

Polish government deals blows to workers

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Several weeks after the imposition of martial law on December 13, Poland's bureaucratic rulers have succeeded in putting down most protest strikes and demonstrations. They have dealt the workers movement a severe blow, but the struggle in Poland is far from over.

Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski has utilized a massive show of force against the working class. He ordered the arrest of thousands of trade unionists, intellectuals, students, and political activists; imposed strict control over all communications; sent armed police against strikers and demonstrators; and outlawed the activities of the 10-million-member Solidarity union movement.

Under these conditions, the authorities claim, Poland is getting back to "normal." To Jaruzelski and the other bureaucrats who rule Poland that means, above all, safeguarding their material privileges and reasserting their absolute control over all political, economic, and social decision-making — against the interests of the working class and to the detriment of the Polish workers state.

Widespread strikes

The Polish workers — who had already been mobilized for a year and a half in the most massive upsurge in Poland's history — have not taken this attack lying down.

In factories, mines, and shipyards across the country, they have responded with defensive protest strikes, and the organization of underground committees — despite the fact that almost the entire Solidarity leadership has been detained, and workers in different cities cannot communicate effectively on a national level because of the suspension of telephone service and restrictions on travel.

The government itself admitted that some 200 strikes broke out in the wake of Jaruzelski's December 13 declaration. Solidarity sources put the figure even higher.

Because of government censorship, details about these strikes are sketchy.

One Solidarity bulletin reported that a day after the declaration of martial law, all large factories were paralyzed in the key industrial cities of Poznan and Wroclaw.

The government radio acknowledged other strikes in Warsaw, Gdansk, Katowice, Bydgoszcz, Kielce, Bialogard, Szczecin, Lublin, Olsztyn, Krakow, Swidnica, and Lodz.

The official reports on strikes in Swidnica and Szczecin were typical. According to one Polish newspaper, Solidarity members and student activists in Swidnica went to an aircraft factory and "forced part of the working collective to a strike." On December 20, Radio Warsaw declared that "irresponsible groups once again attempted to organize a strike" in Szczecin and that a mass meeting had been held in one of the Szczecin shipyards in defiance of martial law.

Some of the most massive and persistent resistance was mounted in the northern port city of Gdansk and in the Silesian mining region in the south, two areas that played key roles in the August 1980 strike wave that gave birth to

Continued on Page 2

Haitian refugees fight Reagan detention camps

Support grows for release and asylum



Haitians fleeing tyrannical regime of Jean-Claude Duvalier are subjected to wretched conditions in U.S. detention camps.

BY ANDREA BARON

MIAMI — Reflecting the tremendous pressure being brought to bear in opposition to the Reagan administration's racist immigration policy against the Haitian refugees, the Justice Department's chief lawyer handling the government's suit to deny the refugees asylum resigned his position according to the January 10 *Miami Herald*.

The lawyer, Assistant U.S. Attorney Richard A. Marshall, Jr., explained, "I found that I was asserting precisely the opposite of what I believed the Haitians were entitled to." Marshall is now reported to be considering joining the sixty lawyers who volunteered to fight for political asylum for the Haitians.

Marshall's differences with Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) policy that led to his resignation centered around Washington's combined policy of detaining and interdicting at sea Haitian refugees. This policy, inaugurated in August, has resulted in the indefinite imprisonment of approximately 2,500 refugees. They are subjected to the wretched conditions of detention camps all across the country. Until recently they were prevented from obtaining legal counsel and immediate asylum hearings. These are constitutional rights they are legally entitled to.

Some of the refugees have been imprisoned under these conditions for as long as ten months.

The Justice Department has even proposed using Fort Drum as a detention camp. The *New York Times*, in a December 18 editorial headlined "A Haitian Freeze," protested: "To hold poor, desperate people from the tropics in a camp near the Canadian border, where the temperature yesterday morning was 12 degrees, would be callous."

Growing support for refugees

The Reagan administration's measures are a departure from an earlier INS policy of releasing refugees to relatives or community agencies pending INS hearings.

In response to the courageous resistance of the Haitian refugees, who have been organizing militant demonstrations and hunger strikes since September, support for the refugees is growing rapidly.

Protests and demonstrations have occurred in Miami, New York, Washington, D.C., Chicago, and other U.S. cities, as well as in Puerto Rico.

On January 9, in a march organized by the January 2 Coalition and other Haitian support groups, 5,000 people turned out in Brooklyn, New York, demanding an end to U.S. support to the repressive Duvalier regime in Haiti and calling for the release of the Haitian refugees. Forty-four thousand Haitians have fled Haiti since "Baby Doc" Duvalier received power from his father in 1972.

Puerto Rican support to Haitians

In Puerto Rico, where several Haitian support actions involving thousands have been organized, the Catholic clergy urged that lighted candles be placed in windows as a sign of support for the refugees on New Year's Eve. The

Continued on Page 6

Protests hit war training of Salvador troops in U.S.

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

On January 11, solidarity activists in 100 cities across the country participated in emergency protests called on ten days' notice to denounce what the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) has characterized as a "major escalation of United States intervention" in the affairs of El Salvador.

Further actions are scheduled to take place on January 22, in response to an international call made by a solidarity conference held in Mexico City in October.

The January 11 actions, called by CISPES, were organized to protest the arrival that day of the first contingent of 1,500 Salvadoran soldiers and officers to begin military training at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and Fort Benning, Georgia. Training is to last between ten and sixteen weeks.

Fort Bragg is the home of the Green Berets, the 15,000-man 82nd Airborne. This unit is an integral component of the Rapid Deployment Force set up by the Carter administration. Fort Bragg is also the home of the John F. Kennedy Center for Military Assistance, the main U.S. base for counterinsurgency training.

The December 16 *New York Times* reported that Fred Iklé, undersecretary of defense for policy, admitted that this move is part of the preparation for "American military action in Central America" — military action to crush the growing liberation movements in that region.

For the first time in history — at the cost of \$18 million wrenched from cutbacks in essential social services, an en-

tire battalion of foreign troops will train on U.S. soil. They will, in the most effective manner devised by the Pentagon, learn counterinsurgency techniques designed to kill thousands more Salvadoran workers and farmers. Thirty thousand have already been killed by the U.S.-backed Salvadoran junta.

At the same time, Reagan has decided to keep draft registration, which he said he opposed during his election campaign. He has threatened to prosecute those who refuse to register.

These moves are in response to the growing strength of the Salvadoran liberation forces that, despite the massive American aid to the Salvadoran military, are pushing the junta closer to the verge of collapse.

An emergency news release issued by CISPES January 8 notes, "Training in the U.S., rather than in El Salvador, is a crude attempt to sidestep public opinion, which is strongly against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The U.S. people are not so easily fooled. We know that U.S. military training, whether it takes place here or there, means more suffering and repression for the Salvadoran people."

Actions a success

The success of the actions called by CISPES on January 11 is concrete proof that not only has no one been fooled, but solidarity activists more than ever realize the importance of a stepped-up campaign against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

The Triad Citizens Concerned for Central America, together with CISPES, organized a march of 225 people

Continued on Page 6

Polish government deals blows to workers

Continued from Page 1

Solidarity. In both areas, the response of the police was particularly brutal.

In Gdansk, workers occupied the Lenin Shipyard, where several prominent Solidarity leaders who had escaped arrest set up a national strike committee and issued a call for a countrywide general strike.

During a meeting of the strike committee on December 14, Guetta reported, the strikers received greetings from a Polish farmer who declared, "Dear brother shipyard workers, in 1980 the spark that set Poland alight came from here, because of what you decided. Today, once again, you have decided not to leave your enterprise. We, the farmers, will do everything to ensure that you do not die of hunger."

On December 16 tanks broke down the main gates of the shipyard. The strike was broken and most workers left, although some continued to hold out for several more days in a few of the shipyard buildings.

On December 17, the eleventh anniversary of the 1970 massacre of striking workers in the northern port cities, Gdansk was swept by large street demonstrations. The police attacked and fighting ensued. Vehicles were overturned and set afire.

According to Radio Warsaw, police clashed with demonstrators at a steel plant and "crowds" of "young rowdies" took to the streets elsewhere. "Street barricades began to be erected," the radio said.

A later report on Radio Warsaw stated that 324 persons were injured in the police attack. The government, after weeks of silence on the death toll, finally admitted on January 8 that at least nine persons had been killed.

Also on December 17, thousands attempted to demonstrate at Victory Square in Warsaw, but were dispersed by riot police. Crowds jeered at the police, chanting, "Long live freedom!" and "Gestapo! Gestapo!"

In the northwestern city of Szczecin, the local authorities were reported to have allowed an anniversary march to proceed unhindered.

In Silesia, where many coal mines were initially occupied by the workers, the police killed at least eight workers (according to the official death toll).

Thousands arrested

Despite this attack, the strikes in Silesia lasted for nearly two more weeks. By the end of the year, the last major protest strike in Poland, at the Piast coal mine, had been broken.

To break these strikes, the authorities

resorted not only to direct police and military action against the workers, but to widespread detentions of Solidarity leaders and activists, as well as numerous other supporters of democratic rights.

The authorities admit that nearly 6,000 persons have been detained. Solidarity estimates put the figure much higher.

In cities around the country, workers accused of organizing strikes or violating other martial law regulations have been brought before summary courts, sometimes in handcuffs. The trials have been brief, with the defendants drawing sentences of at least two or three years in prison. Some sentences have been up to eight years or more. The defendants have no right of appeal.

In addition, many workers are being fired from their jobs, as part of an official "verification" campaign to weed out key union activists and terrorize the rest of the workforce.

Employing the slanderous methods used during the Stalinist purge trials, the Polish government has charged the Solidarity leadership with acting in collusion with the CIA and other imperialist agencies. Documents claimed to have been found in Solidarity offices purportedly called for "urban guerrilla warfare" and a "general uprising against the people's state." One Polish radio broadcast, in what was intended as a smear of the union, compared Solidarity to the Irish Republican Army.

In propagating such charges, the Polish bureaucrats have been handed valuable ammunition by the Reagan administration in Washington. Reagan's phony and hypocritical claims of support for the Polish workers — and particularly his imposition of sanctions against Poland and the Soviet Union — have made it easier for the Stalinists to try to portray Solidarity as an "antisocialist" force.

In seeking to justify their attacks on Solidarity, the Polish authorities have revived the vilest anti-Semitic invective.

Trybuna Ludu, the official daily paper of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, the Communist Party) Central Committee, pointed to the "Trotskyist leanings, Zionist links and anarchosyndicalism of Jacek Kuron," a founder of the KOR.

In Poland, the term "Zionist," as it is used by the authorities, does not necessarily refer to one's political views, but is employed as an epithet against critics who are Jewish or who are accused of being Jewish.

Similar charges against Kuron were raised in a December 17 television broadcast. In it, he was accused of having "maintained close contacts with émigré circles, especially émigrés of the Jewish nationality."

Two days earlier, a Warsaw radio and television broadcast charged that "persons of Jewish origin had turned Solidarity into an antinational body." Bronislaw Geremek, a key adviser to Solidarity, was called a "son of a rabbi" who spent his time "deforming Polish history in his books." The broadcast also maintained that a "chauvinistic Jewish international" was aiming to seize power in Poland through the KOR.

Empty promises

Because of the strength of the workers movement, General Jaruzelski has been unable to rely on repression alone. He has sought to combine the crackdown with pledges of economic concessions and promises to adhere to the agreements signed with striking workers in 1980.

While the prices of certain staple goods are likely to go up even more, the authorities have at the same time promised wage increases to help offset the price hikes. Though meat rations have been cut back further, other items like fish, cheese, carrots, honey, cabbage, and beans have turned up in food stores in quantities not seen in months.

A number of the most discredited bureaucrats have been arrested and are being brought to trial for corruption.

In another attempt at undermining opposition, the authorities have claimed that they will allow Solidarity to resume its activity after martial law is ended.

But at the same time, they have made it clear that it could not be the same kind of organization. "There is certainly no place for a trade union as a vehicle for political activities," Gornicki said.

What they want is a new, bureaucratically controlled union that would masquerade under the name of Solidarity and refrain from challenging any key aspect of bureaucratic rule.

Solidarity is now fighting for its survival. Though its members were taken off guard by the scale and suddenness of Jaruzelski's crackdown, they are continuing to fight a defensive struggle, seeking to preserve what they can.

Numerous clandestine committees have been established on the local level, many of them issuing mimeographed or

typewritten bulletins.

One message, signed by Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, a member of the union's national Presidium, stressed that the union had to devise new forms of struggle under the conditions of repression. Another, signed by Zbigniew Janas, head of the Solidarity chapter at the Ursus tractor factory outside Warsaw, urged workers not to engage in direct confrontations with the regime, so as to avoid further bloodshed.

"In these difficult days," Janas said, "we all must prevent the destruction of Solidarity, which is the only hope of Poles."

During the last year-and-a-half the thinking of millions of workers has changed. They have seen the power of workers united and mobilized for action and they are absorbing the lessons of that experience. There can be no return to the way it was before August 1980.

From Intercontinental Press

A candle for El Salvador, too

Burlington, Vermont's socialist mayor, Bernard Sanders, had this to say about the crackdown in Poland and the crocodile tears being shed at the White House:

"It is with great sadness that we observed the authoritarian Polish government impose martial law in their country."

"I regard it as hypocritical, however, for President Reagan to show displeasure with the Polish government actions while he actively supports governments in Latin America who are even more brutal and vicious than the Polish government."

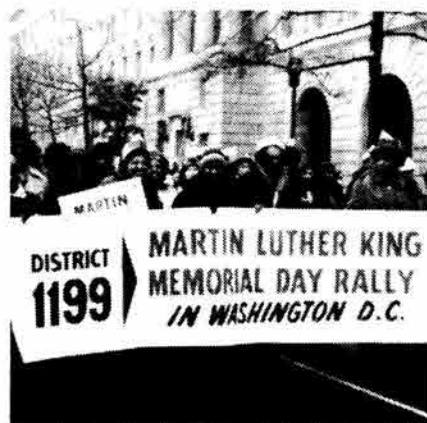
As part of the administration's anticommunist propaganda campaign, Reagan called on the American people to burn candles on Christmas Eve in support of the Polish workers.

Sanders said he would light two candles in city hall that week, "one in honor of the workers in the Solidarity union in Poland who have been jailed and whose union has been destroyed by Communist authorities."

The other candle will be for "the workers in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Chile who are being jailed and tortured by military dictatorships supported by the U.S. government."

Special offer to King Day marchers

4 weeks of the 'Militant' for only \$1



Racism. Unemployment. The threat of war.

You read about these things in papers like the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*. But do these papers ever explain why such things exist, or how they can be ended? Do they ever report on what people are doing to fight racism, unemployment, and the threat of war?

The answer is no. The reason is that these papers are owned and controlled

by the same capitalists who profit from racism, unemployment, and war.

Now, for the next four weeks, you can read what socialists have to say about this.

- How the policies of the two capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans, encourage racism. And how groups like the Socialist Workers Party and the National Black Independent Political Party are organizing against the two-party monopoly of American politics.

- The real aims of Reagan's economic austerity program. And what working people can do to fight back.

- What steps the revolutionary governments in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada have taken to end racism and unemployment. And why their example makes these countries prime targets of the U.S. war drive.

- Why a workers government in the United States is the only solution to racism, unemployment, and the threat of war.

Four weeks, only \$1. And, for an extra

dollar, we'll send you a copy of the *Education for Socialists* bulletin, "The National Black Independent Political Party: An important step forward for Blacks and other American workers," which includes the program of that organization.

All in all, a good — and inexpensive — introduction to news and ideas you won't find anywhere else.

☐ Enclosed is \$1 for four weeks of the *Militant*.

☐ 6 months/\$15 ☐ one year/\$24

☐ Enclosed is \$1 for the *Education for Socialists* bulletin.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Clip and mail to: The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. (Offer good through January 22, 1982, with this ad only.)

The Militant

Closing news date: January 13, 1982

Editors: CINDY JAQUITH

DOUG JENNESS

Business Manager: NANCY ROSEN-STOCK

Editorial Staff: Connie Allen, Steve Bride, Fred Feldman, Nelson González, William Gottlieb, Suzanne Haig, Margaret Jayko, Harry Ring, Larry Seigle, Stu Singer.

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

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

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

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

U.S. orders socialist deported

Nationwide fight launched to overturn ruling

BY LARRY SEIGLE

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is launching a coast-to-coast campaign to block the deportation of Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, an Iranian student at Morgan State University. Hariri-Vijeh is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

In a decision made public January 11, Immigration Judge Joan Arrowsmith ordered the young socialist deported back to Iran.

PRDF attorney Shelley Davis immediately notified the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) that she will appeal the ruling. The case will now go to the Board of Immigration Appeals.

In response to the broad support already mobilized for Hariri-Vijeh, the judge agreed to let her finish the current semester at Morgan State, where she is studying computer science. Under the order, however, she will have to leave the country by June 15.

The central issue in the appeal will be the secret political grounds for the INS action against Hariri-Vijeh. Although she has been in the United States since 1977, the INS never bothered her until she joined the YSA. Nineteen days after she took that step, INS cops were knocking at her door, asking for her papers.

As an enrolled student, the usual procedure would have been for her to ask for, and be granted, a renewal of her student visa. Instead she has been ordered deported, in a clear case of political victimization.

At a January 13 PRDF news conference at the Furniture Workers union hall in Baltimore, labor leaders denounced the deportation order.

Earl Keihl, district director of the United Furniture Workers (UFW) District 4, and Kenneth Williams, business agent of UFW Local 75A, told the press, "What is clearly involved in Ms. Hariri-Vijeh's case is purely a case of petty revenge by the United States Government against dissent."

"The labor movement in our country was built by people from all over the world. . . . When those who could not speak needed a voice the labor movement spoke for them."

"We now speak for justice. We speak for decency. And we demand persecutions of this type cease immediately. Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh must not be deported."

Also present at the protest news conference was Professor Clifford DuRand, chairman of the Department of Philosophy at Morgan State. A statement was read from Ronald Hollie, president of District 1199E, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees.

Hariri-Vijeh told the reporters, "I will not be intimidated. I will appeal this ruling and continue to fight for my rights. As long as I am here I will continue to exercise those rights, and I will begin this Friday by marching in Washington, D.C., with thousands of Americans to demand that Martin Luther King's birthday be made a national holiday."

At her deportation hearing last October 15, Hariri-Vijeh argued that the immigration cops had singled her out for deportation because of her political activities.

Attorney Davis demanded that the judge allow the defense an opportunity to prove that this was, in fact, the case. Davis pointed out, for example, that the portion of Hariri-Vijeh's file released by the INS contained nothing to indicate how or why the investigation originated. Ordinarily such information would be in the file.

In addition to demanding the complete file on Hariri-Vijeh, Davis insisted that the INS turn over its central file on the SWP and YSA. These documents,

Davis argued, would prove that the INS has engaged in a systematic campaign to single out immigrants on the basis of their socialist ideas.

Davis also attempted to introduce into evidence documents concerning current INS efforts to "proscribe" the SWP. Such a move would mean that members and supporters of the party could be deported on openly political grounds. In the meantime, Davis pointed out, the INS urges investigators to single out "subversives" for deportation on technicalities.

However, Judge Arrowsmith denied each of these defense motions. In her written opinion, she justified this refusal by insisting that even if Hariri-Vijeh had been singled out "through some Constitutionally impermissible means, that would not be a reason to grant termination" of the proceedings against her.

If such a rule were applied, the judge declared, "the errors of Service officials could in effect immunize aliens from having to comply with the Immigration and Nationality Act."

In other words, the INS can violate constitutional rights whenever it wants, and never be held accountable for such "errors."

Davis told the *Militant* that the appeal will center on the fact that "the Bill of Rights prohibits selective enforcement of the law when done for discriminatory reasons, including political discrimination."

The Political Rights Defense Fund is appealing for protests to be sent to the INS Commissioner, Washington, D.C. 20536, demanding a halt to the proceedings against Hariri-Vijeh. Copies should be sent to PRDF, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

In addition, PRDF Executive Secretary John Studer asked for emergency financial contributions to cover the immediate costs of the appeal. "PRDF is facing a financial crisis because we are fighting on so many fronts right now. But we can't allow lack of money to stand in the way of the best possible legal and political campaign in defense of Mojgan," he said.

Contributions should be sent to the Political Rights Defense Fund and earmarked for Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh.

Iran: Baraheni released from prison

BY FRED MURPHY

A broad defense effort — waged both inside Iran and internationally — succeeded on January 4 in gaining the release of Dr. Reza Baraheni from Tehran's Evin Prison.

Baraheni, a prominent Iranian poet and writer who played a key role in exposing the crimes of the shah's regime and denouncing U.S. imperialist domination of Iran, had been detained on October 12 outside his office at Tehran University. He was held for a total of eighty-four days; no specific charges were ever brought against him.

According to the poet's wife, Sanaz Baraheni, who spoke to supporters of the defense campaign in the United States shortly after Baraheni's release, he was "in excellent spirits" and reported that he had been well treated while under detention.

In 1973, Baraheni was jailed and tortured by the shah's secret police, SAVAK. He wrote about those experiences in a book, *The Crowned Cannibals*, which was an important resource in the international campaign against the U.S.-backed Pahlavi monarchy.

Since the downfall of the shah, Baraheni has been working in Iran as a



Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh explaining her fight against deportation at October conference of National Organization for Women. Thousands of protest messages are needed now to block deportation order.

How INS nails 'subversives'

The *INS Investigator's Handbook* currently in use provides some insight into how the immigration police have proceeded against Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh. This handbook is not generally available to the public. Part of it, however, was obtained by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance through their lawsuit against the political police.

Chapter 16, entitled "Subversive Investigations," explains "The most important weapons used by this Service in combating the Communist conspiracy are the exclusion and deportation processes."

It directs INS cops to try, wherever possible, to nail "subversives" for deportation "on other than subversive grounds."

If someone can be deported "on a non-subversive basis, investigation should be initiated on the latter premise. When considered necessary, efforts should be made to obtain admissible evidence to overcome sympathetic features and to preclude the granting of discretionary relief."

The *Handbook* requires that all such operations shall be carried out in close coordination with the FBI. It states that

investigations of those "allegedly engaging in subversive activities or having subversive backgrounds, can only be conducted after clearance has been received from the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

The *Handbook* further directs, "The investigator assigned to subversive work should be equipped with certain technical knowledge to conduct such investigations." Investigators are advised to study up on the "demeanor, mannerism, and psychology" of "subversives."

"For example, a person who has been an active Communist for a long time," says the INS, "usually will find it difficult to effect a complete divorce from his ideological approach to the Party principles. Very often he displays an attitude of superior knowledge. The investigator must be aware of this in his dealings with such a person."

One point on which any worker possesses "superior knowledge" to that of the INS is that the Bill of Rights forbids the government to victimize people on secret political grounds.

The issue in Hariri-Vijeh's fight against deportation is whether the INS is going to be allowed to continue to operate according to its *Handbook* — that is, outside the law and the Constitution.

translator and professor at Tehran University. In all his recent writings, he has been a staunch defender of the Iranian revolution against the attacks and destabilization attempts mounted by U.S. imperialism.

Support for Baraheni from abroad came from those who share his stance in defense of the Iranian revolution.

According to socialists in Iran, Baraheni reported upon his release that the international telegram campaign had a big impact on the Iranian authorities. He said that the officials who interrogated him showed him the original copies of some of the telegrams and that he was able to explain that his defenders were all active opponents of U.S. imperialism.

Inside Iran, the first to publicly defend Baraheni were the socialists of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) and the Workers Unity Party (HVK), which are affiliated to the Fourth International. After their newspapers published some of the messages of support that had come from abroad, various Iranian intellectuals were inspired to speak out on Baraheni's behalf.

Letters to the Iranian authorities were sent by prominent writers such as

Cyrus Tahbaz, Mahmoud Enayat, Shams al-Ahmad, and Mohammed Ali Sepanlou. These intellectuals also joined the socialists in campaigning for the release of other literary figures who had been detained around the same time as Baraheni. As a result, all of these prisoners were set free in the days leading up to Baraheni's own release. Among them were Mostafa Rahimi, Homayoun Nafiseh, Morteza Ravandi, and Bagher Parham.

Socialists in Iran report that the victorious effort to free the imprisoned intellectuals has resulted in a broader discussion among political activists there about the need to step up defense of democratic rights. In particular, writers and intellectuals associated with the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party have come out publicly against the party leadership's stance of refraining from any criticism of the Islamic Republic Party (IRP) regime on this question.

The IRP government, which has used the fight against terrorist attacks as a pretext to go after intellectuals and militant workers, was put increasingly on the defensive during the course of the campaign for Baraheni and his colleagues.

Nicaragua builds united response as U.S.-inspired terrorism escalates



Barricada

Counterrevolutionary terrorists murdered seven Nicaraguan soldiers in late December. Above, their comrades carry one of the victims' coffins as the FSLN National Directorate stands by.

BY ARNOLD WEISSBERG
AND MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — On January 8, the Nicaraguan Ministry of the Interior announced the capture here of a commando squad of fifteen counterrevolutionaries. The squad possessed 300 sticks of dynamite and was preparing to destroy Nicaragua's only oil refinery and a Managua cement plant.

According to the Ministry of the Interior, the commando squad was part of the Honduran-based Nicaraguan Democratic Union (UDN) and its armed wing, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Nicaragua (FARN). These groups are led by Fernando and Edmundo Chamorro Rapaccioli, once prominent figures in the bourgeois opposition to Somoza. UDN-FARN leaders have claimed they have no ties to the Somozaists, but three of those captured in Managua were ex-National Guardsmen. Two of these had been in prison but had been released upon receiving pardons.

The Ministry of the Interior also stated that evidence existed to indicate that the UDN-FARN is receiving financing from "military officials of governments with which Nicaragua maintains diplomatic relations." The specific governments involved were not disclosed.

In an interview published here December 31, State Security chief Lenín Cerna predicted a big increase in counterrevolutionary terrorism in the coming year.

Cerna's statements came after a month of killings, robberies, rapes, and kidnappings by counterrevolutionaries. These attacks even included an attempt to destroy a Nicaraguan airliner in mid-flight.

The government security chief's prediction of stepped-up violence in 1982 was proven correct almost at once. Before dawn on January 1, two counterrevolutionaries who had infiltrated the Sandinista Air Force attempted to hijack the jet aircraft used to transport Nicaraguan government leaders. The counterrevolutionaries were captured after the pilot on duty refused to fly the plane to Miami, even when the terrorists threatened to kill him, and after a hostage escaped and alerted security forces.

At 6 a.m. the same day, a band of ten counterrevolutionaries attacked a militia post sixty kilometers north of the town of Jinotega, near the Honduran frontier. Three peasant militia members held them off for almost an hour, killing three of the attackers before the rest of the band fled.

Encouragement from Washington

It takes no great imagination to see the link between the mounting terrorism and the threats against Nicaragua emanating from the White House. The connection was made particularly obvious when a new training camp for Nicaraguan and Cuban exiles seeking to

overthrow those governments was opened with a public celebration in Florida December 27.

Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders had already given the administration's blessing, declaring that such camps do not violate U.S. laws "as long as they don't hurt anybody and as long as they don't actually conspire to invade in a specific way. . . . It is not illegal to have military exercises, guys running around the fields with guns, or to say, 'Uncle Sam, we're ready when you're ready — wink, wink — and here we go'" (New York Times, December 23).

According to counterrevolutionary leader Héctor Fabián, at least 100 Nicaraguans have sneaked back into that country to participate in military actions against the Sandinista-led government.

"They have to act," Lenín Cerna said in the December 31 interview, speaking of Nicaragua's enemies. "First of all, because time is slipping by. And the passage of time makes it possible for the Nicaraguan revolution to make progress in accomplishing its goals, which in fact is exactly what's been happening."

The most serious attack so far came on December 12, when a powerful bomb exploded in the passenger compartment of an Aerónica airliner parked at the terminal in Mexico City. Aerónica is Nicaragua's national airline.

Cerna announced there was evidence that the would-be murderers were linked to Cuban and Nicaraguan exile groups.

Reign of terror against peasants

Inside Nicaragua, armed counterrevolutionary bands have created a reign of terror in rural areas of Boaco, Chontales, and Zelaya provinces. Four armed groups have carried out a string of murders, rapes, robberies, and kidnappings.

Nicaragua's charges that elements of the Honduran army were cooperating with the counterrevolutionaries were borne out December 28, when a Hondu-

ran army plane crashed at Puerto Lempira, just outside Nicaragua on Honduras's Atlantic Coast. On the plane were, among others, fourteen Honduran soldiers, including a major, and Steadman Fagoth, a former leader of Nicaragua's Indian population and now a counterrevolutionary exile.

In an apparent effort to draw attention away from Honduran military involvement with the Somozaists, representatives of the Honduran government charged in early January that Sandinista troops had crossed into Honduran territory December 26 and killed 200 Nicaraguan exiles there.

Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto denounced that charge as "false and absurd." As of January 4, the Foreign Ministry had received no official complaint from Honduras about the alleged incursion. In fact, Nicaraguan authorities first learned of the Honduran charges from an article in the Washington Post.

FSLN leader Luis Carrión had warned last November of the possibility of counterrevolutionary exiles in Honduras carrying out attacks inside that country while disguised as Sandinistas. Labor and religious organizations, as well as liberal opposition figures inside Honduras, have also warned of this possibility.

'We have to defend ourselves'

The killings and other terrorist attacks inside Nicaragua do not appear to have reduced support for the revolution. "Even though I feel a great loss, I believe that my son, Carlos Altamirano Borda, gave his life in a just cause, to defend the revolution," said Elba Borda upon receiving the young soldier's body. "We have to arm ourselves. We have to defend ourselves."

In another incident, which suggested that the terrorists might be preparing even more serious attacks, an unidentified man was killed December 23 in Managua when a bomb he was carrying exploded. The blast occurred in a park only yards away from the headquarters of

the national teachers association, ANDEN.

So serious has the situation become, Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge said in a December 21 speech, that the government is considering the declaration of a state of war. Borge said two days later the government had evidence that terrorists would seek to assassinate revolutionary leaders.

Some of the members of the counterrevolutionary bands are former prisoners, released through the generosity of the Sandinistas. For this reason, the government decided against granting its usual Christmas pardons this year.

'Unity against aggression'

The Sandinista government is trying to prepare the Nicaraguan people politically as well as militarily for the attacks it fears are coming in the first months of 1982. The Government of National Reconstruction has declared 1982 the "Year of Unity Against Aggression."

On January 3, the FSLN daily *Barricada* ran a front-page story entitled "Blockade — other nations have survived it." It described the U.S. aircraft carrier *Nimitz*, a ship that could be used in a naval blockade of Nicaragua. "Just the waves from this giant," *Barricada* said, "would be enough to sink our entire navy."

But in addition to outlining the devastating impact that a U.S. naval blockade would have on Nicaragua, the article also described how the Vietnamese and Cuban people have stood up to commercial and military blockades.

As *Barricada* explained in a year-end roundup article December 31, the revolution is in a better position than ever to defend itself and move forward.

"Above all else, 1981 has been a decisive year for the consolidation of the revolution. With every day that passed, the revolution was consolidated and strengthened, and thus every day was a big loss for our enemies. Nineteen eighty-one gave us another year, and the foreign and domestic enemies of this process know all too well what this means."

"It is absolutely clear that we are stronger than we were yesterday, better able to resist any aggression, better able to deal with our problems and to deepen the gains the Nicaraguan people have made."

From Intercontinental Press

Mexican socialist gunned down

Francisco Lozano Pérez, a member of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT, Mexican section of the Fourth International), was shot to death by a traffic policeman in Mexico City on November 28.

According to the December 7 issue of the PRT's weekly newspaper, *Bandera Socialista*, the incident resulted from a minor traffic accident. "The police intervened, calling on our comrade to pull over. As he was doing so, Officer Jorge Néstor Castro, badge number 07478, shot him in the head and then fled, protected by police from Patrol No. 2817."

"The PRT," *Bandera Socialista* continued, "has seen several of its militants fall victim to political repression. Now, with sadness but above all with indignation, we see the loss of a valuable revolutionary cadre owing to the irrationality and arrogance of the police."

Francisco Lozano Pérez had been a member of the PRT for more than two years at the time of his death. He served as a delegate to the party's second national congress. Lozano was also an activist in the Mexican Union of Electricians (SME) and participated in the Trade-Union Struggle Bloc, a current in opposition to the progovernment bureaucrats that control the SME.

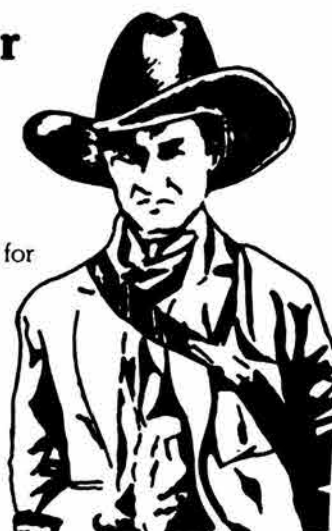
The police officer who killed Lozano was later detained.

New from Pathfinder Nicaragua: An introduction to the Sandinista Revolution

By Arnold Weissberg, Managua correspondent for 'Intercontinental Press,'
48 pp., \$.95.

The Struggle for Freedom in Guatemala

By Aníbal Yáñez, 32 pp., \$.75.



Socialist councilman enters California governor's race

Will challenge Democrats, GOP

BY JANICE LYNN

SEASIDE, Calif. At a well-attended news conference in front of city hall December 23, Seaside city Councilman Mel Mason announced his candidacy for governor of California.

Mason told reporters that he was running for governor because the Democratic and Republican candidates are incapable of serving the interests and needs of the working people.

His supporters are beginning to lay plans for the gigantic effort that will be required to collect the 100,000 signatures on independent nominating petitions necessary to place his name on the ballot.

"What we want people to understand," Mason stated, "is that what is happening is not Reaganomics, is not a result of the Republican Party. What is happening is capitalism is in decay. What we need to do is organize people to fight for their own interests — which would be to form a labor party and to work toward the formation of a workers government that would put human needs before profits."

Mason is a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party and also serves as the Far West Regional Representative of the newly founded National Black Independent Political Party. In April 1980, he was elected to a four-year term on the Seaside City Council with support from the city's Black and working class community.

Spurred by massive plant closures, nearly one million people are unemployed in California. Mason explained, "As a candidate for governor, I will be addressing the need for jobs for all. Those plants that close down and say that they can't make a profit — we think that those plants should be nationalized and put to use by the people." Mason proposes a gigantic public works program to create millions of jobs carrying out socially necessary projects. He also calls for reducing the workweek with no reduction in pay in order to spread the available work around.

Mason denounced the decertification of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) as a "direct union busting move." He pointed to the attack on PATCO as an example of the bipartisan offensive against the rights of all workers to organize.

In response to a reporter's question on whether he favored a strong national military defense, Mason replied, "What is happening in Washington, D.C. now is that there is simply an offensive war drive on the part of this country. So, this is not national defense we are talking about. This is a government that is on the verge of leading people in this country to war."

"This campaign will be against this war drive now going on against Cuba and the people of Central America."

Mason opposes the use of U.S. military forces anywhere around the world. He stands for eliminating the war budget and putting that money to use for human needs.

"That money could be put to use to fund the programs badly needed by the

working poor that are now being cut at the state and federal level," Mason said. He also calls for the dismantlement of Washington's nuclear arsenal and the immediate closure of all nuclear power plants.

One reporter asked Mason if he thought his campaign would have the effect of drawing votes away from Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley. Bradley, also Black, is the Democratic Party's undeclared candidate for governor.

Mason responded, "Tom Bradley's record, with the increase in police brutality, the rise in slum housing, and the rise in infant mortality in the Los Angeles Black community, clearly speaks to who he really represents — that is the corporations and not the interests of Black or working people."

"Bradley has been silent in the face of growing opposition to school desegregation and affirmative action programs."

Mel Mason: a brief biography

Mel Mason, thirty-nine, was born in the small coal mining town of Providence, Kentucky.

He has lived in Seaside, California, since the age of thirteen and attended high school and college on the Monterey Peninsula.

From 1961 to 1965, Mason was in the U.S. Air Force. He spent some time in the stockade while stationed in Istanbul, Turkey.

In 1966, he attended Monterey Peninsula College, where he was an All-American basketball player. He accepted a scholarship to Oregon State University, but because he challenged the discriminatory rules for Black athletes, he was dismissed from the basketball team and left school.

From 1967 to 1969, he worked at Western Electric Company in Sunnyvale, California. He helped to establish a Black workers caucus that dealt with the problems of hiring, affirmative action, promotions, and discriminatory treatment of Black workers.

From 1968 to 1969, he was a member of the Black Panther Party and continued his union organizing activities. He was briefly a member of the Nation of Islam in 1970-71.

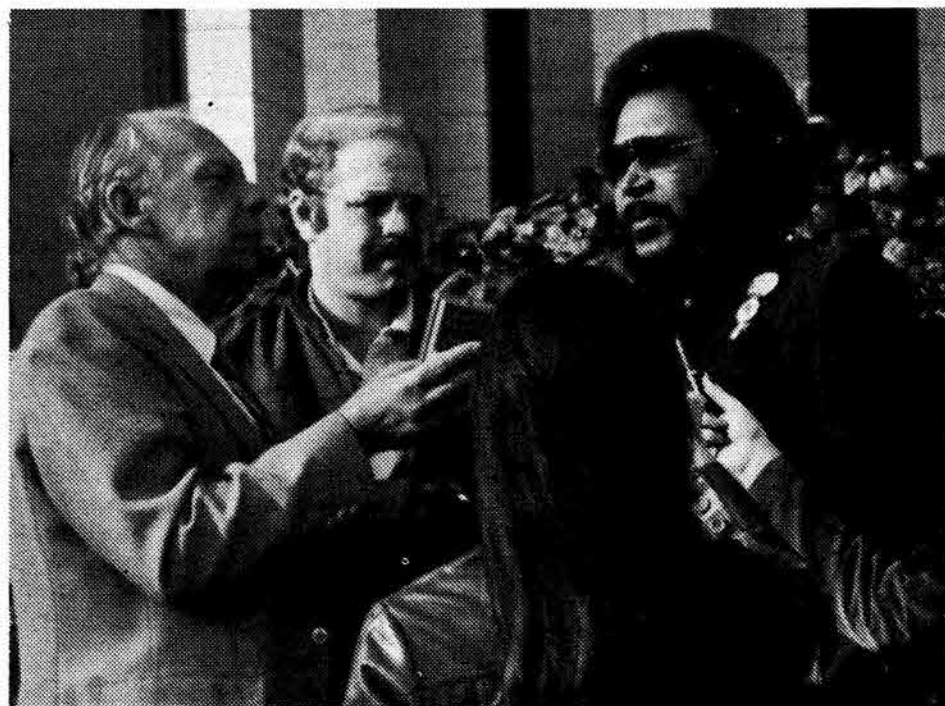
Mason finished college in 1972 at Golden Gate University in San Francisco.

Upon moving back to Seaside, Mason worked as a community counselor at Monterey High School for two years. Since 1974, he has been employed at Monterey Peninsula College as student activities coordinator.

Mason has been a longtime political activist in Seaside. In 1976, he helped to found the Community Action Coalition to address the needs and issues that were affecting Blacks, poor people, and other minorities in the Seaside community.

In 1977, he ran for a seat on the Monterey Peninsula School Board.

In 1979, he was a cofounder and spo-



Mel Mason at December 23 news conference outside Seaside City Hall, announcing his candidacy for governor of California.

Segregationists have moved to dismantle bilingual and bicultural education programs in California. My campaign will stand for complete desegregation of the schools by any means necessary and the maintenance and expansion of bilingual-bicultural programs."

Mason also calls for full equality for women and supports women's struggles to defend their right to legal abortion.

Condemning continued attacks upon the rights of undocumented workers, Mason declared, "What I favor is an open border to allow undocumented workers to come in and work, and to work for full union scale. I am for an end to the deportations of undocumented workers and the protection of their rights."

On the question of taxes, Mason declared, "I think that the major corporations should be taxed and that working people should not be taxed at all. You

talk about welfare. Well, the real welfare exists between the multinational corporations and their virtually non-taxable relationship with the state of California."

Mason's bid for governor is being supported by various community leaders and activists from Seaside. Mason told reporters that his main campaign office will be located in Seaside. He also anticipates that other campaign offices will be set up throughout the state.

As a socialist, Mason will be getting support from the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. He will also be seeking support from other workers parties throughout the state, as well as from Black activists, women, union members, the unemployed, opponents of the U.S. war drive, and all those who see the need for a workers government that will place human needs before profits.

kesman for the Citizens League for Progress, which supported his campaign for city council. In April 1980, he was elected to a four-year city council term. In his nearly two years on the Seaside City Council, Mason has spoken out against Washington's prowar, racist, and antilabor policies.

In March 1981, Mason visited the Caribbean island of Grenada, and has reported back on the progress made since the revolution there.

Ala. civil rights leaders jailed

BY ANDY ROSE

CARROLLTON, Ala. — Two Black women civil rights leaders, framed up on charges of vote fraud, were led away to prison January 11 after a circuit court judge here refused to suspend their sentences.

More than two hundred supporters, packing the courtroom, shouted in protest and sang "We Shall Not Be Moved."

Sheriff's deputies from five counties were used to block the crowd from leaving the courtroom until after the women had been whisked away.

Julia Wilder, sixty-nine, chairwoman of the Pickens County Voters League, was sentenced to five years; and Maggie Bozeman, fifty-one, former president of the Pickens County NAACP, was sentenced to four years — both on trumped-up charges of falsifying absentee ballots in a 1978 election.

Their real crime was organizing Blacks to register and vote in rural Pickens County. Although 42 percent of county residents are Black, there are no Black elected county officials.

The two women were convicted by all-white juries in 1979. Last November, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the convictions by refusing to review the case.

On January 9, 300 civil rights supporters from across Alabama marched and

Mason has been active in the newly founded National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). At its founding convention in August 1981, he was elected its Far West regional representative. Mason also heads an active NBIPP chapter in Seaside that is currently involved in a campaign against police brutality.

Mason is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and was recently elected to the SWP National Committee.

rallied in Carrollton to demand justice for Wilder and Bozeman.

Wilder told the crowd that in her efforts to register Blacks she had always followed the law. She vowed that nothing would stop her from continuing to fight for Black rights. "If they send me to Tutwiler [state prison], I will organize there."

Speakers from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the NAACP said the frame-up of Bozeman and Wilder is an attempt to intimidate Blacks, part of the nationwide assault on civil rights.

"If you needed any evidence that the Voting Rights Act must be renewed, look to Pickens County," said Rev. Joseph Lowery, national SCLC president.

"If Wilder and Bozeman go to jail for exercising their political rights, then no citizen's rights are safe, Black or white," Lowery said.

Civil rights leaders are demanding that Alabama Governor Fob James pardon Bozeman and Wilder or commute their sentences. This demand is a theme of the January 15 Martin Luther King demonstration in Birmingham. Also planned are daily picketing of the Pickens County courthouse, a boycott of white businesses here, and a march to the state capital of Montgomery.

Protests hit training of Salvador army

Continued from Page 1

ple to Spring Lake, North Carolina, where Fort Bragg is located.

Prior to the start of the march, a news conference was organized that included, among others, David Dellinger, representing the War Resisters League; Dan Driscoll, associate director of the Justice and Peace Commission of the Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers; Bishop Antonio Ramos, Episcopal bishop of the National Council of Churches; and Moustafa Randolph, vice president of the Black Veterans for Social Justice.

During the march to Spring Lake, a town of 20,000 — mostly soldiers and civilians employed at the base — solidarity activists reported very little hostility. Instead, a significant number of people joined the march, honked their horns, and joined in shouting such slogans as "Deport the junta's soldiers, not the refugees."

The marchers were permitted to enter the base, where they were received by a delegation of officers. Father Henry Atkins, coordinator of the Triad Citizens Concerned for Central America, headed a delegation that presented the officers with a letter addressed to the base commander. The letter protested the training program and urged that the monies instead be used to create jobs and social services. When the officers were asked to join with the marchers in a moment of silence for the martyred nuns and liber-

ation fighters in El Salvador, they agreed.

After the march, a briefing was held in front of the municipal building in Spring Lake. Barbara Arnwine, a national cochair of the National Black Independent Political Party who had participated in the protest, told the demonstrators, "This country is driving poor Black men into the military for employment because they can't get other jobs. This has got to stop. Our differences are not with the people of El Salvador, but with the 'Department of Injustice.' The real enemy of Black people is not the people of the Third World, but our own government."

In New York, CISPES activists and supporters organized a news conference at the United Nations, and a picket of 100 people at the armed forces recruitment station. Participating in the conference were Arnaldo Ramos, representing the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; Adeyemi Bandle, representing the National Black United Front; Donna Igoe and Debbie Indrieri, the sisters of John Sullivan, a freelance journalist missing in El Salvador since December 28; and Hallie Wannamaker of CISPES.

In a call for support, Ramos noted: "In view of the military escalation, in view of the increasing toll that our population is feeling, we would like to reiterate once again our willingness to participate in the process that will lead to a

global political solution. At the same time, we would like to make a plea to the American people to increase the political, moral, and material support for our forces. . . .

"The people of El Salvador are struggling with our nails. We do not have the means — the arms necessary — equivalent to the increasing arms being poured into El Salvador from this nation. So we are openly asking the people of this country to reiterate their support by increasing their solidarity."

In other actions around the country on January 11, between 100 and 200 people marched or picketed in Tucson; Denver; Portland; Washington, D.C.; Philadelphia; Ann Arbor, Michigan; and Austin, Texas. Smaller actions were reported in Oakland, Miami, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Twin Cities, Boston, Baltimore, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

Among the endorsers of the January 11 actions was the Labor Committee for Human Rights and Democracy in El Salvador.

CISPES, in a leadership meeting to be held the weekend of January 16, will discuss future activities against the

training of the Salvadoran officers and soldiers, and the increased threat of U.S. military intervention.

A number of important dates have already been set for activities that are part of the anti-intervention campaign.

Actions set for January 22

The main date coming up is January 22. This has been set as an International Day of Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. The Emergency Campaign Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, a coalition of solidarity groups and other organizations, is organizing many actions across the country.

On January 24 and 25, the scheduled dates for the arrival of 500-600 Salvadoran officers at Fort Benning, Georgia, local solidarity activists will organize a march similar to the one at Fort Bragg.

On February 27, the Triad Concerned Citizens for Central America have called for another protest at Fort Bragg.

As Arnaldo Ramos indicated in New York, the time for increased solidarity is now.

What U.S. advisers do in Salvador

What are U.S. military advisers doing in El Salvador?

On two occasions last January, eight U.S. military advisers attended training sessions on torture techniques. Two suspected guerrillas, a seventeen-year-old man and a thirteen-year-old girl, were tortured while some 260 soldiers watched, and then killed.

The military advisers, which included "Green Berets," had arrived in El Salvador a few days earlier to aid the military dictatorship in beating back the freedom fighters.

This information, reported in the January 11 *New York Times*, came from Carlos Antonio Gómez Montano, a Salvadoran soldier then with the Second Parachute Squadron at Ilopango Air Force Base outside San Salvador, where the so-called torture classes occurred. Gómez later deserted and has fled to Mexico City.

At the first session, a masked Salvadoran soldier jabbed with the end of his

bayonet at the chest and rib cage of the young man.

Then, applying his boot for leverage, the soldier broke the youth's arm at the elbow. After more tortures, he was killed, though not in the presence of the U.S. advisers.

At the second session, the young woman was similarly tortured and killed. Both their bodies were dumped on a street in San Salvador.

In one of the torture sessions, the assembled troops were told by an officer that they should "not feel any pity of anyone," but only "hate for those who are enemies of our country."

Gómez said that many freedom fighters and sympathizers were dropped, alive, into the sea from helicopters, or their bodies were discarded along roads after the faces had been slashed beyond recognition.

Gómez's paratroop unit had also received training from U.S. advisers, although they did not accompany the soldiers on missions.



Salvadoran soldiers arrive in North Carolina to begin training at Fort Bragg.

Haitian refugees fight Reagan detention camps

Continued from Page 1

Catholic Bishop of Puerto Rico, Cardinal Aponte Martínez, has demanded the release of the nearly 800 refugees being held in the Fort Allen detention camp on the island.

On January 2 in Chicago, at a giant meeting organized by Rev. Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, religious leaders announced a three day fast in support of the Haitians.

In Miami, an emergency rally was called on two days notice December 29 by the NAACP, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Haitian Refugee Center Incorporated, and the Center for the Quest for Truth.

Police attack evokes demonstration

The rally was called to protest the police attack on a peaceful demonstration outside the Krome Avenue detention camp December 27.

On Christmas Eve, the 700 refugees held in Krome began a hunger strike, vowing to continue until their release. On Sunday, December 27, normally a visiting day at the camp, 600 people arrived at Krome to visit relatives and to publicly express their support for the hunger strikers.

But the INS provocatively canceled visitation rights and refused to allow anyone to enter the camp. As the angry crowd demanded that they be allowed to enter, the guards suddenly threw tear

gas and attacked the protesters with clubs. In the confusion, 150 Haitian refugees managed to escape.

Two days later, 2,000 people turned out for the emergency rally in Liberty City to protest the attack.

Rev. Jesse Jackson, the main speaker at the rally, hit the government's attempts to stir up antirefugee hysteria; "Blacks in South Florida don't set immigration policy," he said. "If Black South Floridians could take the Haitians into their homes and their churches they would do it tonight."

Jackson explained that the Haitian issue is international: "We support the solidarity movement in Poland, but we also support the solidarity movement in South Africa and Haiti. Let's measure human rights with one yardstick. The government uses two. When they crushed the labor movement in Poland, the president imposed sanctions; when they crush the movements in South Africa and Haiti, the president increases trade."

Referring to the hypocrisy of the Vatican, Jackson pointed out that "while the Pope intervenes in Poland — on the crisis in Haiti, where people are ninety-five percent Catholic too, there is a deafening silence from the Vatican."

When Jackson called for continued massive demonstrations by the Black

communities on behalf of the Haitians he was given a standing ovation.

Support for the Haitian refugees continues to grow. On December 30, Jackson toured the Krome Camp, denouncing the brutal conditions there, and met with Black and religious leaders to discuss further activities on behalf of the refugees. These meetings received wide publicity in the media. As a result, several groups sent telegrams to Reagan demanding the Haitians be released.

Politicians pressed to give support

The pressure has been so intense that Florida's Governor Bob Graham has reversed his openly reactionary, antirefugee stance and is now demanding that the INS return to its earlier immigration policy, which would result in the immediate release and resettlement of the refugees. Other politicians, such as New York senators Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Alfonse D'Amato, visited Fort Allen in Puerto Rico January 7, in further attempts to defuse the situation.

On December 31, the refugee Advisory Committee of the Dade County Metro Commission urged the government to release the refugees to friends and community agencies.

The Haitian community is inspired by the growing support. Father Gerard Jean-Juste, director of the Haitian Refugee Center Incorporated in Miami, ex-

plained that "the change has been dramatic since we listened to Mr. Reagan give us all this baloney about Poland. How can a country talk about human rights in Poland when we have what's going on here. . . ."

Subscribe to Intercontinental Press

Intercontinental Press is a unique source for political developments throughout the world. *IP* is the only English-language magazine with a full-time bureau in Nicaragua, providing weekly reports on the development of the revolutionary upsurge in Central America. *IP* correspondents provide our readers with in-depth coverage of events such as the Iranian revolution, the freedom struggle in South Africa, and the workers struggle in Poland.

Many of the documents, speeches, and interviews we publish appear nowhere else in English. Why not subscribe?

\$35 for one year.
\$17.50 for six months.
\$8.75 for three months.

410 West Street
New York, N.Y. 10014

Labor actions hit budget cuts, layoffs

Anger mounts as workers seek answers to economic crisis

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

After the Solidarity Day march of half a million people in Washington, D.C. on September 19, workers are asking the question, what to do next.

This question takes on special urgency as a result of the worsening economic situation since that historic action. Renewed recession has sent unemployment soaring in almost all branches of industry. Combined with cutbacks in government social spending, mandated by Reagan and Congress, this has already led to the return of breadlines and soup kitchens.

Workers have been pressing the official union leaders for more answers and for effective action. This mood is reflected in local actions, which are being held in many cities throughout the country.

'Solidarity Returns to Muncie'

In Muncie, Indiana, Mayor Alan Wilson announced that after January 1 he would not recognize Teamster Local 135 as the bargaining agent for the city workers. The urgency of the situation is underlined by the expected layoff of city employees. In light of the fact that Muncie has the eighth highest unemployment rate in the nation, it is unlikely that they will be able to find other jobs.

More than 1,000 workers turned out December 19, in ten degree weather, under the banner "Solidarity Returns to Muncie." More than twenty-five union locals participated.

PATCO speaker David Brady pointed out, "We must gather our unity, starting right here today. For together we have strength."

Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress Dave Ellis, in an open letter distributed at the rally, stated that workers are under attack by both "Democratic and Republican politicians."

When rally organizer Jerry Thornburg of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 489 tried to explain the absence of Democratic Congressman Phillip Sharp by saying, "He's with you in spirit," the crowd shouted back, "Where the hell is his body?"

Protest cuts in work compensation

In Lansing, Michigan, 8,000 unionists responded to a call by the State AFL-CIO and Michigan UAW Community Action Program (CAP) to march on the state capitol December 8. The event was billed as "Michigan Solidarity Day," and the slogan was "Don't Reaganize Michigan."

The Michigan economy has been in a depression for several years now due to the sharp and protracted decline of the auto industry. Recently over 30,000 workers had their extended unemployment benefits cut off because state unemployment dropped below the "trigger level" of 5 percent. This, however, doesn't reflect a sudden recovery in the Michigan economy. The official unemployment level is around a depression level of 13 percent. But the government counts as unemployed, for purposes of determining the "trigger" for extended benefits, only those in their first twenty-six weeks of unemployment.

In addition to cutting payments to the unemployed, bills now before the State Legislature threaten to weaken workers compensation. The proposed legislation would tighten eligibility requirements, reduce benefits, and shorten the length of time a disabled worker can collect benefits.

The workers who responded to the rally call gathered at the Lansing Civic Center, then marched around the state capitol. Thousands of workers crowded into the halls of the building, chanting and banging hard hats and picket signs on the walls and floors.

Bill Marshall, president of the Michigan AFL-CIO declared, "We are here to tell our elected officials that Michigan workers will not stand for the crucifying of our benefits."

On December 19, 800 to 1,000

workers rallied to protest a move by the city administration to reopen the Chicago transit workers contract. George Dalmás, assistant to the president of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, explained that "We were going to do it alone." But, Dalmás explained, "a chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists came to help us, and so we said, 'Why not call it Solidarity and bring in the problems affecting all labor and citizens, as well.'"

Two thousand workers overflowed the House of Representatives' chamber in Hartford, Connecticut, November 7 to listen to William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM). In addition to Winpisinger, John Driscoll, head of the state AFL-CIO, spoke, as well as representatives of public employees, the building trades, disabled persons, and women. Connecticut is suffering from a loss of \$38 million in federal grants, largely for social services.

Protest union-busting

In Louisville, Kentucky, 1,000 angry union workers rallied outside Galt House December 15 to protest former President Gerald Ford's address at a fund-raising dinner for the anti-union Associated Building Contractors. Ford lectured the union busting construction bosses about the "deadly serious international problem" caused by the declaration of martial law in Poland. Ford's stop in Louisville was one of fifteen "productivity" dinners he will address across the country for the Associated Building Contractors.

About 100 union locals participated in the rally. Many workers wore "I marched on Solidarity Day on September 19" buttons. Signs carried by unionists declared, "Unions cheered and defended by Americans in Poland — Badmouthed and starved in U.S.A."

Black leaders hit war drive

On November 30, 3,000 people packed Fountain Square in downtown Cincinnati to protest President Reagan's visit to the city. Reagan addressed a \$5,000-a-couple, Republican fund-raising dinner. Protesters lined up at an old-fashioned soup line reminiscent of the Great Depression, right outside the hotel.

Speakers included Marian Spencer, president of the NAACP Cincinnati branch; Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, national board member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; William Sheehan, the secretary-treasurer of the Central Labor Council (AFL-CIO); and Cincinnati Mayor David Mann.

Spencer pointed out that Reagan will



Muncie, Indiana, unionists march against attempt by Mayor Alan Wilson to bust municipal workers union.

"waste a trillion dollars on the military budget during his term. And we won't forget his attack on affirmative action. Nor will we forget his attacks on civil rights and the Equal Rights Amendment!"

Shuttlesworth denounced Reagan policies that "put the budget for the military and war before people."

A large contingent of PATCO workers was warmly received by the crowd.

The Central American Task Force carried a banner which proclaimed "Money for Jobs, Not for War, U.S. Out of El Salvador."

The Young Socialist Alliance banner declared "No Draft, No War: U. S. Hands Off Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and El Salvador!"

Supporters of Rachel Knapik, the Socialist Workers candidate for Lt. Governor of Ohio, circulated a statement that declared, "The overwhelming majority of Americans are opposed to U.S. involvement in another Vietnam. Despite this, both the Republicans and the Democrats are pouring billions upon billions into the coffers of the Pentagon. They then turn to working people and tell us cuts have to be made in Social Security, health care, education, and other human needs to fund their war drive. That is why working people need our own party, a labor party based on the unions."

In the state of Washington, unions and other organizations have called a demonstration in Olympia for January 20. The rally is protesting government cutbacks and layoffs.

Union officials across the country have participated and helped organize these actions under pressure from the

ranks. But they are attempting to channel the mounting anger against government policies into support for electing Democrats to Congress and state offices in November. To this end, they have invited Democratic politicians, who are supposedly friendly to labor, to speak at these rallies.

The mood of the workers reflected in these actions and in the speeches of the more militant speakers shows the growing insistence for answers and action that go beyond supporting the employer's parties.

Unemployment goes up

The U.S. government announced January 8 that unemployment for adult men was 8 percent for December, up from 7.2 in November. This figure for adult males is the highest since World War II. Overall unemployment rose to 8.9 percent, from 8.4 percent in November. This is the second-highest jobless rate since World War II. Black unemployment was 16.1 percent in December, up from 15.5 percent in November. It is one of the highest levels since records have been kept. Counting so-called discouraged workers who have stopped looking for a job because they know they won't find one, nearly 11 million people were unemployed in the United States in December, according to the U.S. government.

West Coast dockworkers back socialist suit

The following is the text of a statement on behalf of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) in support of the Socialist Workers Party's lawsuit against the government and its political police. It was read at a December 5 rally in San Francisco, sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, by Herb Mills, secretary-treasurer of ILWU Local 10. The statement makes reference to the government's decades-long efforts to deport former ILWU President Harry Bridges, and to victimize other members and leaders of the ILWU.

Perhaps more than any other union that is still around, we of the ILWU understand the terrible effects of political repression on working-class organizations, and the way the history of such organizations has been distorted

by government surveillance, disruption, provocation, and other forms of interference.

We can point to case after case where disruption by repressive government actions measurably affected the success of our bargaining. We can also point to the poisoning of the very atmosphere within the locals that were subject to such activities. Everyone remembers "the everlasting Bridges case." But how many remember the very lengthy effort to deport Ernest Mangaoang and ten other Filipino-American trade unionists because of their political beliefs? How many remember the prosecution of Jack Hall and the Reineckes and the other Hawaii Smith Act defendants? How many remember the innumerable harassments of scores of ILWU locals?

While we survived those prosecutions — and actually we've done more than survive — the legacy of those

awful years remains with us in many ways. And the story in this morning's paper on the CIA regaining a "right" to spy on the American people is a truly frightening reminder that our terrible and troubled days are anything but over. Indeed, they have apparently begun again and with a vengeance.

This is why the Socialist Workers Party case is so important. It's also why this event is so important — it brings together a broad and impressive coalition of people. We may disagree on many important things, but we're here to agree on a basic principle: the right of each of us to function is threatened when the civil liberties of any of us are violated. This is why we, the members of the ILWU, know that as this case continues it will gain increasing support from many sections of labor, and especially from those who know about this sort of thing first hand.



Under 'antitrust' settlement AT&T will be free to invest in high-profit areas like the microprocessor shown above.

AT&T deal will raise phone rates

BY WILLIAM GOTTlieb

On January 8, a settlement was announced in the government's antitrust suit against the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T). AT&T will, under the terms of the agreement with the Reagan administration, divest itself of the twenty-two Bell System telephone companies that monopolize most of the nation's local telephone service. These local telephone companies have assets of over \$80 billion, two-thirds of AT&T's total assets. AT&T will keep its long-distance service, the Western Electric Company, and Bell Telephone Laboratories.

At first glance, the settlement may appear to some to be a blow

against monopoly capital. In reality, it is the exact opposite, as anybody who pays a telephone bill will soon find out.

Being a so-called natural monopoly, local telephone rates are regulated by various governmental bodies. AT&T has been required to subsidize local telephone companies from the profits earned through its lucrative long-distance telephone service. This has meant that the capital invested by AT&T has not been making as high a rate of profit as it could if the "free market" prevailed. From the viewpoint of the big financial interests who dominate AT&T, the local telephone service was actually a liability.

Under the divestiture agreement, local telephone service will be reorganized, either as a separate corporation or as a series of separate corporations (the details have not been worked out yet). The stockholders of AT&T will exchange some of their shares of AT&T stock for shares in the new "independent" telephone company (or companies). This means that the same financial groups will own the telephone companies after the divestiture as own them now. Only they will own them directly, instead of indirectly through AT&T.

Since the local telephone companies will now be "independent" companies, they will be expected to make a much higher

rate of profit than they presently do. As a result, rates for local telephone service are expected to rise rapidly, at least doubling in many parts of the country.

For example, according to Delbert C. Staley, president of New York Telephone Company, the basic local charge for telephone service is now \$10 per month, while the cost to New York Telephone is \$20. This means that New York Telephone, claiming that it costs \$20 a month to provide service (only thoroughgoing inspection of the phone company's books can determine the accuracy of this figure), will demand that rates be raised to something over \$20. In addition to covering costs, it will argue that it has to make a "fair" rate of profit.

There is little doubt that the New York State authorities will give in, since, after all, no capitalist will invest his capital in New York Telephone if he doesn't get a "reasonable" return on his investment.

In return for "sacrificing" the local telephone-service business, AT&T will now be able to invest in the highly profitable data processing, computer communications, and telephone and computer terminal equipment businesses. As a government-regulated monopoly, it was forbidden to invest in these areas. Richard Wiley, former president of the Federal Communications Commission, described the settlement as "a brilliant masterstroke." He explained, "They gave away the future railroads of this industry, kept the moneymakers they already had, and won the right to go after everything else on the high-revenue side."

Court ruling keeps nuclear plant shut down

BY WILLIAM GOTTlieb

On January 7, the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ruled that the undamaged Unit 1 reactor at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant could not be restarted until the government determined the impact on the psychological health of people living in nearby communities. In the two-to-one decision, the court also directed the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) to determine whether federal law mandates a more thorough environmental study.

The court order was the result of a suit by the People Against Nuclear Energy. James B. Hurst, treasurer of People Against Nuclear Energy, expressed the hope that "this may finally convince the NRC that psychological stress really is an issue. Until now, they have missed that message."

In another setback for nuclear power, Moody's Investors Services Inc. suspended the credit rating January 7 on two nuclear power plants that the Washington Public Power Supply System (WPPSS) has been trying to build in Washington. The nuclear power plants are part of a projected group of five nuclear plants. The project is already 500 percent over budget. Capitalist investors have forked over a total of \$6.8 billion to WPPSS and are reluctant to provide more.

Murry Weiss, former SWP leader, dies in N.Y.

BY GEORGE NOVACK

Murry Weiss, a former leader of the Socialist Workers Party and *Militant* editor, died of a stroke at the age of sixty-six in New York December 26. I learned of his death upon returning from the Young Socialist Alliance convention in Philadelphia over New Year's weekend.

How unfortunate it was, I thought, that scarcely any of the youth there knew about Murry's long and worthy record of service to our party. A radical since his early teens, Murry was a pioneer builder of the vanguard political organization of the U.S. working class.

Some of today's young people are being introduced to the liberating spirit of the October 1917 Russian revolution by viewing the career of John Reed through the film *Reds*. Murry was inspired by that colossal event during the 1920s, only a few years after its victory.

He was born in Chicago and grew up on Manhattan's Lower East Side with parents who were active in the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. In that nursery of radicalism he became a precocious socialist, stirred by such injustices as the execution in 1927 of the anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti.

Murry joined the children's organization of the Communist Party, the Young Pioneers, and graduated to the Young Communist League at fifteen. Together with his older brother David, he spoke up against the fatal Stalinist course of refusing to form a united front with Socialist Party and union forces against the threat of Hitlerism in Germany. This led to his expulsion in 1933 and subsequent adherence to the Communist League of America (CLA) and its youth group, the Spartacus Youth Clubs. The CLA was part of the International Left Opposition led

by Leon Trotsky.

Three years later, when the Trotskyists were members of the Socialist Party (SP) for a brief period, Weiss was elected to the national committee of the Young People's Socialist League, the SP's youth organization. When the Trotskyists were expelled from the SP, he became a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938 and served on its national committee for nearly a quarter of a century. Over the years, he acted as party organizer in such key branches as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Youngstown, and New York.

Together with Myra Tanner Weiss, his close co-worker in union and party activities, whom he married in 1942, he was instrumental in launching a mass, unified opposition to the antilabor drive of the fascist Gerald L.K. Smith in the mid-1940s. He was the editor of the *Militant* between 1954 and 1956. He also edited the *International Socialist Review*. He was a source of strength and stability throughout the ordeal of the McCarthy witch-hunt era.

Murry played a prominent role in the united-front election campaign of the Independent Socialist ticket in New York State during 1958. This was a short-lived political coalition that issued from the shakeup in the Communist Party circles following Khrushchev's partial disclosures of Stalin's crimes.

Murray had suffered from a murmur of the heart caused by rheumatic fever in his boyhood. He had open-heart surgery in 1952, and was hit by a stroke in 1960. This caused him to take a protracted leave of absence from party activity, and he eventually left the party.

He took up training as a psychotherapist and conducted private practice in that profession for the last thirteen years of his life. The sensitivity of his

personality and his experience as an organizer prepared him for this kind of work. His therapeutic advice was especially helpful for patients who had been associated with the radical movement.

From the 1930s on, I collaborated with Murry on various party projects and assignments, and always found him to be an agreeable and reliable co-worker. I particularly remember the care and consideration with which he and Myra treated me when I visited Los Angeles during wartime in the spring of 1944. It was the last stop for a wearied traveler on a strenuous nationwide speaking tour in behalf of the eighteen SWP defendants in the famous Minneapolis "Smith Act" case.

Murry was largely self-educated. He had a driving desire to master the elements of Marxist theory and pass on knowledge of its teachings to others. He studied *Capital* assiduously and gave many classes on political economy as well as on political issues.

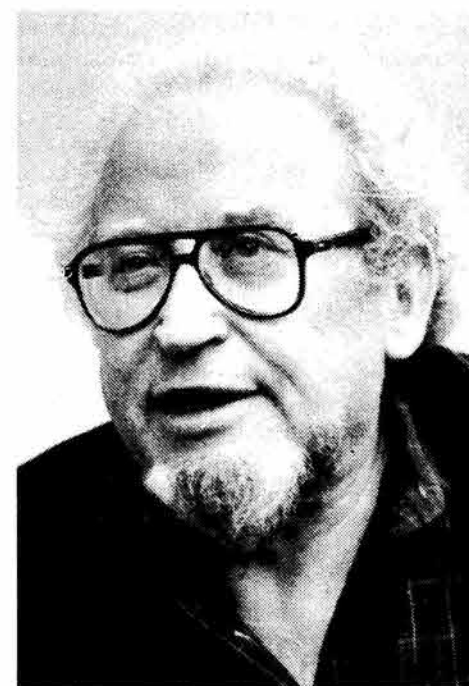
He had an amiable, even ingratiating, disposition, and his powers of persuasion recruited scores of members to the socialist ranks. He easily won the confidence of young people, some of whom regarded themselves as his disciples. He was an intimate friend and favorite of the founder of American Trotskyism, James P. Cannon, who valued his selfless dedication and his capacity for initiative, among his other qualities. Murry was ever on the alert to make the most of new openings in the class struggle.

We all regretted his departure from our party and its leadership. After a period of quiescence, he reemerged into political activity in the late 1970s as cochairman of the Freedom Socialist Party, an opponent of the SWP. In December 1980 he participated in the world conference of the Parity Committee for the Reorganization of the

Fourth International, headed by Pierre Lambert and Hugo Moreno.

Memorial meetings honoring Murry Weiss's contributions to the Marxist movement will be held in the following cities:

- New York, Machinists Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street, January 24. Program 3 p.m., buffet 5 p.m.
- Los Angeles, Modern Play School-Play Mountain Place, 6063 Hargis Street, January 24. Brunch 12 noon, program 1 p.m.
- San Francisco, 3016-16 Street (at Mission), January 24. Brunch 12 noon, program 1:30 p.m.
- Seattle, Freeway Hall, 3815 5th Avenue N.E., January 23. Dinner 6:30 p.m., program 8 p.m.
- Portland, 2831 N.E. Union, January 23. Dinner 6:30 p.m., program 8 p.m.



Murry Weiss

Oil workers contract won't protect jobs or work rules

BY STU SINGER

The national bargaining committee of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) union approved a two-year contract with Gulf Oil January 11. Shell Oil also agreed to the same proposals. The agreements may result in new contracts for 55,000 union-organized workers in oil refineries and petrochemical plants. Wages and benefits for the equal number of nonunion oil-company workers usually follow the pattern set by the union.

The new contract calls for a 9 percent pay raise in 1982 and a 90 cent-an-hour hike in 1983. This would be about a 16 percent increase over two years. OCAW members in these industries now average about \$12 an hour. With overtime and shift differentials, their weekly pay is the highest of any industrial workers.

The proposed contracts have to be approved by each local. There is no industry-wide contract. OCAW holds about 400 contracts with about 100 companies.

Most OCAW contracts expired January 8. All but one of the companies agreed to a proposal by federal mediators to extend the contract while negotiations continued. The exception was the Phillips refinery in Pasadena, Texas. But the OCAW local there stayed on the job.

In Port Arthur, Texas, OCAW locals at Texaco and American Petrofina set up picket lines January 8. Their strike was sanctioned by the international union leadership. It was called to protest company violations of local agreements on pensions and other issues.

Initial reports indicate that the new contract provides some improvements in hospitalization and other benefits.

But there is no information yet (as of January 11) on whether any of the company takeback demands concerning work rules and job eliminations are part of the proposed agreement. Gulf Oil, for example, handed the union nine pages of takeback demands during negotiations.

It was announced that the union made no progress on the issue of job security, which had been posed as central to negotiations.

At least 3,000 OCAW refinery workers are on layoff. A number of plants have been closed and others are operating at 65 percent of capacity. A Wall Street analyst predicts the employers will shut down production of another 1 million barrels a day of the 18.6 million barrels of U.S. refinery capacity.

There is an oil glut. After years of an artificial shortage designed to boost prices and profits, the economy is saturated with more oil than can be purchased.

Refinery workers are legitimately concerned about their jobs.

The union's initial contract proposal included that there should be no layoffs or shutdowns for the life of the contract. But they dropped that proposal when the companies said outright that they would take a strike if the union pushed the demand.

The *Oil and Gas Journal* reported, "To accede to the demand would give the union power to prevent management from shutting down unprofitable capacity."

Labor movement under attack

The same day the OCAW contracts expired, the leaders of the United Auto Workers decided to reopen contracts with Ford and General Motors nine months early to give back past contract gains.

Union-organized workers in the rubber industry, steel, trucking, meat packing, airlines, and railroads have been forced into contract concessions.

The new model for labor relations is the attack on the air traffic controllers' strike.

Time lost to strikes is the lowest since World War II.

These facts had an impact on the OCAW negotiations.

Profit rate down, overproduction

The oil industry includes the richest corporations in the world. But they are not immune from the economic crisis gripping capitalism.

Oil company profits are very high, but their profit rate is declining. There are more oil products than can be purchased.

The overproduction of oil is matched by overproduction of steel, autos, rubber, appliances, electrical capacity, airline seats, wheat, corn, soybeans, and cheese. Working people cannot afford to buy what has been produced.

The capitalist solution is to bolster profits. To do that they are cutting employment; raising prices and interest rates; and slashing unemployment compensation, food stamps, Social Security, and welfare.

The victims can purchase even fewer commodities. The crisis gets worse.

Who fuels inflation?

Oil workers' pay went up 20.5 percent the last two years. Inflation went up 22.5 percent. The union had demanded 13.5 percent a year in the new contract.

When the oil monopolies claimed there was a shortage, they blamed the Iranian revolution, "greedy" Arabs, and "wasteful" American workers who insist on driving cars. They also pin the blame for inflation on workers.

The chairman of Union Oil of California complained that the industry's "passiveness in agreeing to past wage increases that exceed productivity gains has helped fuel the fires of inflation."

But oil-industry price hikes have little to do with refinery-worker wages.

Oil-refining labor costs are estimated at 9.5 percent, compared to 34.3 percent in the auto industry and 36.9 percent in textiles. Less than one-and-a-half cents of the \$1.40 we pay for a gallon of gasoline covers refinery labor.

No answers from union heads

The OCAW leadership presented no clear proposals to protect jobs. Union President Robert Goss wrote in the December issue of *OCAW Union News*, "If they say there is a surplus of employees, let them get rid of the contractor employees and let OCAW members, who are the company's regular, full-time employees, do the work."

Thousands of union jobs have been wiped out as the companies replace them with contractors employing lower-paid and often nonunion labor.

But Goss did not propose a campaign to organize all the workers at the refineries into OCAW.

There was no proposal for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay in order to spread around the work. In a special edition of *OCAW Union News*, it is explained that "the oil industry has rigidly resisted institution of a shorter work week and some years ago OCAW gave up asking for it."

The union reports the companies are lengthening the workweek in order to lay off more workers. The average workweek in refineries is now 43.3 hours.

This is a safety hazard.

Job safety — getting worse

Refinery work is inherently dangerous. It involves volatile and often poisonous fluids under high pressure. The company scramble for profits is increasing the danger.

There are cutbacks in safety procedures, equipment, and training.



Militant Walter Lippmann
West coast dockworkers march in solidarity with refinery workers strike, Los Angeles Harbor, 1980. Union solidarity is key to taking on oil barons.

Workers have to face double shifts, rotating schedules, job combinations, and work-rule changes.

Little of the billions invested in the oil industry are going into refineries. There are higher profits in drilling. Machinery is being run into the ground.

1979 contract, 1980 strike

OCAW got a two-year contract in 1979 without a strike. It had an option to reopen wages and benefits in 1980. With inflation twice as high as the 1980 pay hike, the union was forced to reopen the contract.

OCAW went on strike in January 1980. Some workers remained on the picket lines until July. A few lost their jobs as a result of the strike.

It was the longest oil strike ever. Tens of thousands of workers and their families stood up to the companies and cops for months.

The final contract won a pay hike, but not the benefit improvements the union

wanted. The whole contract was extended through January 1982.

Management scabs and contract workers kept most of the refineries operating during the 1980 strike. Teamster-organized oil workers, whose contract is based on OCAW, did not go on strike.

The ability of the companies to keep operating was only possible thanks to government cooperation. Safety and pollution rules were dropped. Federal anti-labor laws were backed up by antipicketing injunctions and police protection for scabs.

Oil workers are still evaluating the lessons of that strike. They are considering the growing attacks by the companies against their jobs, safety, and working conditions.

They are confronting the same questions facing all working people and looking for answers to how their jobs, wages, and safety can be protected; and how this deepening crisis can be stopped.

Forum commemorates Kampuchea's liberation from Pol Pot regime

BY SANDI SHERMAN

NEW YORK — A forum to commemorate the third anniversary of the liberation of Kampuchea from Pol Pot and his genocidal regime was held here January 8.

Hosted by the Vietnamese Students Association at New York University, and cosponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos, the meeting drew eighty people.

Merle Ratner, from the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos, chaired the event. She explained in opening remarks that the U.S. government has maintained and intensified its hostility toward the government of Kampuchea.

"The U.S. hasn't learned anything from its defeat in Vietnam," she said. Noting that the United States is preparing for interventions around the world, Ratner said, "The struggle of the people in Kampuchea is linked to the struggle of the people of El Salvador to overthrow the Duarte regime and establish a people's government there."

A newsreel produced by the Kampuchean National Film Studio, entitled 3 + 4, was shown. It documented the genocidal acts of the Pol Pot regime.

Chan Bun Han, a Kampuchean national, showed slides from his first trip home in 1981. Don Luce, an American

journalist from the Southeast Asia Resource Center, gave a first-hand report on his trip to Kampuchea in 1979.

Luce explained the role the U.S. is continuing to play in stopping aid from reaching Kampuchea. An example of this was the hypocritical refusal of the U.S. government to allow the Mennonites to send school kits to Kampuchea on the grounds that this was not humanitarian aid, but "development" aid.

"Part of the irony of all this," Luce noted, "is that in the 1980 election campaign Reagan attacked Carter for being a hypocrite on human rights, and used the example of Carter's support to Pol Pot. Last September, the Reagan administration voted for Pol Pot to be seated at the U.N."

Luce called on the U.S. government to normalize relations with Vietnam and Kampuchea, resume trade with both countries, and remove the obstacles it has set up for aid to Vietnam. He also stated that the U.S. government should stop supporting the Pol Pot forces and should use its influence with China to prevent another attack on Vietnam.

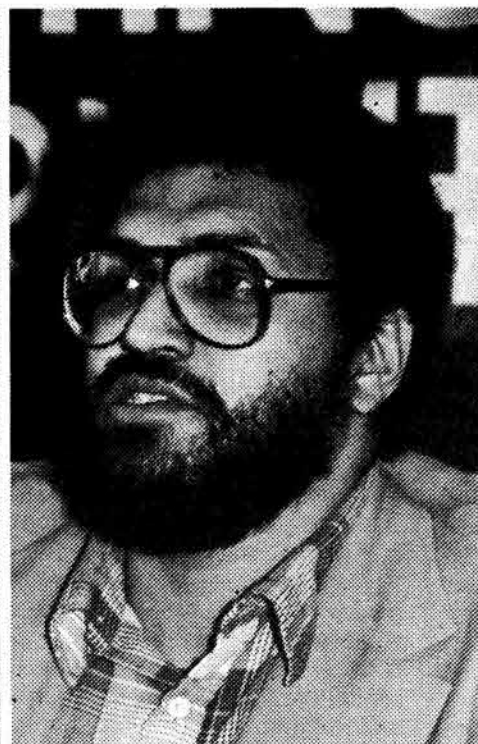
"Anyone who is pushing for a withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea without guarantees to prevent Pol Pot's return has no concern for the people of Kampuchea," said Luce.

A lively discussion followed the meeting.

Young Socialist Alliance convenes gains among working-class youth



Militant/K.C. Ellis



Militant/Lou Howort

As YSA convention concluded with singing of the 'Internationale,' a group of participants gathered on stage for singing and added, as finale, the anthem of Nicaragua's Sandinista movement. YSA National Chairman Malik Miah, right, reported to convention on political situation in United States.

BY HARRY RING

PHILADELPHIA — Nine hundred people attended the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, held here December 31 through January 3.

It was an unusually successful gathering in all respects. The convention capped a year in which the YSA, for the first time in a number of years, has grown significantly in size. The organization is also more working-class in composition, and a greater number of Black and Latino youth have been won to the movement.

All of these gains were reflected in the confidence with which the young socialists discussed the challenges facing the working-class movement in the United States, and the enthusiasm they displayed in charting a course for 1982.

The principal business of the convention was conducted by the 105 elected delegates and alternates. But many of the visitors participated in the wide range of workshops and classes held during the gathering.

One focus of the convention was discussion of the recently established National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). The delegates assessed the emergence of the NBIPP, with its anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist program, as a development of signal importance for Black liberation and the entire workers movement.

Industrial working class

The convention also decided to press forward with the YSA's drive to have the big majority of its members be industrial workers. A major component in this endeavor will be to expand the number of YSA members working in the garment and textile industries. The superexploited workers in these industries are certain to play a vital role in the developing labor fightback against the ruling-class drive to lower living standards, weaken the unions, and further restrict democratic rights.

The resolution adopted by the convention explained, "Only an organization that is firmly planted in the working class, and one that has its eyes on the young workers; the women, Black, and Latino workers; can maintain a revolutionary perspective today."

High priority was also given to activity in support of the 1982 election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party

across the country.

The YSA also voted to throw its active support behind Mel Mason, who has announced his campaign for governor of California. Mason, a member of the city council in Seaside, California, is a leader of the SWP and the Far West regional director of the NBIPP.

The delegates further decided that the YSA will participate in helping to launch a campaign within the labor movement against the firings of union members in the war industries on the basis of their political beliefs and union activities. Several YSA members at the Lockheed aircraft plant near Atlanta, and at McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis, have been among those fired.

The YSA's support for the defense of these fired union members, which is being coordinated by the Political Rights Defense Fund, will be closely connected to the continuing efforts to mobilize support for the suit filed by the YSA and the SWP against the FBI, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other government political police agencies. This suit is now pending in federal court in New York.

Delegates were elected from each chapter following discussions based on documents circulated to the entire membership. The voting at the convention confirmed that all but a small handful of delegates were in agreement with the stands taken by the gathering.

The convention elected a new YSA National Committee, and the committee in turn selected two national officers. Malik Miah was designated national chairman. Lisa Hickler was selected national secretary.

Hickler and Miah gave two of the principal reports to the convention. Hickler's report focused on international developments, while Miah discussed the political situation in the United States.

Revolution in Caribbean

Hickler opened her report by focusing on the advances for the world revolution being registered in Central America and the Caribbean. It is in response to these gains for the workers and peasants, she said, that Washington is moving toward direct military intervention in the region.

The sharpening conflict between U.S.

imperialism and the revolutionary governments in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, as well as the insurgent forces in Guatemala and El Salvador, Hickler said, is at the heart of world politics. Therefore, she explained, at the center of the YSA's activities in the United States must be efforts to mobilize maximum opposition to threats and plans for U.S. military intervention in the area.

Similarly, she declared, the YSA must continue to oppose Washington's unceasing efforts to destabilize the government in Iran. She also called for a big step-up in the activity of the YSA aimed at opposing the U.S. campaign to politically and economically isolate Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea.

Turning to the imposition of martial law in Poland, Hickler declared, "The YSA condemns these acts." The attempt to crush Solidarity, she said, is "a blow to the worldwide struggle for socialism."

The crackdown in Poland, however, will not put an end to the "irrepressible struggle" of the Polish working class and its allies, she said. The political revolution that has been shaking Poland since August 1980 will continue, seeking new forms as the working class absorbs the lessons of its experiences.

Denouncing the hypocrisy of Reagan's "solidarity" with Polish workers, Hickler charged, "The last thing the imperialists want to see is workers democracy in Poland. They much prefer 'stable' bureaucratic rule."

She also scored the stand of AFL-CIO officials, explaining that their backing for Reagan's foreign policy and participation in the rulers' "orgy of anticommunist propaganda" are of no aid to the Polish workers.

New leadership needed

On the domestic front, the convention discussion centered on the problem of developing new leaderships for the struggles that are urgently needed to beat back the rulers' offensive. The resolution adopted by the convention analyzed the default of the labor bureaucracy in the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) strike and other struggles. "Their class-collaborationist perspective," the resolution stated, "makes them opponents of the independent political action needed to take on the bosses' government and win. They are already looking to the

elections in 1982 and 1984 to rebuild the Democratic Party. Their betrayal of PATCO confirms a political truth today. No section of the labor bureaucracy has any perspective of organizing the kind of fight that is necessary to beat back the ruling-class offensive.

"Only from the fresh ranks of the young workers, Blacks, and women can a fighting leadership for labor be forged. Only from the workers who have not complied with sell-out after sell-out can a new leadership emerge."

Despite the massive turnout for the historic Solidarity Day demonstration last September, Malik Miah explained in his report, the labor misleaders mulishly cling to their bankrupt course. The union misleaders' plans for "Solidarity Day II" are aimed at nothing more than a vote-hustling campaign for the Democratic Party, Miah said.

The YSA and SWP put forward an alternative course. "We are for a break from the big-business parties that are carrying out this offensive against working people," Miah said. "We argue for the perspective that workers must organize their own party, a labor party based on the unions, to fight for a workers government to transform this society."

And, he added, just as many PATCO workers are drawing basic political conclusions from their struggle, so in the days ahead the most exploited of American workers — Black workers, Latinos, women, and youth — will become increasingly receptive to socialist ideas.

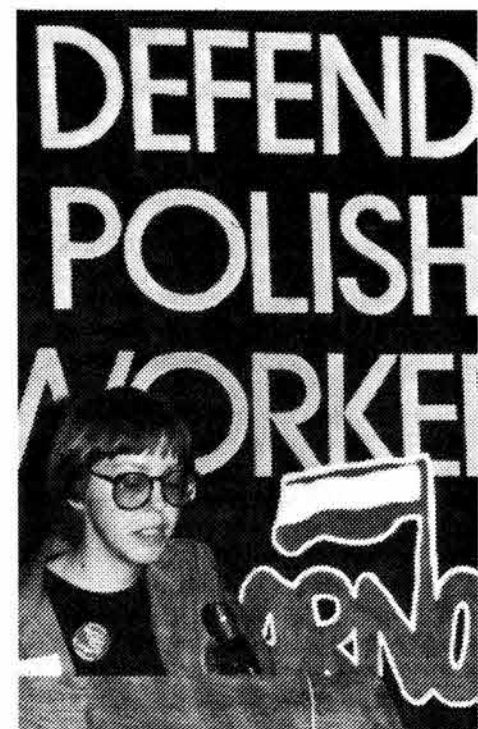
Worst crisis since 1930s

This theme was developed by Doug Jenness, coeditor of the *Militant*, who delivered greetings from the SWP Political Committee.

Jenness pointed to the ravaging effects of the current recession, which "are hitting the working class harder than any recession since the 1930s."

"It shows the depth of the crisis the capitalist system is in. The capitalists have no alternative but to drive forward with their attacks on working people in order to maintain their profits."

"But the measures they must take are also educating the working class about this system and the role of the government, and are driving more workers to look for answers. More and more workers are beginning to realize that the problems can't be solved on the level



Militant/Lou Howort

Left, YSA National Secretary Lisa Hickler. Right, Melvin Chappell, who ment.

ation registers growth, th

of getting a better union contract. They realize more is needed, and are looking for explanations that give a broader picture."

Jenness cited the big change that has taken place in the thinking of thousands of PATCO workers in just a few months. "And this is only a taste of the changes we are going to see as hundreds of thousands, millions of workers get hit as hard as the air controllers."

He noted the importance of the YSA convention's decision to deepen its turn to the working class, especially its decision to get more members into the garment and textile industries. "If we can't win members from this most exploited sector of the industrial working class," he said, "there can be no socialist revolution in this country."

Jenness pointed to the importance of Mel Mason's campaign for governor in California and to SWP campaigns in many states as excellent opportunities to reach tens of thousands of workers with the broader picture. "Our answer to capitalism is socialism," he said. "And to get socialism, the workers and their allies must establish a workers government. And to get a workers government, a labor party based on the unions needs to be established."

Ferment in women's movement

The widening gap between the kind of leadership needed to defeat the new attacks and the miserable performance of the official leaders of the established women's rights groups has stimulated new discussions on the road to women's equality. This was the topic of a report on the fight for women's rights presented by Margaret Jayko.

To achieve desperately needed increases in their profit margins, Jayko explained, the capitalists must try to divide, demoralize, and ultimately crush the organized capacity of the working class to resist their offensive.

"It is under the lash of this offensive," she said, "that the oppressed and exploited in every country, including the United States, are being shaken up. New ideas are being generated, interest in class-struggle alternatives is developing, along with a willingness to fight back on the basis of our class interests as against their class interests."

A central factor in the oppression of women, Jayko continued, is "that most fundamental of all questions affecting a

woman's life — the right to choose whether and when to have children."

Opposition to abortion and reproductive rights in general, she continued, "are clearly the cutting edge of the anti-woman drive."

Discussing the activities of the most vociferous of the anti-abortion forces — the Catholic Church hierarchy, Moral Majority, and other "misnamed right-to-lifers" — Jayko noted that the Democrats and Republicans peddle the idea, accepted by some feminists, that this "radical right" is pressuring the government to cut back on abortion rights.

"But the real relationship is the opposite," Jayko explained.

"It's the open anti-abortion stance of Reagan — and before him Carter — that encouraged and emboldened these groups. And it's the two parties — not Jerry Falwell or Phyllis Schlafly — that call the shots."

The development of a leadership that can effectively mobilize women requires an understanding of the basic issue involved, Jayko said. "The oppression of women," she said, "is a central pillar of capitalism. That's why women's welfare and women's status is a class question. This is, objectively, a big concern for the working class, which is the class that must ultimately solve the question."

Friedan's betrayal

As an illustration of the treason being committed by the established leaders of the women's rights movement, Jayko analyzed the new book by Betty Friedan, entitled *The Second Stage*.

Friedan's 1963 book, *The Feminine Mystique*, had an important and positive impact on women's consciousness, Jayko said. But the present book amounts to a shameful capitulation to the ruling-class offensive against women's rights.

Friedan argues that the women's movement is suffering setbacks because its goals are too radical and women must modify their demands and perspectives.

Friedan goes so far as to advise that women should not be "unreasonable" in their demand for child care and other essential social services when "our country" is in crisis.

Friedan has fallen to this level, Jayko pointed out, because she accepts the framework of capitalism. "In 1982," she added, "to accept the limits of capitalism is to give up the struggle."

The leadership of the National Organization for Women (NOW), Jayko continued, falls into this same political trap as Friedan, going so far as to be proponents of drafting women to fight in the imperialist wars Reagan is preparing.

The YSA, Jayko concluded, needs to participate in every meaningful activity carried out in behalf of women's rights, doing everything it can to advance the kind of fightback actions needed. A crucial part of this perspective, she stressed, is explaining to the membership of NOW and other women's rights groups the kind of fight that is needed to achieve their objectives. "There is simply no way around thinking and talking in the women's movement today," she said. "We have to present a perspective of struggle that points toward political action independent of the capitalist parties."

"We have to talk socialism. Friedan and the other misleaders are talking capitalism. We must talk socialism."

Independent Black party

In sharp contrast to the policy of retreat and the orientation toward deeper ties with the Democratic Party that

characterize the leaderships of the AFL-CIO, NOW, and the established civil rights groups, stands the newly formed National Black Independent Political Party. The significance of this positive development was a theme that ran through the entire convention.

It was the centerpiece of the report presented by Melvin Chappell on perspectives for the Black liberation movement.

The development of NBIPP, which had its first national conference last August, Chappell explained, points the way forward for the entire working class.

"The party's break from support to capitalist parties," he said, "sets an example to labor and to the women's movement. It helps concretize our slogan for a labor party by providing an example in action of independent working-class politics. The mere existence of NBIPP helps to deepen the debate and discussion in the labor movement over the need to take a similar step to build a mass labor party based on the trade unions. The NBIPP is a living example of what a union-based labor party would do: adopt a radical program, reach out to other forces with its perspective, and try to win adherents to the idea of independent labor political action."

Chappell also explained that "the development of NBIPP reconfirms our analysis that Blacks will be a major part of the vanguard of the American working class. It shows the Black liberation movement as a central, dynamic component of the battle that must be waged to overturn capitalism and begin to construct a socialist society."

"When Blacks are in motion," Chappell said, "when they struggle for social and economic equality, it wins gains for the entire working class." As an illustration, he pointed to the positive stands taken by NBIPP on the fight for women's rights, including its strong position on affirmative action for women within the party itself.

Another significant side of the development of the NBIPP has been its positive stance toward the advancing revolutions in the Caribbean. Chappell noted the participation of NBIPP co-chair Ron Daniels in a recent conference in Havana on the situation of minority communities in the United States. He also noted the fraternal ties that NBIPP is forging with the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada, the first Black workers and farmers government ever.

Chappell explained that the development of NBIPP should be viewed as part of the international struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

"In this current period, when the liberals are collapsing under the pressure of the Reagan anti-working-class offensive, it is the YSA and SWP, the NBIPP, and revolutionary Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba that are standing up and pointing the way to fight back."

The main job of the YSA is to help explain and publicize NBIPP's ideas and activities, and collaborate with it in united actions. Black YSAers are active as members of the new party, encouraging all who agree with its perspectives to join up.

Discussing the role of Black elected officials who are tied to the Democratic and Republican parties, Chappell said, "Black Democrats and Republicans, regardless of their intentions, can only administer the capitalist apparatus for the needs of the ruling rich."

An excellent contrast, he said, is how Mel Mason, a Black socialist, utilizes

his city council seat to build opposition to the ruling-class attacks. Chappell said Mason's independent campaign for governor will be particularly valuable in promoting the example of independent political action within the Black communities.

1982 elections

Participation in the Mason-for-governor campaign, and support to SWP candidates around the country, was projected as a major activity of the YSA in a report by Etta Ettlinger.

It will take a huge effort to win ballot status for Mason she reported. The YSA will help achieve this goal. It was projected that, in addition to Mason campaigners in California, fifty activists will be enlisted to spend three weeks in California helping to organize the huge petition drive.

A very important election tool, Ettlinger said, will be the *Militant*, which will serve to publicize the campaign nationally.

Additionally, she said, it is important for YSA members to help expand the circulation of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*.

This assumes greater importance, she noted, as recruitment of Latinos to the YSA increases. (Of those who have joined the YSA in the past nine months, 13 percent have been Latino.)

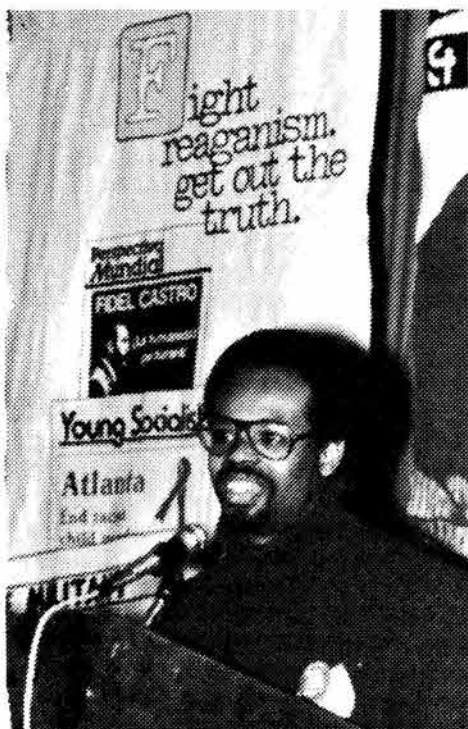
Presently, she said, 45 percent of the YSA members are industrial workers, and another 4 percent are laid-off workers. An additional 13 percent are now seeking jobs in industry.

Of new recruits to the YSA, 18 percent are industrial workers. This is a gain of 3 percent over the previous period.

In addition to winning some 122 new members since last April, the organization has also been greatly strengthened by the return of more than 100 former members who had left the YSA for activity in the SWP.

Ettlinger's report emphasized the need for sustained, organized educational activity in the YSA. It was agreed that the YSA will give special attention to studying the writings of V.I. Lenin.

This was as it should be. The high level of the political discussion at the convention, combined with the confident revolutionary spirit so apparent at the gathering marked it as a genuinely Leninist youth organization.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
ler reported on international devel-
ave report on Black liberation move-

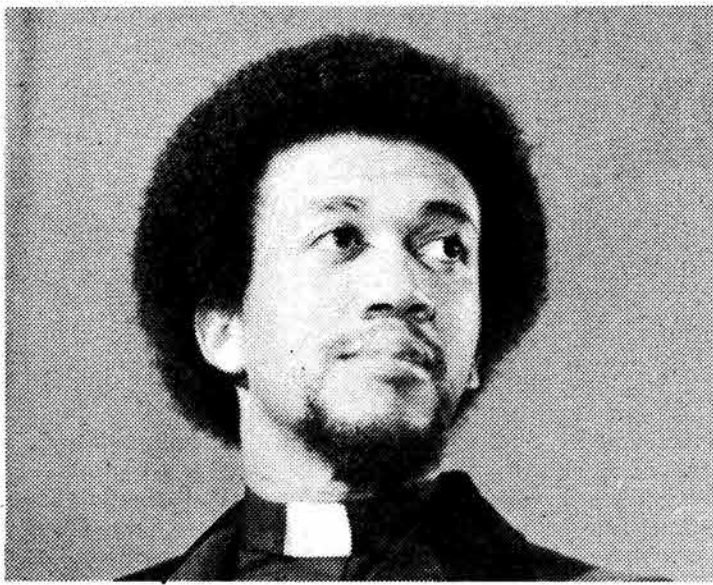
Lenin, Cuba books are best sellers

The high level of political interest at the YSA convention was reflected in the record sales of socialist literature offered by Pathfinder Press at the convention.

A total of more than \$8,000 worth of books and pamphlets were sold. The tally at the previous year's convention, then a record, had been \$5,500.

The biggest single block of literature sold was the various writings of V.I. Lenin. Twelve sets of Lenin's Collected Works were sold at \$100 a set.

Runnerup was material on the Cuban revolution. There were 166 copies sold of Pathfinder's newly published *Women and the Cuban Revolution*, a compilation of Cuban material with an introductory essay by Elizabeth Stone.



Rev. Ben Chavis, a national leader of the National Black Independent Political Party, sent greetings expressing the need to find alternatives to American monopoly capitalism.

Revolutionary greetings to YSA convention from U.S. and abroad

Antonio Maceo Brigade

From Andres Gomez, member of the Executive Committee of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, an organization of young Cubans in the United States that supports the Cuban revolution.

The Antonio Maceo Brigade salutes the Young Socialist Alliance and its Twenty-first National Convention. We are confident that at the present critical time for the peoples of the Caribbean and Central America in their heroic struggle to establish more just societies and resist U.S. military intervention, the YSA will continue to work for the solidarity movement in the United States to achieve the unity and strength which are so necessary.

Casa Nicaragua

Casa Nicaragua sends revolutionary and fraternal greetings to this young socialist convention, and at the same time wishes you success in all your future events.

As Nicaragua won, El Salvador will win.

Free homeland or death!

Rev. Ben Chavis

From Reverend Ben Chavis, national corepresentative of the National Black Independent Political Party.

I wish to exercise this opportunity to send warm greetings to the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

At a time in America when the poor and oppressed are facing increased suffering as a result of Reaganomics and the increased militarization of American society, this conference is very important.

I think that we need to find alternative institutions, alternative systems, and certainly an alternative ideology to American monopoly capitalism. Therefore, the Young Socialist Alliance stands in the tradition of progressive forces seeking alternative ways of mobilizing the grass roots to achieve self-determination, to achieve political and economic liberation from the predominance of the ruling class.

Speaking on behalf of the National Black Independent Political Party, we believe that Black people should especially organize around the common interest of stopping the injustice, stopping the repression, stopping the suffering and the hunger and the poverty. When Black people take that kind of initiative, it helps all other people who are poor and oppressed.

And therefore, I send this message of solidarity and hope that you have a successful convention.

Vietnam Youth

From the Vietnam Youth Federation Central Committee.

On behalf of the Vietnamese youth, we convey our warmest greetings to your congress.

We wish the Young Socialist Alliance success in making new developments and contributing actively to the struggle

of progressive mankind for peace, justice, equality, international solidarity, and the bright future of the young generations.

We believe that with traditions and members' active participation, the Young Socialist Alliance will record many new achievements in activities for lofty objectives.

Being fighters struggling constantly for national liberation independence, the Vietnamese people and youth are deeply aware of the value of peace and friendship among nations and resolutely fight for peace and the developing of friendship with nations the world over.

In the current situation we believe that action for maintaining peace against the arms race and new war threat should be world youth's noble obligation and responsibility.

Dear friends, on this occasion we express deep gratitude to the Young Socialist [Alliance and] American peace-loving youth and people for the precious support to our struggle for national defense and reconstruction.

May friendship and solidarity between our two youth organizations be ever consolidated.

We wish all congress participants a happy new year.

Grenada Youth

The New Jewel Movement National Youth Organization salutes the twenty-first annual national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. We salute

your contributions to the anti-imperialist struggle. We express our firmest solidarity with you and look forward to our continued relations. May your convention be a success. Greetings. Forward ever, backward never.

PHILADELPHIA — Among those who gave greetings to the Young Socialist Alliance convention was Dennis Brutus, exiled South African poet and anti-apartheid activist, now threatened with deportation from this country.

Brutus thanked the members of the YSA for the support they have given him in his fight against deportation. The attack against him, he pointed out, "is part of a broader pattern." Such attacks by the U.S. government he said, stem from its increased collaboration with the racist South African regime.

He urged that his fight be seen in the context of this larger struggle.

The convention voted unanimously to send a telegram to the Immigration Service demanding that the deportation proceedings against Brutus be halted and that his application for permanent residence status be granted.

There were greetings from Chan Bun Han, a Kampuchean, who is a supporter of the New York based Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos.

Chan thanked the YSA for its "consistent support" to the liberation struggles of the people of Indochina.

He also assailed the current U.S. threats against Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada "for trying to rebuild their so-

cieties on a socialist basis."

He told the convention that in 1981 the Kampuchean people registered progress in rebuilding their country after the horrifying devastation brought on, first by the U.S. military, and then by the barbaric Pol Pot regime whose right-wing guerrilla forces still enjoy Washington's support.

Following Chan's remarks, the convention sent a telegram to Reagan demanding a halt to the support of the Pol Pot forces, recognition of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean governments, and the sending of massive food and economic aid to these countries.

Greetings were also presented by Richard Rozanski, a member of the national committee of Revolution Youth, the recently established revolutionary socialist youth organization in Britain and Neusa Rodriguez of the Puerto Rican Internationalist Workers League.

Numerous written messages were also received from individuals and organizations here and abroad. In addition to those published on this page, there were greetings from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International; the Belgian Socialist Youth Guard; Resistance, a revolutionary socialist youth organization in Australia; the New Zealand Young Socialists; and the Communist League of India. Also greetings were received from Mario Dones, president of the Puerto Rican union, UTIER — Union of Electrical and Irrigation Workers and Marcos Virgilio Carías, president of the Socialist Party of Honduras.

Gathering seen as serious, internationalist

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

PHILADELPHIA — Among the 900 people who attended the recent national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance here, there were over 200 who were attending such an event for the first time.

"I found an organization that agrees with the way I feel — that represents me," said Karen Stockbert, a twenty-year-old member of American Postal Workers Union Local 125 in Minneapolis and a new YSA member. "I found out when I joined that everybody is trying to learn and teach at the same time," she said, "and it was also nice to see that other chapters were as active as my chapter, too."

Asked to give her impression of the convention, Karen pointed out, "The convention reinforces my belief in the totally democratic process of the YSA and the internationalist side of the YSA. It's a very serious organization."

Gabino Quele, a young Guatemalan from Dallas, was so impressed that he felt that he learned five years' worth of a university education in the three days he had attended the conference. He was so grateful that he promised to add those five years and twenty more toward fruitful collaboration with the YSA here in the United States.

Also impressed with the seriousness of the YSA were two young Nicaraguans, Leonel and Sebastian, leaders

of the solidarity movement in Philadelphia.

"The discussion about the defense of revolutionary Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and El Salvador was extremely impressive," Leonel pointed out, "and also the large number of people who came here and who are obviously working so hard to change the face of American politics. I've been to many meetings, but this convention is very different."

Sebastian interrupted to say, "Yes, it's different. At this convention we get the feeling that the serious, hard-working people here are the beginnings of a strong revolutionary national movement that we count on to support our revolution."

"You must keep this up, because while we are learning from you, we know that the young workers in the United States are learning from our revolution how to make their own."

One of those young American workers attending the YSA convention was Chuck Sheehan, president of PATCO Local 593 in Los Angeles and PATCO labor coordinator in the Los Angeles-Orange County area.

He pointed out to the *Militant* that he gave up voting for Democrats and Republicans a long time ago because he figured the elections were rigged, anyway. But, while he never got involved in electoral politics, he always

seemed to be bumping heads with management when he was a training officer for air traffic controllers.

"I wanted to teach them what they needed to know, but the Federal Aviation Administration wanted me to cut corners and do it their way." This defense of trainees and other workers eventually led to Sheehan being elected president of his local.

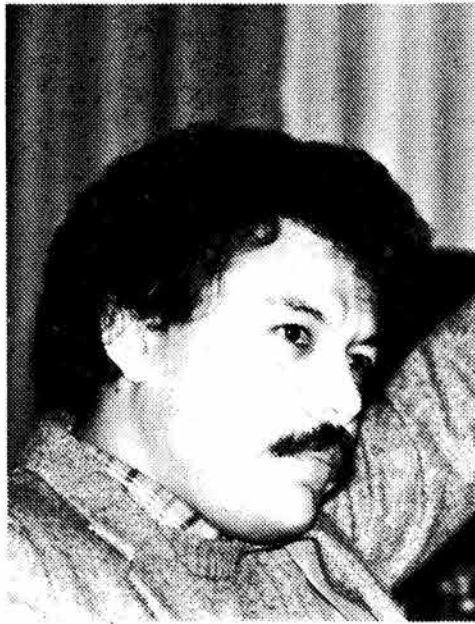
When he was asked about what he thought about socialists before the PATCO strike, he replied, "Only what I read in the papers, but I didn't believe 90 percent of that, anyway. It was the PATCO strike that really opened my eyes about the manipulative role of the media and how completely controlled it is."

"But it wasn't until the socialists organized a Militant Forum at which I spoke — and the support work and enthusiasm shown by these people — that it started to change for me. It was like night and day."

When he was asked about his impressions of the YSA convention, he pointed out, "The rally that took place last night was fantastic. You can't help getting caught up in the emotions. I'm learning more and more about the socialists."

Chuck made it clear that he plans to stay in close contact with the YSA in Los Angeles, and looks forward to more collaboration in defense of the PATCO workers.

Convention rally: 'All revolutions depend on the youth'



Left, Victor Rubio, representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador. Right, Barbara Arnwine, National Black Independent Political Party.



Militant photos by Charles Ostrofsky

BY STU SINGER

PHILADELPHIA — "It was the best rally I ever attended."

"The speakers represented forces I expect to come together to make the American revolution."

These were reactions to the rally "The Fight Against Reaganism at Home and Abroad." It was held at the Philadelphia Centre Hotel on the last night of the twenty-first convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

National Black Independent Political Party leader Barbara Arnwine told the crowd, "I like you guys, you're fired up."

There was no question about it.

Jumping to their feet, yelling, chanting, clapping, the rally kept building in excitement.

"All revolutions depend on the youth," Socialist Workers Party leader Mel Mason said.

Rally chairperson DeAnn Rathbun of the YSA pointed out, "The battle is between the working class worldwide and all those who wish to exploit us for personal fortune. That is the fight against Reaganism at home and abroad."

Salvador will win

"No Draft, No War! Salvador Vencerá!"

The 1,000 young socialists and friends chanted after Victor Rubio spoke. Rubio was the official representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador. He denounced the escalating war measures against El Salvador and the war threats against Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba. "The people of the land of Farabundo Martí [the Salvadoran revolutionary leader killed in 1932] are fighting to establish a new order to overthrow a historically surpassed class."

Rubio, referring to the victorious revolutions in Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua, said, "These are countries where the working people truly have political power and are determining their own destinies."

The talk by the FDR and FMLN representative conveyed optimism. The U.S. is training 1,600 officers of the army of the dictatorship and supplying increasing arms. But he pointed to the solidarity between revolutionary fighters in Central America and the antiwar American youth, like those at the YSA convention, to show the imperialists do not have a free hand.

PATCO

The head of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) in Los Angeles, Chuck Sheehan, was introduced from the floor to

standing chants of "PATCO! PATCO!"

Then Newark PATCO President Greg Pardlo spoke:

"On August 3 [the day 11,500 striking controllers were fired] Ronald Reagan showed me the light."

The young, Black union leader explained that he had grown up in Philadelphia. In 1968 he was involved in a march on the board of education and helped set up the first officially recognized Black Student Union.

"I've been asked why so many PATCO speakers have been at socialist rallies when we had been, up to August 3, the classic middle-American group, supporters of President Reagan. 'Well, as so eloquently stated in the popular recording, 'Mandate my ass.'"

Pardlo said that in some ways he is better off now than before August 3.

"Then I was a government employee, a second class citizen, prohibited from getting involved in politics. Now I'm free."

"And right now I don't give a damn who hears me. I'm here and I'll stay."

The crowd was on its feet. "PATCO! PATCO! PATCO!"

Forward ever, backward never

From PATCO to the National Black Independent Political Party. NBIPP National Representative Barbara Arnwine addressed her "brothers, sisters, and comrades in struggle"

She explained the enemy is not just Reagan the cowboy actor, but both the Democratic and Republican parties.

"Right now, throughout the world, there is a growing crisis in capitalism. And that we say godspeed to."

"In November 1980, we gathered together and said we're going to found

a national Black independent political party. We said the answer is to unite with people throughout the world, of all colors, who are struggling against the capitalist order."

Arnwine went over eight points of the program of the NBIPP, a party she described as the "soul of the Black community coming forth."

"We're against the threats to Grenada. We're organizing a contingent of 100 people to go to Grenada in June."

The rally broke out in shouts of "Forward ever, backward never! Forward ever, backward never!" The slogan of the revolutionary government on the small Caribbean island rocked the large room.

Socialist city councilman

NBIPP leader Barbara Arnwine was followed by Socialist Workers Party leader Mel Mason.

Mel Mason is the only revolutionary socialist elected official in the United States. He is a member of the city council in Seaside, California, a city of 36,000 people. When he was introduced, it was announced that Mel Mason is running as an independent candidate for governor of California, in the election next November.

Mel Mason's talk was something new. Few in the audience had ever heard or considered the question of a revolutionary socialist elected to public office in capitalist America.

What does Mel Mason do?

He explained it.

Recognized as a leader and fighter in the Seaside Black community where he had grown up, Mel Mason ran for city council in 1980 on a shoe-string budget of \$499.61. His campaign faced red-baiting, death threats, and intimidation. But he was elected.

He campaigned on the ideas put forward by the SWP: that jobs, housing, and medical care should be the rights of workers; that Blacks and other working people should take their destiny into their own hands.

Mason ended his talk by urging young people to join the YSA.

"The YSA has a history of struggle. If you're young and you want to fight racism, join the YSA. If you want to fight high unemployment among young people, join the YSA. If you want to fight for women's rights, really fight, not struggling beside Lady Bird Johnson and Betty Ford, for the ERA, join the YSA."

YSA union president

The next speaker was someone who had taken Mel Mason's advice several months earlier. Twenty-seven-year-old Tom Pontolillo is an engineer on the Conrail system. He is the chairman of Division 501 of the Brotherhood of

Locomotive Engineers. He was a delegate to the YSA convention from the YSA's Manhattan chapter.

Pontolillo told the rally about some of the YSA's activities and announced a \$10,000 fund drive to help continue the publication of the *Young Socialist* and YSA participation in international gatherings. The YSA recently participated in revolutionary youth meetings in Grenada and Britain.

The fund appeal to the mostly young audience met a terrific response. There was only one large contribution of \$1,000, but all together over \$16,000 in contributions and pledges was raised, far exceeding the projections.

An injury to one

Four other speakers at the rally were victims of police, government, and employer persecution.

Wadyia Jamal read a letter from her husband, Mumia Abu-Jamal, a prominent Black journalist in Philadelphia. He is being held without bail, charged with attempted murder of a cop. The letter described the physical punishment he has been undergoing while in the hands of Philadelphia's notorious cops and hospitalized for a bullet wound from the cop he supposedly tried to kill.

The entire body approved a telegram to the Philadelphia district attorney demanding Jamal's release and the dropping of all charges.

Jody Curran, a YSA member from St. Louis, spoke about the witch-hunt and firings that have already taken place at McDonnell Douglas where she works. Two other YSA members there have been fired, and the company and military intelligence are investigating her and others. Her union, International Association of Machinists Lodge 837B, is defending the fired aircraft workers.

Black Philadelphia poet and Temple University professor Sonia Sanchez spoke, describing the intimidation by the FBI who invaded her home on the pretext of questioning her about the Brink's robbery. She also read some of her powerful poems.

Anita Morales, a leader of the committee against the tuition hike at the University of Puerto Rico, spoke. The committee is leading the strike that has shut down the university in opposition to the attempt to triple tuition fees. She was met with chants of "Independencia para Puerto Rico!"

Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh was introduced from the floor, and the facts of her case to avoid deportation from the U.S. explained. She is an Iranian who is a college student in Baltimore and has been threatened with deportation since she joined the YSA.

'We are the real socialists'

YSA leader DeAnn Rathbun, who chaired the rally, is a member of the United Mine Workers of America Local 1190 in Ellsworth, Pennsylvania. She announced that she is one of the SWP candidates for public office in Pennsylvania in 1982. She introduced some of the other state candidates.

Among the banners behind the speakers was one calling for support to Solidarity, the Polish workers union.

Rathbun was in Poland last spring. She denounced the imposition of martial law by the Polish government. She condemned the slander campaign being pushed by both Reagan and the Polish and Soviet bureaucrats to label the Polish workers as procapitalist.

"Again and again I heard from Polish workers, 'The most anti-socialist elements in our country are the government officials themselves. They have mansions and fancy cars while we stand in line for bread. But the factories and the mines belong to

Continued on next page



Left, Anita Morales, University of Puerto Rico Committee Against the Tuition Hikes. Right, Gregory Pardlo, head of PATCO in northern New Jersey: 'Reagan showed me the light August 3. . . . I don't give a damn who hears me. I'm here and I'll stay.'

Supreme Court to rule on Ohio disclosure law

BY LARRY SEIGLE

The United States Supreme Court has decided to review a lower-court ruling that an Ohio law requiring disclosure of contributors to candidates for public office cannot be applied to the Socialist Workers Party. This will be the first Supreme Court opinion on the issue of whether the disclosure requirements can be applied to the SWP.

The outcome of the case will be critical, not only for the SWP, but also for other organizations, such as the Communist Party and the National Black Independent Political Party, who are in the same boat.

A string of lower courts has held that because of government and employer harassment and disruption directed at the SWP, the party can't be forced to turn over lists of financial contributors. To do so, the courts have ruled, would violate the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of association.

In the most recent decision of this kind, a federal court in Chicago ruled November 30 that the SWP cannot be compelled to comply with an Illinois disclosure law. The judge based his ruling on the principle that "the right to freely associate with the political party of one's choosing and participate in the electoral process, without fear of intimidation or harassment, is a particularly important safeguard in a democratic system."

Similar rulings have been issued by federal courts and state agencies in

many states. Only one federal court, in Oregon, has ruled against the SWP.

The Communist Party recently won a parallel victory from a federal judge in New York.

The SWP has also won an exemption from the disclosure requirements of the federal election law until 1984. Under terms of a consent decree reached with the Federal Election Commission, the SWP will apply for a further exemption in that year.

Now, however, the Supreme Court will decide whether it thinks the evidence of ongoing harassment submitted to the judges in Ohio is sufficient to justify their unanimous finding in favor of the SWP.

After reviewing the facts, the judges ruled that "FBI documents admitted in evidence establish both governmental and private hostility toward and harassment of SWP members and supporters." Therefore, they found, forcing the party to disclose names of contributors would be unconstitutional.

In urging the Supreme Court to overturn the ruling and order the SWP to turn over the contributors lists, the Ohio secretary of state claims that the evidence of government spying and disruption is "very stale" and that the SWP was able to prove only "a very few isolated instances of harassment directed toward the party and its members" in Ohio.

The American Civil Liberties Union Attorney Thomas Buckley is representing the SWP in the case.

Judge says cops must answer questions on Red Squad deal

BY JIM MACK

A federal judge in New York has ruled that objectors to the proposed settlement of a ten-year-old lawsuit against the New York City "Red Squad" have the right to question the police about the meaning of the vague and ambiguous terms of the deal.

United States District Court Judge Charles Haight ordered the police to answer written questions submitted by the objectors. The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, which have formally entered an objection to the settlement deal, have submitted fifty questions for the police to answer. Other objectors have also submitted interrogatories.

Under the terms of the court order the police have until January 22 to provide the written responses.

The settlement was cooked up between Mayor Koch's administration and some liberal lawyers, led by the New York Civil Liberties Union, as a way to end the suit. Under its terms, the cops would not be held liable for any of the criminal violations they have committed against the rights of New Yorkers. They would be authorized to spy on political groups and activists whenever they had "good cause" — a term nowhere defined.

Moreover, victims of past illegal spying and harassment by the cops would lose their right to sue for damages, even though they were not involved in the lawsuit, and even if they objected to the terms of the settlement.

Political Rights Defense Fund

The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support and raising funds for the Socialist Workers Party's lawsuit against government spying and disruption. To get more information about the lawsuit and to send your contribution, write: Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, New York, New York 10003.

The main "victory" claimed by the New York Civil Liberties Union and other promoters of the settlement is the establishment of a three-member board to supervise police "intelligence" activities, consisting of two top cops and a third civilian member to be chosen by the mayor "upon consultation with the Police Commissioner."

The stench of this deal was so great, however, that a movement began to force the judge to reject its terms as unfair to the victims of cop spying. Under the rules governing class-action suits, any settlement has to be approved by the judge as reasonable and fair to all concerned.

In the forefront of the fight against the proposed settlement have been a number of Black activists, including former members of the Black Panther Party who were special targets of the Red Squad.

Pointing out that the "guarantees" contained in the settlement are so vague that the cops can continue doing what they have been doing all along, the objectors argued that at least the cops should be forced to say on the record what the language in the deal means.

The city's attorneys and the liberal lawyers who cooked up the deal argued this was improper and a waste of time, but Judge Haight overruled them. "I agree with objectors that certain provisions require clarification," he ruled.

'Revolutions depend on the youth'

Continued from Page 13

us and we shall become the masters of our factories."

Also speaking were Lisa Baird from the Philadelphia Women's Reproductive Rights Campaign and Richard Rozanski from Revolution Youth, the YSA's sister organization in Britain.

Baird described the moves to restrict abortion rights in Pennsylvania. "We're going to struggle for our rights along with other oppressed people, and I think we'll win."

Rozanski brought greetings from the British revolutionary youth organiza-



Militant/Doug Clark
Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party 1980 candidate for president, on campaign trail. Disclosure laws are aimed at forcing SWP to turn over names of contributors to such campaigns.

Jury orders \$711,000 paid to D.C. victims of 'Cointelpro'

A federal jury in Washington, D.C. has found FBI and local police officials liable for violations of constitutional rights of antiwar and Black rights activists to the tune of nearly three-quarters of a million dollars.

The jury decided December 23 that fourteen G-men and city cops have to pay \$711,937.50. The sum will be divided among seven individual activists and the Washington Peace Center.

The jury found that the FBI and the city's "Red Squad" had conspired to violate the civil rights of the plaintiffs through FBI disruption operations, known as COINTELPRO and city police use of provocateurs.

The defendants were found liable for violating constitutional rights. By re-

turning a verdict of substantial damages for the victims, the jury found that — contrary to the position of the government — constitutional rights are worth something.

The decision by the all-Black jury is the most important of its kind to date. Several similar suits have been settled out of court as a result of lawyers' arguments that such cases can't be won at trial.

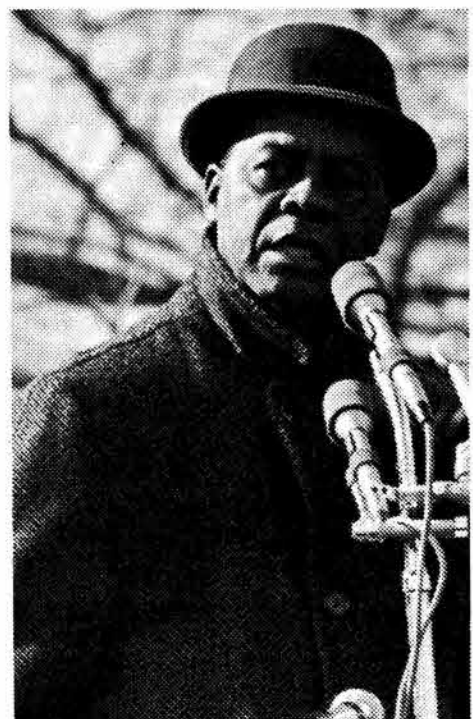
In the Washington, D.C. case, however, attorneys Anne Pillsbury, J.E. McNeil, and Daniel Schember brought the case to trial despite many obstacles thrown in their way by the government.

The individual plaintiffs who were awarded damages are: Tina Hobson, widow of former D.C. city council member and Black activist Julius Hobson; Rev. David Eaton, pastor of the All Soul's Unitarian Church; Sammie Abbott; Arthur Waskow; Abraham Bloom; Richard Pollock; and Reginald Booker, a co-founder of a Washington group known as the Black United Front.

The defendants were accused of inciting disagreements and dissension between antiwar and Black rights organizations to prevent them from uniting in action and of directing undercover agents to provoke violence at demonstrations against the war in Washington.

The Justice Department contended that the statute of limitations had expired before the suit was filed. This argument, which the jury rejected, is expected to be the government's main issue in its appeal.

The government has elevated the statute of limitations to one of its major defenses in other similar cases, including, most notably, the historic Socialist Workers Party suit against the FBI, which is now awaiting a decision from a federal judge in New York.



Militant/Brian Shannon
Julius Hobson, victim of police and FBI conspiracy.

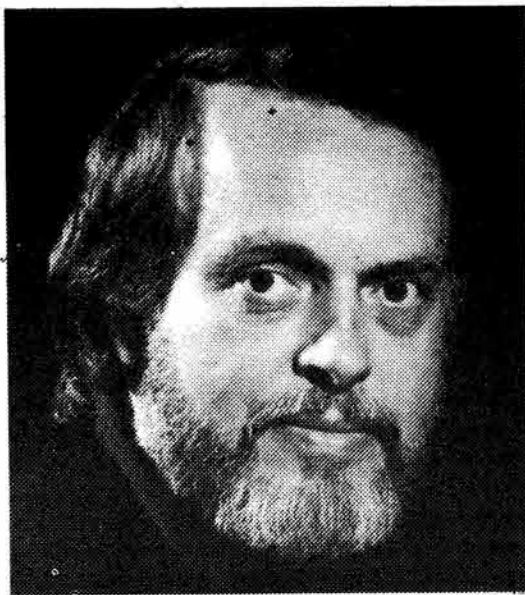
Turn to Radio Havana

Radio Havana has begun English-language broadcasts on 1160 on the AM dial. Any good AM receiver can pick it up in the eastern part of the United States. Programming begins shortly after midnight and continues through the predawn hours.

Recent features have included a report on the progress being made by the workers and peasants of Guatemala in their struggle against the U.S.-supported military dictatorship. Radio Havana also has a mailbag program with listeners' letters broadcast. The address is P.O. Box 7026, Havana, Cuba.

'Yellow rain': facts on the frame-up

Behind the U.S. claim that Vietnam wages chemical war



Jeremy Ross

Left, member of Hmong tribe in Laos growing opium poppies. Hmong, who were organized into secret army by CIA, are a major source for poison gas allegations. Right, Sterling Seagrave. State Department called his book, *Yellow Rain*, 'instrumental' to its campaign.

BY STEVE BRIDE

After months of trying, the Reagan administration has convinced almost no one that the Vietnamese are dropping poison gas on the rest of Indochina.

This is not surprising, in that Washington has never had much evidence for this supposed mass murder, and what evidence it does have is not very persuasive.

The charge got its initial boost from the publication, in August 1981, of the book *Yellow Rain*. This was advertised as a work of nonfiction in which the author, Sterling Seagrave, offers evidence that Vietnam is waging chemical war.

Mercenaries and medics

Stripped of his own lurid prose, Seagrave's story is this:

In October 1978, in Washington, D.C., he is introduced by an intelligence officer to a man named Jack Schramm, who had been wandering about Laos in the company of armed Hmong tribespeople, opponents of the Laotian regime. In his travels, Schramm met four French mercenaries. The mercenaries (who, it is later learned, were in all likelihood trafficking heroin out of Laos) told him the Vietnamese had gassed a nearby Hmong village.

A year later, the State Department sends an army medical team to Thailand to investigate. Seagrave follows them. Hmong refugees tell the army medics stories about "yellow rain" falling from the sky, but display no symptoms of having been gassed. The medics are given samples of tree bark covered with a yellow substance. This turns out to be soap. The army medics and Seagrave nevertheless conclude the poison gas reports are true.

This is Seagrave's evidence. It takes up twenty-five of the first thirty-six pages of the book. The next 100 pages are turned over to a history of chemical warfare.

Understandably, the army team's conclusions met with skepticism. This troubles Seagrave. Why, he asks, would people not believe "simple, straightforward details offered up by earnest hill people"? He relates one story from a Hmong tribesman:

"I was up on a hillside across a stream from the village, tending my poppies . . ."

Heroin and the CIA

Laos is one corner of what is called the "Golden Triangle." It is called this because it is a center of the opium and heroin trade. The Hmong have been involved in this trade for decades.

The Hmong are also involved in a CIA operation that dates back to the Vietnam War. They formed the ranks of a mercenary army recruited and trained by the CIA, and led by General Vang Pao. This army fought the Pathet Lao, Vietnam's ally during the war and now

the major component of the Laotian government.

While running the CIA's secret army, Vang Pao also ran a heroin processing plant at Long Tieng, headquarters for CIA operations in northern Laos.

Today, Vang Pao exercises command of the Hmong forces from his exile in the United States.

Seagrave is obviously aware of all this, but if it occurred to him that it might have something to do with the anti-Vietnamese tales emanating from Laos, he doesn't say so.

He maintains a similar silence when, halfway through the book, he does another twenty pages of "research." This consists of traveling to Afghanistan and interviewing more heroin traffickers: that country's armed rebels. Seagrave notes their reports of being gassed are identical to the Hmong's. He also notes the place is crawling with CIA agents, but does not connect the two facts.

He finds no symptoms and no physical traces.

The last 130 pages of the book are devoted to more history and his own speculation on what "yellow rain" might be. What sort of poison, he wonders, produces the reported symptoms, causes "death in minutes," yet leaves no physical trace? He decides it is mycotoxins — fungal poisons — produced by the *fusarium* fungus.

It is at this point that Seagrave's fiction becomes the State Department's.

Dubious evidence — I

On September 13, in a speech in Berlin, Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced Washington had "physical evidence" that the "Soviet Union and its allies have been using lethal chemical weapons in Laos, Kampuchea, and Afghanistan."

Next day, the State Department held a news conference and unveiled its evidence: a single leaf and stem from Kampuchea. A panel of "defense, intelligence and medical experts," who wouldn't give their names, said it was loaded with mycotoxins.

The department's statement contended these mycotoxins "do not occur naturally in Southeast Asia." It described the "rapid onset" of symptoms and death from the poison. A department spokesman said Seagrave's research had been "instrumental" in making their case. Their case began to fall apart the next day.

First it was learned that the sample had been provided by right-wing Khmer Rouge guerrillas. These are the people who exterminated an estimated 3 million Kampucheans in the four years they ruled that country, and are now supported in exile by the U.S. government. Even the *Wall Street Journal* had to admit their "credibility is close to zero."

Evidence then began to emerge from scientists who actually know something about mycotoxins.

According to the September 17 issue of Britain's *New Scientist* magazine, Julian Perry Robinson, who authored a text on chemical warfare, "says they are 'rather weak' poisons [that] need a day or so to take effect. . . ."

"Mycotoxins would be the worst agents to choose," added scientist Tony Rose of Bath University, because they have to be eaten regularly for days or weeks to have any effect.

As to whether mycotoxins "do not occur naturally in Southeast Asia," a third expert interviewed by *New Scientist*, John Smith of Strathclyde University, said, "I would be surprised if that statement were actually true." *Fusarium* fungi (from which mycotoxins are derived) occur throughout the world, he stated.

They are "one of the most common fungi on the planet," Dr. Matthew Meselson, Harvard biologist and chemical warfare expert, told the *Portland Oregonian*.

Consequently, most scientists who were asked shared the view of James Bamberg, the Colorado State University biologist who first identified the *fusarium* fungus: Washington's case was "pretty shaky."

Undeterred, the State Department said it was turning its leaf and stem over to the United Nations, which was planning to dispatch a team to Southeast Asia to investigate Haig's charges.

Dubious evidence — II

On November 10, the State Department said it had come up with three more samples. "We now have the smoking gun," declared Richard Burt, director of the department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs.

Burt reiterated that the *fusarium* fungus was not indigenous to Southeast Asia, and that victims died "within an hour" of being gassed.

Of the three samples, one came from the Khmer Rouge and two from Laos. At least one of the latter traveled a rather curious route: from the Hmong to a "reporter" for *Soldier of Fortune*, a magazine for mercenaries; to an unidentified third party; to James Leach, a Republican congressman from Iowa; to the State Department; to the lab of the scientist who testified for the department.

This was a bit much for the *New York Times*. "What company is the department keeping?" it editorialized on November 17. "With what certainty can it assure the public that its samples are genuine?"

There was indeed some suspicion that the samples may have been spiked en route to Washington. This doubt grew

after it was pointed out in *Science* magazine that two halves of one leaf and stem sample contained widely different doses of toxin.

Dr. Meselson disputed the State Department contention that mycotoxins are common only to colder climates. Natural occurrences, he said, have been reported in Brazil, India, and Japan — in doses far larger than those claimed by the State Department. "There are very serious questions about the adequacy of the evidence," Meselson concluded.

The verdict from Julian Robinson was the same: "You can't conclude anything."

To cap things off, on November 23 the UN team reported back from Thailand, where it had interviewed refugees and doctors in three camps along the Kampuchean border. It found no symptoms among the refugees, and the doctors "stated they did not come across cases which could be attributed to chemical warfare agents."

Militarization policy

Washington hopes to gain four things by these charges:

- Further its policy of politically and economically isolating Vietnam, and militarily harassing it via the Khmer Rouge, Hmong, and other proxies.

- Distract attention from its plans to deploy missiles in Western Europe, and silence somewhat the massive movement that has developed in opposition to those plans. Hence, the timing and location of Haig's September 13 speech.

- Provide a rationale for not negotiating arms limitation with the Soviet Union. As the *Wall Street Journal* put it on November 6, "Once we recognize that the Soviets are poisoning the Hmong and Afghan rebels with toxins in callous violation of international laws, it follows as night after day that we have no business thinking we can conclude meaningful arms control treaties with them."

- Justify its own buildup of chemical weapons. In May, the Senate approved \$20 million to equip a nerve gas facility at Pine Bluff, Arkansas. In October, it was revealed Washington plans to spend \$8 billion over five years to expand its chemical arsenal.

Taken together, these add up to the Reagan administration's policy of deepening the militarization of American society and preparing it for war.

It is a matter of record that the last time chemical weapons are known with certainty to have been deployed was during the Vietnam War by Washington. It is now certain that Washington plans to deploy them again. Such is the real danger that hides behind the "yellow rain."

Black GI lynched in Georgia

BY MACEO DIXON

ATLANTA — On December 8, Lynn McKinley Jackson was found dead, hanging near Social Circle, Georgia.

Jackson, a twenty-three-year-old Black, was on leave from the Army. Last August, he mysteriously disappeared from downtown Monroe, Georgia.

It wasn't until December that his body was found, badly decomposed. Walton County Coroner Joyce Curry Rowe has ruled the young Black man committed suicide.

Jackson's body was found hanging eighteen feet off the ground.

Relatives are pushing for an investigation into the death. They don't believe it was a suicide, but an outright lynching. According to Jackson's sister, Mrs. Mae Strong of Somerset, New Jersey, the local investigators are calling it a suicide as a way "to wipe the slate clean while the person who did this dreadful and mean deed to him

and his family is still free."

Walton County has a history of race violence against Blacks. Walton is forty miles east of Atlanta. The county is generally known for being the last place in the United States to have an open, public rally during a lynching. This was in 1946. Four Blacks, including a GI, were lynched that year.

In 1974, a Black woman was repeatedly run over by a white man. He wasn't apprehended until a few days ago.

Civil rights groups are also being asked to intervene in this lynching. Jackson's sister has sent a telegram to Tyrone Brooks of Atlanta, a leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and a Georgia state legislator.

The telegram read, in part, "My family calls upon you to take immediate steps to determine the cause of his death."

Progress report — "SEOUL, South Korea, Jan. 5



Harry Ring

(UPI) — South Korea's nationwide curfew was lifted throughout most of the country today

for the first time since it was originally imposed by American occupation forces 36 years ago at the end of World War II. The midnight-to-4 A.M. curfew was ended on the orders of President Chun Doo Hwan, who said the 39 million South Koreans were 'mature' enough to do without the curfew."

Military justice — Subsidizing dining by top military and civilian officials in the Pentagon costs taxpayers \$14 a meal as against \$1.20 for a

school lunch.

\$2 on Atomic Cloud — Those who scoff at the civil defense setup as useless should consider the case of Hermosa Beach, Calif. Two members of the fire department there, and three of the city's four detectives, were suspended on charges of operating a book-making business. Allegedly, bets taken in various bars were phoned in to the fire chief's emergency civil defense telephone.

Diet plan? — The sheriff in Lawrence, Kansas, says that with increased crime and stiffer sentences, prisoners are eating a hole in his food budget. He hoped this wouldn't alter the public's attitude toward aggressive law enforcement. "I don't feel," he said, "just because we don't have money to feed a man who committed a crime we should turn him loose."

Shopping tip — As part of its post-Xmas clearance,

Macy's is offering four-pound tins of caviar, regularly \$960, for a mere \$768.

All in the family — The Los Angeles police approved a contract for purchase of tear gas from a company that submitted the third-lowest bid. A sergeant is part owner of the company. Meanwhile, a captain sued for harassment, charging he was hassled for criticizing the contract. His wife owns a competing company.

Science wins victory in Arkansas Bible case

BY STU SINGER

The January 5 Federal District Court decision in the Arkansas Bible case was a victory for science over religion.

The ruling by Judge William Overton upheld the opposition to Act 590 adopted by the Arkansas legislature last spring. It would have required teaching Bible stories in public schools to "balance" the teaching of science.

The court ruling points to the contradiction between science and religion. The "creation science" referred to in Act 590, the Judge wrote, "is not science because it depends upon supernatural intervention which is not guided by natural law. It is not explanatory by reference to natural law, is not testable and is not falsifiable."

"Since creation science is not science, the conclusion is inescapable that the only real effect of Act 590 is the advancement of religion."

This violates the separation between church and state established in the U.S. Constitution.

Arkansas state officials are still considering whether to appeal the ruling. And a similar case is expected in Louisiana where the American Civil Liberties Union, which organized the Arkansas case, is challenging a similar law.

Harvard professor Stephen J. Gould wrote in the *New York Times* op-ed page January 12: "I only wish that the entire nation could have taken two weeks off and sat in Judge Overton's courtroom to witness the utter intellectual bankruptcy of 'scientific creationism.'"

Gould was a witness for the plaintiffs

against the Arkansas law.

Religion and pseudoscience are increasingly used as a cover for racist and anti-working class attacks. The Reagan administration took a big step in reversing the stance of the government against school segregation under cover of defending religion. This was the decision to give tax-exempt status to the religious schools set up by racists to avoid school desegregation.

Another incident was a January 8 report in the *New York Times* about a paper presented to the meeting of the American Association for the Advance-

ment of Science. The paper purported to prove that "criminal tendencies may be inherited," as the *Times* headline read.

This old myth is part of the belief called biological determinism. Crime is inherited, so is poverty and low intelligence; Blacks and women are inferior, these theories hold.

The *Wall Street Journal* did not like the Arkansas decision. "We suspect that efforts to break down societal mores and standards of conduct that have a religious base are more than a little bit responsible for the fundamentalist backlash. . . . We are not sure the courts have considered what it might be like if

they insist on divorcing government entirely from spiritual thought," their January 7 editorial said.

"We hope the forces who have won this narrow battle in court won't labor too long with the notion that they have scored some major victory against religious belief."

The *Wall Street Journal* editors uphold the spiritual and religious beliefs of capitalism, of war, racism, and poverty.

Religion is one of the few ideological pillars left to prop up their decaying system. Science is more and more a threat to them.

Suit challenges ban on Cuban publications

BY JOSÉ PÉREZ

More than 100 groups and individuals have filed suit in U.S. District Court in Boston, Massachusetts, to overturn the Reagan administration's ban on *Granma* and other Cuban periodicals.

Since last May, when, for the first time in twenty years, the government decided to apply its economic blockade regulations to Cuban periodicals, the U.S. Customs Service has been sporadically confiscating periodicals sent to subscribers in the United States.

In theory, people are required to have a specific government license to receive the publications. But even the few persons that have such licenses have been unable to recover the confiscated periodicals.

Plaintiffs in the suit include a broad range of publications, scholars, writers, organizations, and individuals. Among them are the *Nation*, the *Black Scholar*, *Monthly Review*, the *Guardian*, various Cuban studies and solidarity organizations, the Communist Party, and the Socialist Workers Party. It also includes prominent individuals such as Massachusetts legislator Melvin H. King, Lee Lockwood (author of *Castro's Cuba, Cuba's Fidel*), Black journalist William Worthy, Nobel Laureate George Wald, and the Rev. Harvey Cox of the Harvard Divinity School.

The complaint, filed November 24, charges that the application of blockade regulations to periodicals violates "plaintiffs' rights under the First

Amendment to receive such publications, and pay for them if necessary." The complaint also charges that the requirement to obtain a license to receive periodicals would lead to government harassment and possible attacks by right-wing Cuban groups on those that receive the periodicals. The suit asks that the blockade regulations be declared unconstitutional, as applied to periodicals, and that the government be permanently barred from enforcing them.

Lawyers from the American Civil Liberties Union, the Center for Constitutional Rights, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, and others are representing the plaintiffs in this suit.

CALENDAR

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Poland: First Lessons of the Workers' Struggle. Speakers: Barbara Hennigan, Socialist Workers Party; John Hardy, Louisville civil rights activist, visited Poland in 1972. Sun., Jan. 17, 7:30 p.m. 131 W. Main St. (corner of Main and 2nd). Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

King's Dream in the '80s: Black Rights Under Attack — Twin Cities to South Africa. Speakers: Tiffany Patterson, University of Minnesota History Department; August Nimtz, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Jan. 17, 7 p.m. 508 N. Snelling. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Revolution in Nicaragua: Eyewitness Account from Vernon Bellecourt. Speakers: Vernon Bellecourt and Dick Bancroft, American Indian Movement. Sun., Jan. 24, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Virginia

Support Polish Workers: What Solidarity is Fighting For. Speakers: Joseph Krause, professor at University of Minnesota, Duluth; Warren Simons, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Jan. 15, 7 p.m. 1012 Second Ave. South. Donation: \$2. Aup: Solidarity Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Martin Luther King: His Legacy for Today. Speakers: Thomas Mozeé, member, Black United Front; Frank Mikula, Young Socialist Alliance, International Association of Machinists. Sun., Jan. 17, 8 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

Fares Go Up, Services Go Down: The Story of Public Transportation Today. Speakers: Bud Munson, Kansas City Area Transit Authority; Otis Rusher, president, Amalgamated Transit Union Division 1287; Bob Kutchko, Socialist Workers Party, National Association of Letter Carriers Local 30. Sun., Jan. 24, 8 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Abortion Rights Under Attack — How Do We Fight Back? Speakers: Charlene Adamson, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Marxism and Christianity: Are They Compatible? Speakers: Pierre Douchemin, lay priest from Liberation Theology Movement; José Pérez, editor, *Perspectiva Mundial*; others. Sat., Jan. 23, 8 p.m. 335 Atlantic

Ave. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

NORTH CAROLINA

Winston-Salem

Martin Luther King and the Struggle for Freedom Today. Film: *The Assassin Years*. Speaker from the Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Jan. 16, 7:30 p.m. 216 E. 6th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

Defend the Right to Abortion. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 216 E. 6th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Reds: John Reed and the Early American Communists. Speaker: Morris Starsky, Socialist Workers Party. Film: excerpts from *Ten Days That Shook the World*. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

Cleveland

Solidarity with Solidarnosc: The Struggle for Socialism in Poland. Speakers: Jim Miller, Cleveland New American Movement; Bob Rowand, United Steelworkers Local 1179, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Jan. 23, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

Reagan's War on Women's Rights: Which Way for the Women's Movement in 1982? Panel discussion on Betty Friedan's book, *The Second Stage*. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Jan. 30, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

Toledo

Poland: Solidarity with the Workers' Revolt. Speakers: Mike Ferner, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, Joe Callahan, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 16, 7:30 p.m. 2120 Dorr. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

YSA regional conference

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Eyewitness Account from Poland: Lessons of Solidarity. Speakers: Martín Koppel, staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*, attended Solidarity union congress; Chris Remple, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, member, International Association of Machinists Local 751. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$2. Classes: "Background to Polish Crisis," Sat., Jan. 23, 2 p.m.; "World Revolution and Poland Today," Sun., Jan. 24, 11 a.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Donation: \$2 per class. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (206) 723-5330.



Mark Zola announces campaign for governor at Jan. 2 news conference

Pa. socialists launch campaign

PHILADELPHIA — The Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Party's statewide slate for the November 1982 elections was announced here on January 2.

Heading the ticket is Mark Zola, the gubernatorial candidate. He works as a machinist at U.S. Steel National Tube Works, outside of Pittsburgh, and is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1408.

Katherine Sojourner, a steelworker from the Harrisburg area, is the party's candidate for lieutenant governor.

Cathy Emminizer, the candidate for U.S. Senate, is a leader

of the Young Socialist Alliance. She's a member of United Auto Workers Local 92 and works at the Budd plant in Philadelphia.

Campaign supporters will be forced to collect 65,000 signatures to comply with Pennsylvania's undemocratic ballot restrictions.

Petitioning will begin at the end of March. For more information, contact one of the Pennsylvania socialist headquarters listed on page 17.

Candidate blasts cops in New Orleans

BY RON REPPS

NEW ORLEANS — Rashaad Ali of the Socialist Workers Party

is one of six candidates who have officially filed in the New Orleans mayoral race. The election will be held February 6.

The large number of reporters who covered Ali's filing asked him a lot of questions about police brutality. This is a major issue in the city.

A year ago, four Blacks were gunned down by the New Orleans cops. The officers involved were all let off scot-free. One of them was even given the policeman of the year award.

Ali told reporters, "Police Chief Parsons should be made to stand trial for the murder of those people. The cops responsible should be jailed."

Ali called for removing the cops from the Black community and replacing them with a security force elected and controlled by the Black community.

SWP offices attacked

BY BOB HILL

LOUISVILLE — Three windows at the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party's headquarters were

smashed on December 11. One week later, two more were broken. Harassing phone calls followed each attack.

The office of Mayor-elect Harvey Sloane issued a statement at a news conference the next day protesting these attacks and pledging that "continued harassment of the Socialist Workers Party headquarters will be investigated fully and that anyone charged with criminal activity will be prosecuted."

Long-time civil rights activist Anne Braden read a statement from the Kentucky Civil Liberties Union that pointed out, "The systematic harassment of the SWP has a chilling effect on the right of free speech for all of us."

Mattie Jones, co-chair of the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, said that the "government is giving the go-ahead to these right-wing attacks. We must stand up to this."

Chris Rayson, SWP 1981 candidate for mayor, pointed out that the YSA and SWP would not be intimidated by threats and harassment.

"Never has the reception to our ideas been better, and that is exactly what the government and right-wing are afraid of."

Teaching 'free enterprise 101'

JERSEY CITY — There was an interesting item in the January 4 edition of *The Record*, "New Jersey's Largest Evening Newspaper."

The article explains how the northern New Jersey Chamber of Commerce is holding "out-of-school" seminars on economics for hundreds of teachers and students. But the perspective is all from the standpoint of business.

"The program's lessons are kept simple," according to *The Record*.

How simple?

What causes inflation? "Expensive government and 'extortionate' union demands."

What causes unemployment? The minimum wage.

How to get rid of pollution? Turn public lands over to private owners.

Some educators are leary about the lack of "balance" in the program.

According to *The Record*, "they wonder if the schools would be as willing to allow, say, the Socialist Workers Party to teach economics to its most promising students."

Lockheed Tristar phase-out menaces 9,500 jobs

BY NANCY BROWN

LOS ANGELES — "I guess they think they'll make a killing on war contracts," said a young Black machinist as we listened to the announcement on the public address system. Lockheed-California Company had just told its employees that it was phasing out production of the L-1011 Tristar — a move that jeopardizes 9,500 jobs.

UNION TALK

The announcement came December 7. The workers in my department thought it was ironic. Lockheed announced its move out of the commercial aircraft industry to concentrate on the war industry on Pearl Harbor Day.

It became something of a joke. "This is a day that will really live in infamy

among Lockheed workers," said a fifteen-year Lockheed veteran.

The company announced the phase-out "with deep regret." But ditching the L-1011 has saved Lockheed millions of dollars. Losses on the plane have totaled more than \$2 billion since production began in 1970. This year the company can write off \$400 million. The day after the announcement, Lockheed stock shot up \$7.87 per share.

The stockholders may have been thrilled, but the workers were not. At the gate, we received a written bulletin informing us that "regrettably, some layoffs will be unavoidable."

"Some layoffs" could include up to 9,500 of us who work on the L-1011. A day later, another 2,000 were added to the list when Lockheed announced it may lose government funding on the P-3C, a military aircraft. The combined layoffs would cut Lockheed-Burbank's workforce in half.

We shouldn't worry, though, Lockheed told us. The phase-out will take two-and-a-half years, with some of it "occurring by normal job turnover. Most manufacturing and assembly areas will be little affected in the immediate future. . . ."

And, Lockheed promises, "We will, of course, make every effort to place surplus employees on other Lockheed programs or to help them find jobs outside the corporation."

Of course! One of Lockheed's options is to send us to work at Rockwell, the company that battled Lockheed for the B-1 bomber contract. A month ago, Rockwell announced it would have 11,000 jobs by 1984. Within days, they had 21,000 applications.

"It's all bullshit," said one older Black worker. "Secure till 1983? We went through this in 1972. They gave us almost no warning. It's called an emergency layoff. They wiped out 9,000 jobs almost overnight. People with thirty

years of their life here walked out the gate. Don't believe one word they say."

No one does. For more than a year, there have been rumors that the L-1011 was being ditched. To frighten employees, there has been repeated talk of massive layoffs, and a tightening of security procedures.

Every employee has received a fifteen-page security questionnaire. If it is not filled out, you can face layoff because you have denied yourself a potential job. U.S. citizenship is now required to be hired by Lockheed.

Lockheed's parting shot to us at Christmas was summed up by one supervisor: "You'd better pray that Reagan comes up with defense contracts to save your job."

As for the young workers, they understand that war budgets mean war. As we walked out the gate, an apprentice turned to me and said, "The last thing I'm praying for over Christmas is another war. I'd rather lose my job than lose my life."

DIRECTORY

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

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954. **FLORIDA:** Gainesville: YSA, c/o Bill Petersen, 1118 NW 3rd Ave. Zip: 32601. Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 1301 W. Green, Room 284. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA: Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indiana-

polis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

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

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01004. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA. Tel: (313) 663-7068. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 30221. Zip: 68503. Tel: (402) 483-6236.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17105. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, Box 3761. Zip: 25337. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Make Dr. King's birthday a holiday

All working people should support the demand that Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, birthday be made a national holiday.

It is high time that at least one Black who has died in the fight for freedom is honored in this way.

And in demanding official recognition for the martyred rights leader, Black people are, at the same time, demanding recognition for themselves and for their long denied constitutional rights.

Now is surely the time. Spurred by the naked racism of the Reagan administration, anti-Black forces are growing bolder by the day.

We see the shocking case of the two Alabama civil rights workers jailed on trumped-up charges of "voting fraud." (See story, page 5.) The prosecutor and judge responsible for that outrage simply took their cue from the White House.

On January 8, the Reagan administration announced it was scrapping a federal policy of denying tax exemptions to private colleges that are Jim Crow. This will immediately entitle more than 100 avowedly "white-only" institutions to favored tax treatment and encourage the further spread of such "schooling." Then, after granting the tax exemptions, Reagan hypocritically proposed Congress enact a law barring such exemptions.

Earlier, the White House advised that the president is against affirmative action quotas intended to combat discrimination. Reagan says the Supreme Court was wrong in rejecting a demagogic "reverse discrimination" plea by Brian Weber, a white Kaiser Aluminum employee. His case was intended to scrap a training program, negotiated by the United Steelworkers with Kaiser, to give Blacks and women a chance at skilled jobs.

These escalating attacks on Black people and other victims of oppression stem from the present economic crisis and the determination of the ruling rich to put the burden of the crisis on those who can least afford it.

Black people have traditionally been the "last hired, first fired." Whenever there is a general attack on working people, they are invariably the first target.

But just as Black people have been the first victims of the present offensive, so too are they in the front line of those fighting back. The Martin Luther King Day demonstrations are a good example of this.

The demonstrations this year are a good time to salute the emergence of the National Black Independent Political Party. Less than one year old, this promising organization is being built on the basis of the sound belief that both major parties are responsible for the situation of Black people. The new party holds that the capitalist system — which both the Republicans and Democrats uphold — is the root source of racism.

We believe the National Black Independent Political Party points the way forward. Black people will certainly benefit if the new party gains ground, and so will all other working people as well.

To move forward, the entire working class needs its own party, a labor party, to combat the employer-controlled Republicans and Democrats and the profit system on which they stand.

Building such an independent, anticapitalist, and antiracist movement is the very best tribute that can be paid to Dr. King and to all the others who have given their lives in the cause of Black freedom.

Stop the deportations!

The U.S. government has opened the new year with a fierce campaign to further restrict the rights of immigrants who live and work in this country. Its goal is to deepen the divisions that exist within the working class. It thereby hopes to weaken our ability to fight to defend our jobs, our wages, our liberties, and our right to a decent life.

- The despised immigration cops, the INS, have announced they are stepping up daily raids of factories and neighborhoods as part of a nationwide drive to arrest workers without documents. *La migras* man in Los Angeles announced that raids there will be tripled starting at the end of January.

In the past, the INS has targeted the garment industry, where many undocumented workers can get jobs because of the low wages. Now, however, the INS raiders will hit other industries, including large factories, as well. Immigration cops will also swoop down on bus stops, train depots, and other places where "undocumented aliens are believed to congregate," reports the January 6 *Los Angeles Times*.

- In a closely related move, a federal judge, in a Christmas Eve ruling, gave the INS the green light to start deporting an estimated 100,000 Mexican workers, many of whom have been living here for years. The workers had benefited from a court ruling known as the *Silva* decision, which has now been lifted. Letters are at this moment being sent out to these workers, demanding they turn themselves in for "interviews."

Protests against the planned mass deportations have already begun in the Chicano and Mexican communities. A giant public reaction in Mexico forced the government there to recall its ambassador from Washington for "consultations."

- In addition to its planned mass deportations, the INS is intensifying its persecution of noncitizens whose ideas it finds offensive. Two parallel cases are of special importance.

This week, an INS judge ordered the deportation of Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, an Iranian student and

member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. The judge ruled that even if Hariri-Vijeh had been illegally singled out by INS cops because of her political activities, she must still be deported on the basis of a technical violation (see story, page 3).

Also caught in a technical violation is Dennis Brutus, an exiled South African poet, who is a prominent fighter against apartheid. Brutus was ordered deported, and is now appealing that decision.

Through expensive legal moves, such victims of political persecution by the immigration political police have sometimes been able to stall, and occasionally overturn, such deportation orders. Now, however, the Reagan administration is asking Congress to revise the immigration laws, drastically restricting the right of appeal in such cases.

- Finally, on January 12, the Supreme Court added some high-sounding legal trappings to this drive against our democratic rights. In a decision upholding the right of California to refuse to hire noncitizen residents for some state jobs, the Court stated: "The exclusion of aliens from basic governmental processes is not a deficiency in the democratic system, but a necessary consequence of the community's process of self-definition."

"Self-government, whether direct or through representatives, begins by defining the scope of the community of the governed and thus of the governors as well: aliens are by definition those outside the community."

The capitalist rulers of this country would like us to swallow their line that foreign-born workers are "outside the community." But more and more working people are realizing just the opposite: our class is international. Divisions on the basis of national origin or citizenship papers serve the employers, not the workers.

From the standpoint of working people — though not the Supreme Court — the "community of the governed" knows no borders.

Stop the deportations!

Our new look

With this issue, we are introducing changes in our design. We have redesigned our page layouts and changed the typefaces we use.

In addition to being more attractive and easier to read, the new design will allow more efficient use of our space. This is especially important because costs have forced us to restrict the normal size of each issue, for the time being, to twenty pages.

The design change gives greater flexibility in how we use the front page and will allow us to use more

short news and opinion articles. It gives us more editorial space and establishes a regular place in the paper for both educational and opinion columns.

In addition, we think the greater simplicity of this layout will make it easier for the staff.

We hope that the new design will prove attractive and contribute toward increased circulation.

We will be interested in what our readers think of the new layout. Your letters will be appreciated.

'Peaceful coexistence between states, not classes' — Fidel Castro

The following excerpt is from an interview with Fidel Castro on January 16, 1962, with reporters attending a Havana meeting of the International Organization of Journalists. The interview was published in the January 18 issue of the Havana daily, *Revolución*, and was reprinted in the February 5, 1962, *Militant*.

Q. (Delegate from Italy) Dr. Castro. . . . Is the struggle for coexistence a question of tactics in the struggle against imperialism or a permanent strategy of the workers' movement? Do you think that socialism can win — not only in some countries, but throughout the world — through the stable means of peaceful coexisting that will erase war forever from the lives of humanity?

A. I do not believe . . . that peaceful coexistence is a question of tactics. Peaceful coexistence is simply — as you say — a correct strategy. But there is some-

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

thing else. Peaceful coexistence is truly a necessity for humanity. That is to say, it is necessary at all costs to avoid an atomic world war because of the catastrophic consequences it would bring on all humanity. Therefore it is a question of principle, a line that meets the needs and hopes of humanity, and it is correct politically. It is the politics of socialism, whose economy does not need wars, colonies or redivision of the world. . . . The politics of peace and peaceful coexistence is, in all senses, the politics of socialism.

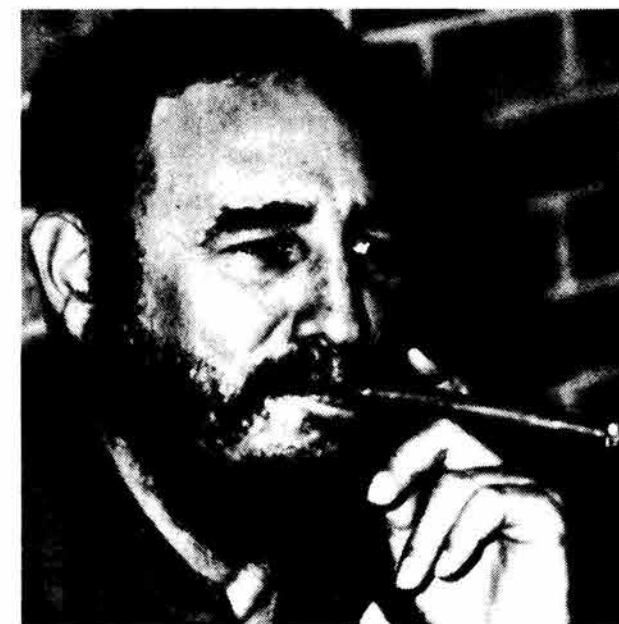
Now, the politics of peaceful coexistence is coexistence between states. That does not mean coexistence between classes. That is to say I do not mean . . . coexistence between the exploiters and the exploited. It would be impossible to have coexistence between the exploited masses of Latin America and the Yankee monopolists. It would be impossible to have coexistence with these monopolists and with the big exploiting bourgeoisie and the great landlords, who are allies of the Yankee imperialists. . . .

The class struggle will exist as long as capitalist and imperialist regimes exist because the class struggle is a natural consequence of the socio-economic system, of the existence of the great working masses confronting a minority that owns the riches and the means of production.

That is to say, the class struggle will exist as long as capitalism exists. The international class struggle between the exploited masses and the monopolists will exist so long as imperialism exists. This is absolutely independent of the politics of peaceful coexistence of states with different economic and social regimes.

That is to say, for instance, Cuba could have maintained, and should maintain, peaceful coexistence with Venezuela. Cuba would have maintained its relations with Venezuela, and even without diplomatic relations it should and will maintain peaceful coexistence with Venezuela. Now, this peaceful coexistence between the government of Cuba and the government of Venezuela does not mean peaceful coexistence between the working masses of Venezuela and the Standard Oil Company, Shell, Esso, the monopolies. It does not mean coexistence between the workers and peasants of Venezuela and the big exploiting bourgeoisie allied to these interests.

There can and there should be peaceful coexistence between states. But that is independent of the class struggle within each country.



'Independent' politics, Communist Party style

BY LINDA JOYCE

In the recent mayoral elections in Cleveland, the Socialist Workers Party squared off against the Republicans and Democrats. The fourth candidate in the race was Rick Nagin, chairman of the Communist Party (CP) of Ohio, who ran as an

AS I SEE IT

independent. His campaign, however, was anything but independent.

Nagin's strategy was to aim heavy fire at Reagan and the Republicans with the slogan, "To stop Reagan, vote for Nagin." He never included the Democrats in his criticisms of governmental policies. In fact, at the first public debate between the four candidates, Nagin urged a vote for the Democrat, should he not survive the primaries.

Then, he followed right along with the Republican and Democratic candidates as they beat the drum for more cops in the streets. At a meeting in a settlement house in the heart of the Black community, Nagin called for more cops, even after two women had explained incidents that justified their frustration and contempt for the police. Nagin qualified his stance by saying Cleveland needed a

civilian police review board to monitor police abuse.

I was at the meeting and pointed out that this totally ignores the role of the police, which is to bust heads of picketers, keep rebellious youth — especially minority youth — "in their place," and to protect private property.

During the primary campaign, Nagin refused to appear with me on TV or radio in any situation where I would have the chance to debate him one-on-one. In this way he could avoid discussing the CP's embarrassing position on Poland, and its inactivity in Cleveland around the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) strike.

Nagin totally avoided the issue of Poland. It would have been very embarrassing for him to have to explain the CP's anti-working-class position that the gigantic struggle of millions of workers and farmers in Poland is, in the words of the CP's paper, the *Daily World*, a "subversive conspiracy of antisocialist elements."

The SWP, however, actively supported the Polish workers and utilized the opportunities provided by the campaign to get out the truth about what they are fighting for.

The SWP also supports the PATCO workers, and urged solidarity with the strike as a central part of our campaign. As a candidate and fellow unionist, I and my supporters walked the picket line, visited strike headquarters, got out the truth about the strike, and collaborated with the air controllers on

strike support work. Nagin, however, did not mention the PATCO strike once during the campaign, and the CP here was visibly absent from the solidarity efforts.

The Communist Party's electoral strategy is a logical extension of its past positions. Two years ago, they supported the "populist" Democrat Dennis Kucinich for mayor of Cleveland. They were caught in an embarrassing situation when Kucinich embraced the support of antibusing groups, and the Communist Party resorted to telling its members and supporters to vote for "who they wanted." They are now lining up behind Howard Metzenbaum for reelection to the U.S. Senate in 1982. A Democrat, he voted for Reagan's budget cuts and supports Reagan's firing of the PATCO strikers.

The centerpiece of the SWP campaign was independent working-class political action. We called for a break from the Democrats and Republicans — to form our own party, a labor party based on the unions. Nagin called for "antimonopoly coalitions or parties" that would include the Democrats.

George Voinovich, the incumbent Republican, won the mayoral election with a record 77 percent of the vote.

We garnered 2 percent of the vote, to the Communist Party's 1 percent, in the primary.

Linda Joyce was the 1981 Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland. She is a member of United Auto Workers Local 70.

LETTERS

Iran & imperialism

I was very interested in the article by Dave Frankel in the November 20 *Militant*, replying to David Keil's letter on Iran. It seems to me that a lot of so-called "revolutionaries" are all over the place on Iran, often caving in to the imperialist offensive. In their inability to situate each development into the overall framework of the revolution and the real line of march of the Iranian workers and peasants, many of these people default on their responsibility to defend the revolution from the imperialists. All they see in Iran is what the capitalist media tells them.

At a recent meeting in London in solidarity with the revolutions in the Americas and against the current imperialist campaign of lies and threats, a group of Peoples Mujahedeen Organization of Iran and similarly-minded Iranian students were more interested in attacking Fidel Castro for not condemning the executions and for welcoming Iranian parliamentarians to Cuba.

Gary Erlisker
London

Poland I

I urge you to reevaluate your position on Poland before continuing to mislead the many deeply committed revolutionaries affected by your view. You are marching with the identical banner as the social democracy, U.S. labor bureaucracy, Voice of America, and the C.I.A.

You must look at what things are in their essence. You claim that Solidarity is primarily an attempt to further and refine the gains of the Polish workers state; but this is not its essential nature. The Solidarity movement is essentially a reaction to severe economic hardship.

Taken by itself and out of the context of the world struggle against imperialism, their economic struggle should be supported by all. But the stakes on the world scale are also clear — it is imperialism that will win and the world working class that will lose if the Polish workers state is overthrown by this struggle for economic relief.

Solidarity can make short-term gains by accepting the offers (and capitulating to the demands) of imperialism. For them, this is the only way forward to economic success, and this is the direction that they are going. That is the essence and the nature of Solidarity. It draws tremendous strength and allies throughout the imperialist world.

Gene Lantz
Dallas, Texas

Poland II

Your lead editorial on the situation in Poland (December 25 issue) said that the crackdown on Solidarity "must be condemned by everyone who is fighting for workers' rights and for socialism." I agree with this wholeheartedly.

But I was puzzled by another article in the same issue titled "News media have field day with anti-Soviet protests." Most of this article was devoted to an attack on a Solidarity-supported picket line organized by a coalition of socialist groups.

The article seemed to suggest that socialists should not demonstrate their solidarity with Solidarity. The reason given in the article was that the media didn't make it clear that the socialist picket line was neither antisocialist nor pro-U.S. But the media will always distort the activities of socialists.

I think it is particularly urgent right now to demonstrate — as publicly and as aggressively as possible — that real socialists stand with the Polish workers. If we fail to do this, most working people will assume that socialists stand on the side of those who are crushing the workers. Isn't this what Moscow and the U.S. Communist Party, on the one hand, and Reagan and the right wingers on the other, would have American workers believe?

Rick Miles
New York, New York

Poland III

No government or regime is expressing as much indignation over current events in Poland as the U.S. government. Yet none

is as guilty of self-contradictions. Thus, while the U.S. leads in showing "indignation" over the declaration of martial law in Poland, it unreservedly supports dictatorships in the Philippines and South Africa and vows to collaborate to the end with the Zionists and with such military juntas as in El Salvador and in Turkey with her martial law. It tells us to pray for the hunger and cold of the Poles, while it cuts off food and clothing for them, to "punish" their government.

Reja-e Busailah
Kokomo, Indiana

Artis released

I read a four sentence article in the *New York Times* recently announcing that John Artis was paroled after spending fifteen years in New Jersey's prisons.

He was convicted with Rubin (Hurricane) Carter, the great middleweight title contender, for the 1966 shotgun slayings of a bartender and two patrons in a Patterson tavern.

Artis knew Carter slightly since both worked in the same children's playground sports program, and he got a lift home from Carter the night of the slayings. Neither was anywhere near the bar that night. The ride cost John his freedom. He was a college-bound twenty year old when he was put away. A confession linking Rubin to the crime would have meant instant release, but he always told the prosecutors and cops what they could do with their deals.

Why was Carter framed and Artis dragged in? Because Carter was an outspoken defender of Black rights and he commanded a lot of media attention.

Michael Smith
New York, New York

Socialist mayor

Recently, Bernard Sanders, the socialist mayor of Burlington, made a speech at Vermont Law School in South Royalton. From what the *Burlington Free Press* reported, it sounded like a speech that the law students, and a lot of other people, should hear.

Sanders called for a new, radi-

cal party which "must develop a membership base of workers and farmers" if it is to succeed, the paper reported him as saying.

Such a party can take control of Vermont, Sanders said, if it



Bernie Sanders

focuses on issues that the two major parties avoid.

These issues, he was reported as saying, involve people gaining control of their own lives and charting the kind of society in which they want to live.

The paper added, "Today, Sanders said, control lies in the hands of the one percent of the population that possesses most of the country's wealth."

"Socialism, the Burlington mayor said, means 'nothing more than democracy. . . . It means, to as great an extent as possible, that ordinary people will have control over their own lives. . . ."

"The only hope for the [new] party is the rejection of the Democratic and Republican parties," Sanders said.

Vermont has had third parties which did not fully recognize that to succeed they must have the workers and farmers as their main base. This gives added significance to what Mayor Sanders has to say on this.

Jon Flanders
Burlington, Vermont

Educating on Poland

A demonstration on Poland was held in Phoenix on January 2. The slogans and speakers supported Reagan and were anticommunist, anti-Russian, and anti-Cuban.

However, among many who attended there was confusion. A

friend and I sold eleven *Militants* featuring "Lessons of Polish Workers in Struggle," and had many in-depth conversations.

We want to educate about the Polish struggle, and we should not be afraid to do it at these "anticommunist" rallies.

Betsy McDonald
Phoenix, Arizona

Lola Dallin memorial

A memorial meeting for Lola Dallin was held at Community Church in New York by relatives and friends on October 27, 1981. She had died the preceding August, following an operation.

Born before the turn of the century into a Jewish family in Latvia, then a part of tsarist Russia, Lola became a socialist and studied law. In Berlin, Lola married a fellow socialist and law student, Samuel Estrin.

The menace of Nazism forced Lola and her husband to move to Paris where they expanded their efforts to help political prisoners and refugees, to aiding victims of the Nazi terror.

In this period of the 1930s, Lola became the assistant and collaborator of Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son, who coordinated the work of the movement for a Fourth International and published the Russian-language *Bulletin of the Opposition*. Articles she contributed to that journal are signed *Yakovlev*.

As the cloud of Nazi conquest darkened over France, Lola and her husband fled to the U.S. There she dropped out of radical political activity. Throughout this period, however, and, indeed, up to the time of her fatal illness, she remained active in the work of assisting political refugees and emigres.

George Weissman
New York, New York

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.

Milw. cops indicted for murder in killing of Black youth

BY PETE SEIDMAN

MILWAUKEE — After six months, homicide charges have finally been prepared against two cops guilty of murdering Ernest Lacy, a twenty-two-year-old Black youth. The cops, George Kalt and Thomas Eliopul, beat Lacy to death July 9 after they had arrested him on suspicion of a rape they later learned he didn't commit. As a result of technicalities, a third killer cop, James Dekker, faces similar charges from a special prosecutor.

District Attorney E. Michael McCann has submitted the charges to Myrtle Lacy, Ernest's mother, for her signature. When the complaint is signed, a

judge is expected to issue warrants for the officers' arrest and to set a date for a preliminary hearing.

Charges against the three cops for homicide by reckless conduct had been issued earlier as a result of a month-long hearing before a coroners inquest jury. That jury also recommended that Dekker and two other cops be charged with misconduct in public office for refusing to give Lacy medical attention after he was beaten.

But on December 10, McCann asked a judge to drop these charges. McCann claimed higher courts would rule that the cops' rights had been violated be-

cause race was used as a factor in selecting the coroners jury of three whites and three Blacks.

McCann says his new complaint against the cops will hold up in the courts. The district attorney's decision to file these new charges following a December 24 racist strike by Milwaukee cops demonstrates the intense pressure the officials here feel from the Milwaukee Black community.

The Black community scored another victory here December 16.

A federal jury upheld charges that Milwaukee cops and officials had violated the civil rights of Daniel Bell, a twenty-three-year-old Black youth killed in 1958. The jury awarded \$1.8 million in damages to Bell's family.

Milwaukee policeman Thomas Grady planted a knife on Bell after shooting him in the back.

Milwaukee cops organized a sixteen-hour racist strike December 24-25 in response to the successful mobilizations challenging their lawlessness here.

The cops walked off their jobs after the broadcast of a TV interview with Black city Alderman Roy Nabors. Nabors was commenting on the death of two white officers who were shot while trying to arrest a Black holdup man.

Nabors called the policemen's deaths "tragic." But he added that the incident could have been avoided if the extreme tensions between the police and the community hadn't made the suspect act "out of fear rather than any kind of sensible surrender to the police."

Cops demanded that the Common Council repudiate Nabors's statement and grant total amnesty to the strikers as a precondition for returning to work. They also presented a list of other demands for further negotiations.

In response to this right-wing mobili-

zation, a broad coalition of Black community organizations held a news conference Christmas morning.

NAACP leader Chris Belnavis said, "the Common Council can not properly pass judgement on Alderman Nabors's remarks, to which he is constitutionally entitled and which mirrors the outlook of his constituents. Alderman Nabors must not be made a scapegoat for the police union's attempted intimidation of the Black community in general and the district attorney in performance of his pledge to prosecute in the Lacy case."

Milwaukee police went back to work when the Common Council agreed to their two major demands.

Cheryll Hidalgo, the Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 5th Congressional District, blasted the cops' strike.

"The Milwaukee Police Association is not a union of workers, but an organization of racist union busters," the candidate from the city's northside Black community said.

"This terrorist organization has continued to beat, shoot, and murder citizens of Milwaukee — white and Black — despite the massive public outcry provoked by the murder of Ernest Lacy."

"Only the ongoing protests of the Black community and increasing support for these actions among all working people have pressured authorities to take whatever steps have been taken so far to win justice for the Lacy and Bell families."

"The Black community needs to take responsibility for its own protection," Hidalgo said. "Black workers, not white killer cops, are the best guarantors of justice on the streets. The Milwaukee police department should be withdrawn from the Black community and replaced with patrols responsible to the community as a whole."



Milwaukee's Black community responded with demonstrations in the thousands to the police murder of Ernie Lacy last July. Increasing demands to stop cop terror have forced the district attorney to prosecute the killers.

Calif. Black party hits war drive, racist attacks

BY SAM MANUEL

OAKLAND, Calif. — The National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) registered continued growth and expansion at its first California State conference held here in December at Laney Community College.

The highlight of the meeting was a rally marking the first anniversary of the party. The featured speaker was National Cochairperson Ron Daniels.

Attacking the Reagan administration's military spending, he said, "The worst kind of spending the government can do is defense spending. You can't eat a bomb. You can't wear a B-1 bomber. . . . If we're concerned with defense, then why in the hell aren't we concerned about defense against hunger? Why are we not concerned about defense against poverty? Why are we not concerned about defense against inadequate education, defense against ill housing?" he said to much applause.

Daniels continued: "They need such a large defense budget in this country because it is clear that imperialism is preparing for war. . . . We don't want our sons and daughters, the poor Black people and the working people, or any other people in this country marching off to Cuba, or marching off to El Salvador, or Nicaragua, or Grenada."

The NBIPP represents a break with the lesser-evil con game of the Democratic and Republican parties. It is charting a course of mobilizing the Black community and its allies in inde-

pendent political action against the bipartisan attack of the U.S. rulers against Black rights.

Daniels explained, "Our party is a different party. We are not like any party that's ever been on the scene. . . . Some people keep asking us, 'Who are you going to run for office?' And we keep saying we're different. Our party believes that there must be a politics of social transformation. . . . of self-determination for the Black nation. . . ."

"We stand for the creation of a new society . . . where there will be economic democracy; that is to say, where the people will control the major instruments and means of production, where the people who make the profits will be the people who control the profits of this society in their own interest," Daniels told the cheering crowd.

The keynote speech at the opening session of the conference was presented by Mtangulizi Sanyika. Sanyika is a longtime Black activist, and helped to organize the NBIPP founding conference in Chicago last August.

He traced the history of the development of the NBIPP, and described what the party has learned from the experiences of the Black movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Underscoring the NBIPP's importance, he stated, "The Chicago congress was the finest hour in the history of the movement for an independent Black political party."

Speaking about the development of

the NBIPP's founding charter and program, Mel Mason, Far West regional representative of the NBIPP, explained, "Some people asked us, 'Why are you for forming a Black party?' They thought we shouldn't do this in the face of Reaganism. We had to look for the lesser evil. They were worried about Reaganism. But Reaganism is really Carterism, which was also Nixonism and Johnsonism, all the way back to Washingtonism. They all add up to racism."

Mason, a city councilman in Seaside, California, has been active in the fight against police brutality there. The impact of his role was acknowledged in the workshop on police and prison repression by a brother who had just been released from Soledad prison. He exclaimed about Mason, "Yeah, he's the Black socialist fighting them crackers in Seaside."

The conference heard reports and proposals from workshops. These covered a broad spectrum of issues and concerns of the Black community.

The workshop on southern Africa and the Caribbean urged NBIPP to oppose the war hysteria being whipped up against Libya. It urged support for the Clark Amendment, which would ostensibly outlaw U.S. covert military actions in Angola, and support for Assembly Bill 1431 introduced by California Assemblywoman Maxine Waters. The latter would prohibit the investment of state funds in institutions making loans to South Africa. Another resolution

called upon Washington to immediately break all ties with South Africa because of its collusion in the attempt to overthrow the government of the Seychelles.

The conference also heard a speaker from a Haitian rights group, and later supported efforts in defense of Haitian rights and against deportations.

Among the many other workshops held were discussions on defending the rights of Black women; the problems facing youth, particularly unemployment; and fighting against the budget cuts.

The conference, held December 11-13, was attended by 135 people from across the state. Sixteen people decided to join the NBIPP at the conference.

Twenty-six people came from Los Angeles. Many of them were students at Los Angeles City College. One student explained that more people would have come, but the college administration withheld funds allocated for transportation. Not to be discouraged, the students organized a car caravan to the conference. Activists also attended from San Francisco, Vallejo, Sacramento, Richmond, and Seaside. The conference was broadly publicized throughout the state.

In closing the meeting, Pat Wright, one of the conference organizers, expressed the enthusiasm felt by the participants: "We are inspired to go back and fight against racist oppression by building our party. This conference has helped to cement the bonds of the NBIPP."