, but shortly before his plane was to leave, the U.S. government informed him that it would seek his extradition to Northern Ireland, where he faces frame-up charges of attempted murder of a British soldier.

On August 14, 1981, U.S. Magistrate Naomi Reice Buchwald ruled that, even if Mackin committed the act he is accused of, he acted on political grounds and is therefore protected from extradition under an exemption in a treaty between the U.S. and Britain.

Although Mackin won his case, he remains in prison pending a ruling on the government's appeal. And, one week after Magistrate Buchwald's favorable ruling, Mackin was arbitrarily denied visits by all but immediate family, all of whom live in Ireland.

There is now a bill in the U.S. Senate, S-1639, which would take the question of whether an offense committed by a person facing extradition is political out of the hands of the courts and put it into the hands of the Secretary of State.

Michael O'Rourke, another Irish republican, is in the same New York jail as Mackin, the Metropolitan Correctional Center. His visitation rights were taken away at the same time.

Imprisoned on a weapons charge in the Irish Republic, O'Rourke escaped in 1976. He came to the United States the following year and lived under a pseudonym.

On October 30, 1979, O'Rourke was detained in Philadelphia by agents of the FBI, Secret Service, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. None

of them had warrants for his arrest. An hour and a half later, he was arrested by an agent of the Immigration and Naturalization Service as an illegal alien.

The local U.S. attorney told the press that O'Rourke was implicated in the assassination of Lord Mountbatten. After this statement received wide publicity, he retracted it. After a month, O'Rourke was moved to the New York prison. He is now charged only with overstaying his visa, but he has been in jail for two years on the grounds that he is a bad bail risk.

On June 5 of this year, Judge Ernest Hupp, who had in several ways in court indicated a favorable disposition toward O'Rourke, ordered himself removed from the case. He stated that he had been "unjustly harassed and intimidated" by agents of the INS who had trailed him.

Also in June 1981, just a few days after 5,000 New Yorkers demonstrated against the visit of British Prince Charles, three activists were arrested in New York on charges of violating federal firearms statutes, and were accused of planning to ship weapons to the IRA. The three are each out on \$100,000 bail. They are pleading not guilty. Each faces up to ten years in prison and a \$10,000 fine if convicted.

The three are George Harrison, sixty-seven; Thomas Falvey, fifty-three; and Patrick Mullin, forty-three. Harrison, a well-known figure in the Irish solidarity movement in New York, is currently active in the H-Block/Armagh Committee. The other two are frequent participants in demonstrations in support of Irish freedom.

On October 1, Michael Flannery, seventy-eight, a director of Irish Northern Aid, was arrested and charged with having supplied money to the other three to buy guns. Flannery denied the charges, and was released without bail. His trial, and that of the other three, is set for November 23.

Flannery's arrest is an attempt to prejudice Northern Aid's appeal of a May federal court ruling that the group has to register as an agent of the IRA under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Irish Northern Aid raises money for families of political prisoners in Northern Ireland. The court decision and the arrest of Flannery are part of a long government campaign to try to convince people that the money really goes to buy weapons for the IRA.



Rashaad Ali, long-time New Orleans area activist, says Solidarity Day demonstration gave indication of power a labor party would harness.

Ali enters New Orleans mayoral race

By Ron Repps

NEW ORLEANS — Rashaad Ali, Louisiana chairperson of the Socialist Workers Party, announced his candidacy for mayor of New Orleans at a news conference here October 13. The election is in April 1982.

He scored Mayor Ernest Morel, a Black Democrat, for his failure to secure prosecution and conviction of the cops who gunned down four innocent Black people in the Algiers-Fisher housing project last November.

Ali has long been active in the New Orleans area. He played a leading role in the fight here in defense of on-the-job affirmative action for Black and women workers. He participated in organizing the Atlanta march against the murder of Black children there. Recently he appeared on New Orleans talk shows helping to publicize the September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington.

Solidarity Day, he said, underlined the power of the workers movement, indicating what a strong force a labor party could be. He cited the National Black Independent Political Party as an example of the kind of political independence that's needed.

Asked his view of "Reaganomics," Ali responded, "There's only one government department that hasn't suffered because of the cutbacks, and that's the military. So, when children are given ketchup as a vegetable we're supposed to feel better because some admiral or general has greater potential to oppose the freedom struggles around the world."

Ali favors a public takeover of New Orleans Public Service, Inc. (NOPSI), the gas, electric, and public transportation monopoly.

Louisville needs 'pro-labor environment,' says SWP candidate Rayson

By Bob Hill

LOUISVILLE — "My Democratic and Republican opponents are proposing Reaganomics on a municipal and county level," charged Chris Rayson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Louisville.

Rayson, a laborer at the Jeffboat shipyard and member of Teamsters Local 89, said his opponents' "solution to unemployment is to create a 'pro-business environment' to attract jobs to Louisville. Well, I'm saying we need to create a prolabor environment."

In his speech to a recent campaign rally here, Rayson said, "The labor movement needs to launch a campaign to shorten the work week with no cut in pay to spread jobs around." Unemployment here has hit hard, with thousands fired or laid off.

Rayson's running mate, Patricia Van Houten, candidate for Jefferson County judge, took up the "law-and-order" theme of her opponents. With 25 percent of county funds already going to the police, Van Houten said, more cops are not the solution.

"With 51 percent of Black youth unemployed, the lack of jobs is a crime. With thousands laid off and big business still boasting profits, that's a crime. Crime is the denial of welfare benefits to 12,000 Jefferson County women and children, as happened on October 1," said Van Houten.

The night before the rally, Rayson met with co-workers at a tavern near the Jeffboat yard where they work. A former coal miner agreed with the idea of forming a labor party. A Vietnam veteran liked Rayson's opposition to Reagan's war drive and thought the U.S. should stay out of El Salvador. Several Jeffboat workers attended the rally.

Campaign supporters picketed the studios of WLKY-TV October 24. They protested Rayson's exclusion from a televised League of Women Voters-sponsored mayoral debate.

Support for Rayson's right to be in the debate came from the Kentucky Civil Liberties Union and Anne Braden, longtime civil rights leader. A formal Federal Communications Commission complaint was filed.

The Louisville *Courier-Journal* ran a major article on the two candidates, with photographs of them campaigning and a look at their stand on key issues.

— Mark Friedman

Grain magnates exploit farmers and hungry

September Wheat. Written and directed by Peter Krieg.

The United States is often referred to as the "breadbasket of the world." Iowa raises one tenth of all the corn on the planet, and Kansas and South Dakota produce more wheat than all of Australia. One bushel of wheat out of every two grown in the United States is exported.

The central message of the film *September Wheat* is how two corporations, Cargill and Continental, domi-

Food for Peace program, the film points out, the Philippines was forced to deny Cuba jute sacks needed for bagging sugar, in exchange for desperately needed food.

One of the most astonishing scenes in the film shows a computer center in Texas that is able to pinpoint any area in the world of even a few hundred square miles and obtain an extremely detailed read-out on the climate, harvest figures, type of soil, whether there had been any storms that wiped out the crops, and so on. In this way, the center is able to determine the state of a country's food larder, analyzing its position of political strength or weakness.

Facts presented in the film point to the dire predicament facing the working farmer: John Deere and International Harvester control 60 percent of the farm machinery market in the U.S.; American farmers are in debt to the tune of \$120 billion; and Cargill and Continental have a virtual monopoly on the rail transport of wheat. They use their market power to exploit working farmers by charging them monopoly prices for transport.

Working farmers make up the bulk of wheat growers in this country. These farmers are the ones who

take all the risks in growing crops, sometimes being wiped out by bad weather and always facing rising debts at the hands of the banks. Farmers interviewed in the film put the blame on big-business politicians and food distributors for artificial food shortages, price-fixing, and consequently world hunger. They explain that this is done through what one farmer calls "paper wheat"; that is, transactions of the federal government and the Board of Trade in Chicago, which operates like a stock market for wheat and other grains.

The film is particularly effective in showing the power of the wheat transnationals, but it is weak in pointing to what can be done.

The most moving scene of the film is that of a farmer addressing the camera and saying that if he could just count on getting parity for his crops, he would gladly give the remainder of his wheat away to help feed the rest of the world.

This film complements the informative book on the subject of the monopolistic grain trading companies and their political power, *Merchants of Grain*, by Dan Morgan (Viking, 1979).

Film

nate the U.S. wheat market, from seed to loaf of bread. Together, these two companies handle one half of all the grain exported from the United States.

This wheat monopoly has awesome political power. The film quotes capitalist politicians, such as the late Minnesota Senator Hubert Humphrey, on how great it is that people around the world are dependent upon the United States for food. Through Washington's

Editorial replies

In compliance with the "fairness" doctrine of the Federal Communications Act, broadcasters make time available for views opposed to their editorials. These are some recent responses by the New York Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Nationalize utilities

This statement by Rachele Fruit was telecast September 11, 12, and 13.



We disagree with WABC Editorial's support for the new Power Authority Plan that in ten years might save city residents ten percent in electricity costs.

Working people need immediate relief from the profit-hungry utilities, especially Con Edison. With the increasing cost of electricity, gas, food, housing, rent, and transportation, we need a policy that puts human needs before profits. The Socialist Workers Party believes that the entire energy industry should be nationalized. It should be put under the control of a publicly elected board. Its financial books should be made public. Working conditions, health, and safety in the industry should be controlled by the workers themselves.

Nuclear power is not a solution, either. We believe it is unsafe and Indian Point should be shut down right now. Coal is the answer. Solar energy should be expanded, with money for this coming from the elimination of the war budget.

Working people are increasingly disenchanted with the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties. This has led to a discussion within the labor movement about the need to form a labor party, a new third party based on the trade unions that would represent the interests of working people and not the rich. The Socialist Workers Party supports the formation of a labor party and participates in the movement against nuclear power, for nationalizing Con Edison, and for jobs for all.

Guardian Angels

This statement by Veronica Cruz was telecast July 20 and 21.



A recent WABC-TV Editorial spoke with favor about an agreement between New York City Police and the Guardian Angels. The accord permits the groups to function independently and autonomously.

Should working people applaud this agreement? Is "crime in the streets" the real cause for the problems that affect working people? Are the Guardian Angels a progressive development? The answer to these questions is "no."

The Angels, who now are just another police auxiliary, have the function of harassing and intimidating working people, especially the poor and unemployed Black and Hispanic youth. None of their activities, like arresting turnstyle jumpers, address the real problems of joblessness, lack of day care and other social services, police brutality and racist violence.

A few years ago, the Black Panther Party and the Young Lords Party were formed following years of struggle for civil rights. These groups not only advocated community patrols but also took up problems of racism, war and unemployment. They linked the safety of the community with progressive political and economic change. The Angels do the opposite. As a garment worker, and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, I think that the Angels-police alliance offers no way out for the working people of this city.

Support PATCO

This statement in support of the PATCO strike was made October 22 by Rosalind Melnicoff in response to a WNBC editorial.



On September 19, close to half a million people demonstrated in Washington, D.C. on Solidarity Day. This action clearly showed that President Reagan has no mandate from the working class.

At both the Labor Day march in New York and the Solidarity Day action in D.C. thousands of members of the striking air traffic controllers union were present. On both occasions they were enthusiastically greeted by their brother and sister unionists from both the private and public sectors.

In contrast to WNBC and the federal, state, and local governments, the Socialist Workers Party defends the right of all working people to strike. Wherever human beings agree to work for wages we have the right to collectively withhold that labor.

In the face of the austerity drive and the threat of war, the union breaking actions of the White House pose a threat to the rights of all working people. We should draw on the example of the Polish workers. Solidarity is what is needed today.

Social Security

This response by Victor Nieto to a WNBC editorial was made August 28.



We can all agree the social security system needs reform, but the Socialist Workers Party disagrees with the reforms proposed by WNBC-TV and President Reagan. The establishment of social security in the 1930's was a victory for working people. Now the President wants to take social security away.

Any proposals putting more of the burden for financing social security on the backs of working people is unacceptable. Government has the money to pay increased social security benefits and to give everyone a guaranteed job and the right to a secure retirement.

The Socialist Workers Party proposes: eliminating the military budget and using the funds to create a public works program to develop jobs and build low cost housing, schools, hospitals and free mass transit; tax corporations; eliminate welfare for the rich through government subsidies.

To win, we need a new political party. A labor party based on the trade unions to fight for the interests of the majority.

Take over railroads

Steve Wattenmaker made this statement October 9 on behalf of the Young Socialist Alliance.



As a railroad worker I disagree with the WPIX proposals on Conrail.

Unfortunately WPIX has joined the railroad companies and Democratic and Republican politicians in attacking the rights and hard-fought gains of rail workers. We are not to blame for the high fares and cutbacks. The mismanaged and profit hungry companies are at fault. Most of us work long hours under unsafe conditions and receive considerably less than the much talked about \$40,000 salaries that only a few receive. The rules that need to be changed on the railroad are those that require crew members to be on duty sixteen hours a day, seven days a week.

Management, not the unions, have gutted service. Their portrayal of fire men and women as unnecessary, recommending their removal, jeopardizes the safety of workers and riders. We are concerned about service and safety and will continue our protests, like marching on Washington on September 19.

The continuing failure of the Democrats and Republicans to represent workers' interests has made many of us think about forming a new political party, a labor party based on the unions.

We propose the following solution to the rail crisis: Nationalize the rail industry and run it for human needs not profit; Open the financial books of the rail barons to public view; No cutbacks in service and workforce; and Free fares subsidized by the elimination of the war budget.

Reagan tax plan

This statement was made August 19.



I am Porfirio Acevedo, spokesperson for the Socialist Workers Party, and I am replying to a WPIX Editorial on the Reagan tax plan.

Contrary to the opinion of WPIX, Reagan's tax plan and so-called tax cut proposal favors the rich and not working people who need a tax break. The issue is not how much the government is spending, but the fact that they have increased the war budget while cutting back on social welfare and services. We need funding for human needs not war.

The Socialist Workers Party and our candidates for public office, like Wells Todd, a Black auto worker running for mayor of New York, say we should start with a 100 percent tax on the profits of the war industries. The sales tax should be eliminated as well as all taxes on personal incomes under \$40,000. There should be tax relief for small businesses, but the giant corporations should be heavily taxed to pay for free mass transit, free child care for their employees, and expanded public services.

We can stop the budget cuts, the giveaways to the rich and win real tax breaks by organizing ourselves in the hundreds of thousands on September 19 when the AFL-CIO and other unions, civil rights and women's groups have called a national Solidarity march on Washington. We can also begin to build a labor party based on the unions that will represent workers in our battles against the ruling rich of this country who are represented by the Democrats and Republicans.



"Best butchers in town" — With astronomical fees leading to vacant beds and operating tables, private hospitals are beginning to advertise. They offer steak dinners, free wine and allegedly prompt service in critical care units. Price reductions? Don't be silly.

Start the day right — Give the old choppers a gleam with a toothbrush from Alfred Dunhill. Copper and gold-plate finish — on the handle we presume, not the bristle — \$325.

Weatherproof — If you're diffident about using a Dunhill toothbrush in these troubled times, you might consid-

er the store's sturdy attaché case. Crocodile leather, with goldplated fittings. \$5,000.

And no marriage license — The Neiman Marcus xmas catalog is featuring a household robot that will assertedly "open doors, take out trash, bring in the paper, serve guests, water the plants, pick up after the children." Only \$15,000. And when it wears out, just discard it. No alimony.

That'll perk 'em up — New Yorkers will be pleased to know that as a result of the recent 15.5 percent utility hike, Con Edison enjoyed a third quarter prof-

it increase of 51.9 percent. The state public service commission said it had approved the hike because the company felt it would bolster flagging investor confidence.

Next they'll want a union — The manager of a Boston executive recruiting firm gets turned off when a candidate for a high-paying position starts out by asking about fringe benefits, salary, and pensions. "It's an immediate signal," he observed, "that he has the priorities all wrong."

Can't give them away — GM acquired 112 houses of transferred em-

ployees who couldn't sell them. So they offered to throw in free cars (they're not selling too well either). So far twenty-nine houses have been sold, and no one's taken a car. They're all having the sticker price deducted from the house.

Amtrak special — American Express is offering a nine-day rail trip to the West Coast in old private cars. Gourmet meals, dance bands, and entertainment, plus maid service and manicurist \$2,295. The trip is said to hark back "to a time when private railroad cars were reserved for the elite and privileged."

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

VIETNAM TODAY. Speakers: Prof. Ed Cooperman, chair of U.S. Committee for Scientific Cooperation with Vietnam. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

OAKLAND

HAITIAN REFUGEES: VICTIMS OF RACIST U.S. IMMIGRATION LAWS. Speaker: Kwame Somburu, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 13, 8 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

CLASS SERIES ON 'COMMUNIST MANIFESTO': THE RELEVANCE AND IMPORTANCE OF THIS HISTORIC DOCUMENT TODAY. Speaker: Young Socialist Alliance member. Mon., Nov. 9, 16, 23, 30, 7 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

SAN JOSE

WHAT'S GOING ON IN IRAN. Speaker: Janice Lynn, former staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 46½ Race St. (near the Alameda). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

INDIANA INDIANAPOLIS

EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA: A REPORT ON VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, RELIGIOUS AND TRADE UNION FREEDOMS. Sat., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 2320 S. Tibbs at Raymond St. Ausp: Committee for Democracy in Latin America. For more information call (317) 636-2128.

LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Ra-shaad Ali, SWP candidate for mayor; Kalaamu ya Salaam, editor of *Black Collegian* magazine and member of Police Brutality Commission; Rev. Jerome Owen, president, New Orleans chapter of A. Phillip Randolph Institute; others. Sat., Nov. 14, 7 p.m. 3207 Dublin St. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

DEFENDING WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN THE 1980s. Speakers: Loretta Waltemeyer, member, Coalition of Labor Union Women and Baltimore Working Women; Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Nov. 8, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

THE POLISH STRUGGLE: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT WITH SLIDE SHOW. Speaker: Martin Koppel, reporter for *Perspectiva Mundial*. Sun., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount. Donation: \$2. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

THE TRUTH ABOUT NICARAGUA: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT. Speaker: Charlie Roberts, just returned from one-year stay. Sun., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

EDUCATION: IS IT A RIGHT? THE CASE AGAINST SCHOOL CLOSINGS. Speakers: Mark Moldwin, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Nov. 15, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5332.

MINNESOTA VIRGINIA

WHAT'S BEHIND THE MIDEAST CRISIS? Speaker: Elizabeth Kilanowski, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 13, 7 p.m. 1012 2nd Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

'CAMBODIA YEAR ONE.' Film showing. Speaker to be announced. Sun., Nov. 15, 8 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEBRASKA LINCOLN

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE IDEAS OF MARXISM. A class series. Sat., Nov. 14-December 12, 1 p.m. UNL East Campus Union. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (402) 483-6236.

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 Vietnam, 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

DEFEND HAITIAN REFUGEES. Slide show: *Haiti: The Weak Link*. Speakers: Johnny McCalla, Haitian Workers Association; others. Fri., Nov. 13, 8 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

MANHATTAN

IRELAND — AFTER THE HUNGER STRIKE. Speakers: Maureen Meehan, New York H-Block/Armagh Committee; Gerry Foley, journalist and activist recently returned from nine months in Ireland. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

NORTH CAROLINA WINSTON-SALEM

EVOLUTION VS. CREATIONISM: IN DEFENSE OF SCIENTIFIC THINKING. Speaker: Steve Craine, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 15, 7 p.m. 216 E. 6th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OREGON PORTLAND

THE WPPSS FIASCO: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE WASHINGTON PUBLIC POWER SUPPLY SYSTEM AND THE FUTURE OF NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS. Speaker: Gary Bills, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

EGYPT: WILL THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS SURVIVE SADAT'S DEATH? Speakers: Ed Lehaje, moderator of WYEP radio show on Mideast; others. Fri., Nov. 13, 8 p.m. 1100 E. Carson. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

TEXAS DALLAS

'BATTLESHIP POTEMKIN.' A film by Sergei Eisen-

stein. Speaker: Jim Kendrick, with Spanish translation. Sat., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 5442 E. Grand. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

REAGANOMICS AND THE 'NEW' RECESSION. Speaker: Chris Driscoll, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 5442 E. Grand. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

HOUSTON

EGYPT AFTER SADAT: REAGAN THREATENS NEW MIDEAST WAR. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Nov. 13, 7:30 p.m. 6333 Gulf Freeway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Friday Night Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 924-4056.

HOW SLAVERY WAS ABOLISHED. Film: *Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad*. Speaker: Laura Moorhead, 1981 Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate. Fri., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. 6333 Gulf Freeway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Friday Night Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 924-4056.

SAN ANTONIO

TODAY'S FBI: THE REAL TERRORIST CONSPIRACY. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Nov. 13, 8 p.m. 337 W. Josephine. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE POLISH STRUGGLE: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT WITH SLIDE SHOW. Speaker: Martin Koppel, *Perspectiva Mundial* staff writer. Fri., Nov. 13, 7:30. 3106 Mt. Pleasant, N.W. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

THE POLITICAL RIGHTS DEFENSE FUND PRESENTS 'THE CASE OF THE LEGLESS VETERAN'. Film. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. Mon County Courthouse, 3rd floor courtroom #1; and Tues., Nov. 17, 3:30 p.m. Mountain Lair Little Theatre, University of West Virginia. Donation requested. Ausp: PRDF. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN THE 1980s. Speaker: Margo Storstein, Young Socialist Alliance. Film: *How We Won the Vote*. Sun., Nov. 15, 5 p.m. 4707 W. Lisbon. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

DEMAND AN END TO U.S. INTERVENTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST NEW YORK CITY

Demonstration: Saturday, November 28, 12:00 noon, Broadway and 34th St. The United Nations has declared Nov. 29 to be International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. Demands: Support for the Palestine Liberation Organization; Condemnation of Zionism; Demand that U.S. military aid to Israel be stopped. Ausp: Nov. 29 Coalition. For more information call (212) 625-9858.

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

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Nicaragua and Cuba Tour — July 17-31, 1982 — fifteen days, \$1150

Grenada

Third Anniversary Tour — March 7-14, 1982 — eight days, \$850

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

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours
410 West Street, New York, NY 10014
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Letters

Marcos in U.S.

Dogging the bloody trail of U.S.-backed tyrants like South Korea's Chun, El Salvador's Duarte, and South Africa's Botha, the Philippine dictator Marcos will soon embrace Reagan late this month.

Reagan's inhumane policy of subsidizing repressive Third World regimes with the American people's tax dollars — over \$200 million a year so that Marcos can kill, torture, and violate the human rights of 50 million citizens — directly contradicts the democratic ideals and aspirations of the peoples in this country.

We in the Alliance for Philippine National Democracy appeal to you and your readers to join us in a visible and forceful protest over Reagan's callous and obscene exhibition of support for the brutal Marcos dictatorship, which is unrelentingly opposed by the majority of the Filipino people, by the U.S. public, and the international community.

E. San Juan, Jr.
Mansfield, Connecticut

Need subscription

It would be a very bad time for my sub to expire with all the militant demonstrations against Reagan's criminal budget cuts, against the threat of nuclear confrontation, etc.

I regret that due to a very serious auto accident neither my husband nor I have been able to work for six months and must depend solely on Social Security and I cannot be more generous. I am enclosing a small contribution toward the prisoners fund, which is a very necessary and admirable practice.

Your coverage of the most important events in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua is most informative and I am sure all your readers are as grateful as I.

I think we should have more articles on child abuse, as this is one of the most pitiful situations in our country.
Nellie De Schaaf
Chicago, Illinois

Mellon's gift

Militant readers will be interested to know how vitally



interested the ruling class is in the standard of living of the working class in this country.

Rail union leaders on the Delaware and Hudson Railroad (D&H) were recently treated to a visit by Timothy Mellon, member of America's wealthiest family (net worth of over \$5 billion). Mellon is currently purchasing the D&H and was in town to push a 12 percent wage deferral package for all rail workers to guarantee himself a bigger profit when he takes over.

When one of the union leaders asked Mellon how he dared take \$.12 of every dollar out of a worker's pocket when we couldn't feed our families or

heat our homes now, Mellon coolly looked at the man and replied, "Look at it this way, I'm giving you \$.88."

No wonder he has such a reputation as a philanthropist!
Pat Mayberry
BRAC Lodge 904
Albany, New York

Cops best friend

I was glad to see your report from Chicago on the sleazy efforts of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and other groups to get the Chicago Red Squad off the hook (Militant October 30). Hopefully, knowing the truth about the Chicago settlement will spur opposition to a similar deal here in New York now being peddled by the ACLU with the help of Mayor Koch and his cops.

Your readers may still be rubbing their eyes at the image of the ACLU linking arms so lovingly with the cops. If so, take a look at the latest ACLU handbook on "rights". It is called "The Rights of Police Officers."

According to the New York Times, Norman Dorsen, ACLU president, explained that "while police officers protect the rights of others, 'what is often overlooked is that police officers also have rights.'"

The ACLU book takes up many terrible abuses cops are subjected to, such as when they were ordered to stand guard outside the Cuban Mission to the United Nations after it had been bombed. Some of the city cops went to court to win relief from such extra-hazardous duty! They wanted to be reassigned at a safer distance, it seems.

The ACLU also tells cops that if they get injured while making an arrest they can sue the arrestee for battery!

Such concern for the cops, coming from an organization that speaks, and raises money, in the name of defending the rights of the victims of government repression, is not a joking matter. The ACLU is doing its bit to add to the clamor for tougher law enforcement to stop "crime."

No wonder Robert McGuire, the New York City Police Commissioner, hailed the ACLU booklet on cops' rights as an "outstanding analysis of

issues that vitally affect police officers all over the country."

Between the New York and Chicago settlements, the ACLU seems bent on becoming the cops' best friend.
Leo Steel,
New York, New York

O'Conner

Margaret Jayko's and Cindy Jaquith's articles on Sandra O'Conner and women's liberation in the October 16, Militant were excellent. I have one thing to add to the case that O'Conner's appointment by Reagan to the Supreme Court does nothing to promote women's rights.

In addition to O'Conner being anti-abortion, antibusing, pro-death penalty, and prowar, she is known in Arizona as anti-Chicano. In 1977, she railroaded Jess Lopez to prison on the charge of blowing up a building on the Glendale Community College (GCC) campus. At the time, Jess Lopez was helping to organize the Chicano community in Glendale (adjacent to Phoenix) and to get federal funds to help Chicano Vietnam vets attend GCC.

Many picket lines were held during Lopez' trial in downtown Phoenix to protest O'Connors' racism during the trial (she presided) and to demand the charges be dropped. A statewide rally to protest police brutality and to defend Lopez was held in Tucson.

Lopez got out of prison last year. I'm sure he and the activists in the Jess Lopez Defense Committee were not cheering when O'Conner was appointed.

As Jayko wrote in the "Women in Revolt" column: "It (O'Conner on the Supreme Court) makes it harder to win the necessary allies among Blacks, Latinos, and working people if they think women's equality means more Sandra O'Connors."

Dan Fein
Tucson, Arizona

Sold

"Solidarity Day — Just the Beginning" reads a poster in the shop at the Chessie System Coal Pier in Newport News,

Virginia. And the members of Firemen and Oilers Local 485 have given that sign a special meaning.

In our local — which represents the mostly Black laborers department — September 19 marked a change in mood.

Last July, Local 485 formed a Solidarity Day Committee and went all out to build the demonstration. We teamed up with Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Local 439 and United Transportation Union Local 21 and chartered a bus.

"I think it was seeing all those unions together — how strong they were — that really moved people. People had been taking things for granted," one union member told us after the demonstration. He pointed out the change in himself as an example. "Me, I've been to four union meetings in six years, and two of them were since the 19th. I've become inspired because I see other people becoming inspired."

Since Solidarity Day, twenty of the fifty union members have attended union meetings to discuss working conditions and the need for more union democracy. Before Solidarity Day fewer than ten people would show up.

Several people have begun reading the Militant. Two laborers read the Cuban newspaper, Granma. Many more have become interested in the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), and one has decided to join it.

One laborer summed it up well. "The march inspired everybody," he said. "It's going to take more than what we did in D.C. — that was just a start. But what's important is that we got people out there — we got people going, and now we can't be stopped."
David Feaster, Nancy Schwalb,
and other members of Firemen and Oilers Local 485
Newport News, Virginia

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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CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01004. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

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MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-5325.

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THE MILITANT

Mass memorials for drowning victims

Support grows for Haitian refugees

By Caryn Swan

MIAMI — The sorrow and anger surrounding the deaths of thirty-three Haitian refugees swelled this week as demonstrations, mass memorials, legal battles for custody, and investigations into concentration camp-style detention centers for Haitians continued.

On October 27, the day after the Haitian's boat collapsed just sixty yards off the Florida shore, Haiti President-for-life Jean Claude Duvalier requested that the U.S. State Department return the bodies to Haiti.

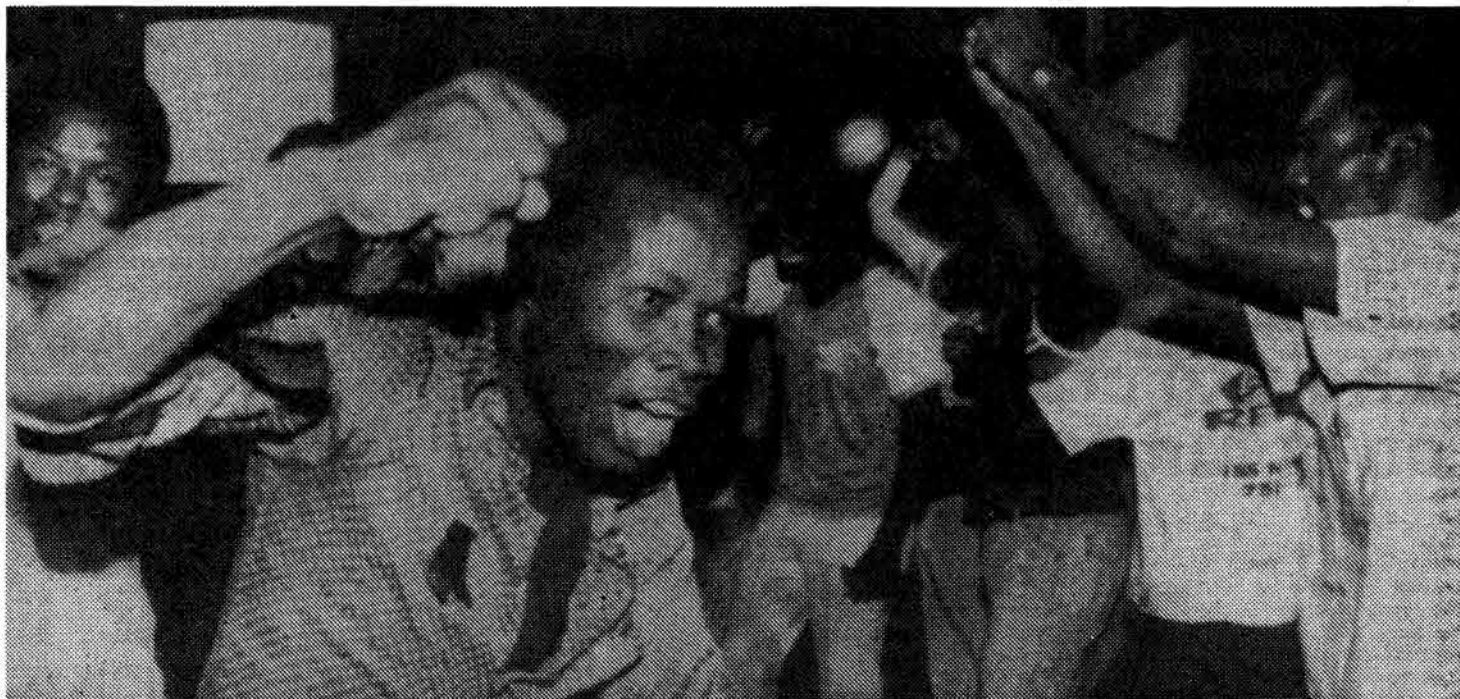
The State Department arrogantly agreed, without consulting the Haitian community, the relatives of victims, nor the Haitian Refugee Center, Inc. (HRC, Inc.). HRC, Inc. director Gerard Jean-Juste and others had already begun making funeral arrangements here.

The State Department refused to turn over the bodies to their families when the HRC, Inc. demanded they be released. When word reached the Haitian community a spontaneous demonstration of over 500 broke out in front of the HRC, Inc. Demonstrations of approximately 300 occurred on following nights. Meanwhile Jean-Juste, representatives of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the NAACP, the National Lawyers Guild, and others negotiated with the State Department to gain release of the bodies.

On October 31 the State Department finally agreed to let Haitians claim bodies of relatives for local burial. Twenty-three unclaimed bodies were returned to Haiti.

At least five mass memorial services for the victims have taken place.

In Liberty City a mass rally sponsored by radio station WEDR drew 900 Afro-Americans October 31. Speakers demanded an end to Reagan's interdiction policy, the halting of Haitian refugee boats at sea and returning those aboard to Haiti. They also called for Reagan to



Hundreds of Haitians poured into street when word came that U.S. government was planning to ship bodies back to Haiti.

The Miami News/A.G. Montanari

stop sending funds to the murderous Duvalier regime, and political asylum for Haitians.

On November 1, 600 Haitians, Afro-Americans, Latinos, and others attended a service at the Bethel Church. Speakers came from the NAACP, SCLC, and other organizations and churches.

"We've been trying to get an answer from the State Department for days on whether the bodies of those who had relatives to claim them would be sent back to Haiti or remain here," said Ray Fauntroy of SCLC. "Finally I told them we were going to bring the people of Miami out into the streets in a peaceful, nonviolent demonstration, and then we got an answer in forty-five minutes."

The Reagan administration began to cut the number of Haitians held at the Krome Avenue detention center by shipping inmates to far away prisons.

Sixty-nine women were flown to a federal prison in West Virginia October 31. Some 100 men are to be shipped to Puerto Rico, and 100 more will go to New York.

This crude response to pressure to ease crowding in the camp (meant to hold 800, it was filled with 1,300 refugees) came on the heels of an NAACP fact-finding tour through Krome following the drownings.

The NAACP has condemned Reagan's "racist" interdiction policy, calling it a "barbaric assault on human freedom." The NAACP has vowed to take the case of the Haitians before the United Nations.

Blame for the deaths has been placed directly on the Reagan administration.

Overwhelming support and sympathy for the Haitian struggle has been expressed here, especially in the Black

community, but throughout Miami as well.

At demonstrations and memorials Haitians have told of the poverty, starvation, and repression in Haiti that force them to risk their lives in a journey across the sea in tiny, unsafe boats.

Meanwhile, plans were afoot for an emergency Southeast conference on immigration rights and political asylum to be held here December 4-6. The program includes speakers from labor unions and Black groups. Sponsors include a broad range of organizations supporting rights for Haitian and other immigrants.

For more information contact the Southeast Emergency Conference, HRC, Inc., 32 NE 54th St., Miami, Florida 33137. Or call Marty Goodman, 305-672-5132.

Black leaders condemn FBI 'terrorism' smear

By Nelson González

In reaction to a campaign of arrests, raids, and public smears by the FBI and the cops against the Black community, a number of Black leaders and organizations have begun to respond.

Using the October 20 armored car robbery and killing in Rockland County

as the pretext, the police have gone on a rampage of raids and assaults.

To date, as a result of this cop terror, one Black man has been shot to death, another beaten while in police custody, and several others arrested.

The Republic of New Africa (RNA), a Black separatist group founded in Detroit, has been the target of an especially virulent campaign. The media and the government are characterizing the RNA as a terrorist group that attacks cops.

On October 27 more than 150 cops and two Air Force SWAT teams broke into a farm in Mississippi to arrest Fulani Sunni Ali (Cynthia Boston), a leader of the RNA.

She has been charged with helping to remove material from a "safe house" the day after the armored car robbery. However Attorney William Kunstler told the press that, "there is documentary evidence" that she was in New Orleans on that day getting her car fixed.

In addition to this frame-up attempt government lawyers have attempted to undermine Ali's defense by seeking to prevent her from communicating with her lawyer, Chokwe Lumumba. The grounds are that he is an official of the RNA and therefore a possible "terrorist." Lumumba, who has not been accused of any crime, appeared at a news conference November 3.

He called government efforts to depict him as a terrorist "absolute nonsense." Joining him at the conference was Victor Goode, director of the National Conference of Black lawyers (NCBL).

Lawren Anderson, a member of NCBL, told the *Militant* that, "the current attack on the RNA is nothing more than a political attempt by the government to throw out as wide a net as possible for political repression."

"There is no evidence to substantiate government charges against Sister Fulani. However, what can be substantiated is the extensive involvement by the federal government to undermine this organization through the Cointelpro program. The FBI files are very thick on this — it's just a continuation of the government's campaign."

Anderson pointed out that the New York Civil Liberties Union, the Center for Constitutional Rights, and the National Lawyers Guild have all protested government attempts to bar Lumumba from representing Ali.

At a recent meeting of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), the Central Committee of the party adopted a proposal put forth by Rev. Ben Chavis denouncing the terror campaign being waged against Black activists since the New York robbery.

Muntu Matsinela, Northeast Region-

al coordinator for the NBIPP told the *Militant* that, "the party clearly stands unified in its support for the RNA. . . . This is an attack on the democratic rights of all."

Referring to the slander campaign, Matsinela noted that according to the government "any oppressed people fighting for their liberation is a terrorist organization."

Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party leader and elected city council member from Seaside, California, blasted this latest attack on the Black community. "This is cop terror plain and simple. It's part and parcel of the racist offensive that is being launched by the Reagan administration against the Black community."

"The government knows that it cannot continue to take back the gains made by Blacks in the sixties without rebellion on the part of the Black community. So it is consciously going after any and all Black people who have the potential to act as a catalyst for the independent Black political movement, and so doing, render the Black community politically helpless."

Referring to the RNA members and other activists who are being harassed, Mason pointed out, "the only crime these activists are guilty of, is having stood up against a brutal racist government."



BEN CHAVIS

Militant/Lou Howort