

Protests grow as U.S. deepens intervention in El Salvador

U.S. rulers debate move toward war

The Reagan administration is facing mounting troubles in El Salvador. Despite massive U.S. military aid, the junta there is rapidly losing ground to the rebel forces. And domestic opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador is growing apace.

This combined pressure is beginning to produce cracks and fissures within

'We're losing the fight,' says junta

BY FRED MURPHY

"We are losing the fight with the guerrillas in the countryside," Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte admitted February 15.

The next day, U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger said on NBC's "Today" show that there is "considerable danger" Duarte's government will fall without stepped-up U.S. military and economic aid.

Weinberger insisted that Washington will not allow this to happen, and echoed Secretary of State Alexander Haig's recent declarations that the administration will do "whatever is necessary" to prevent a victory by the Salvadoran freedom fighters.

Top U.S. general visits

As Weinberger spoke, the top U.S. military commander in Latin America, Lt. Gen. Wallace Nutting, was arriving in El Salvador for a first-hand look at the U.S.-backed junta's deteriorating situation.

U.S. diplomats in El Salvador are now worried that the millions of dollars worth of aircraft, arms, and ammunition Washington has been pouring into that country will not be enough to turn the tide.

"At issue," correspondent Raymond Bonner reported in the February 17 *New York Times*, "is whether the Salvadoran military can absorb more equipment and whether it has enough officers to fight a guerrilla war." Bonner continued:

"American officials estimate that the Salvadoran Air Force has the personnel to fly only 6 helicopters more than the 14 already supplied by the United States, far fewer than needed. The entire 500-member student body of the Salvadoran military academy is going through accelerated officer-training in the United States."

The troops already trained by U.S. advisers in El Salvador have achieved no victories against the rebels. Instead, they have carried out massive slaughters of the civilian population in the countryside.

400 more massacred

Nearly 1,000 peasants in Morazán province were massacred by the U.S.-trained Atlacatl Brigade in December. During the second week of February, this elite unit swept through Usulután province, the scene of recent rebel advances. According to a UPI dispatch printed in the February 17 *New York Daily News*, Salvadoran "government officials, who asked not to be identified, said surviving peasant refugees told them security forces had massacred about 400 civilians after a sweep" through Usulután.

Army brutality in the countryside is convincing more and more Salvadorans to actively participate in the war being waged by the guerrilla fighters of the

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Salvadoran troops in training at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina. Reagan administration has also prepared military operations aimed at Nicaragua and Cuba.

Ford's proposed auto pact tightens squeeze on workers

BY ELIZABETH ZIERS

DETROIT, February 16 — Ford Motor Company and United Auto Workers (UAW) negotiators agreed February 13 on a new contract — seven months before the current one expires.

The exact contract language won't be revealed until February 20. Initial summaries of the proposed pact, however, make it clear that Ford is demanding that its workers give up previously won gains and even more jobs.

Under the new, thirty-one month contract, UAW members would lose:

- all paid personal holidays (the present contract provides nine PPHs a year);
- three cost-of-living raises (deferred until late 1983 and 1984);
- the 3 percent annual productivity raise;
- the December bonus holiday.

In other words, those Ford workers lucky enough to have jobs will lose two weeks of paid days off a year and go more than three years with virtually no pay raises.

New workers will be hurt even worse. They will start with 85 percent of regular pay and reduced benefits. It will take them eighteen months to get to parity with other Ford workers.

The union got almost nothing in return. Ford promises to share profits and not close plants for two years, under certain conditions. The company says it will guarantee 50 percent of the previous wage to laid-off workers with at least fifteen years seniority — if they agree to take any job offer at a Ford plant anywhere in the country.

Rank and file response to the tentative contract is mixed. Local 36 members at the Wixom, Michigan, Lincoln Continental Assembly Plant expressed hope the deal would save jobs.

But it won't. In fact, the *Wall Street Journal* estimates that 3,000 more jobs will be lost by giving up the paid personal holidays.

PPHs were won in the 1976 contract

as a way of saving jobs by moving toward a shorter work week.

Further job losses will come from plant closings. The contract proposal only specifies that plants will not be closed for two years because of "outsourcing" — shifting production to outside suppliers. But the company can come up with any other excuse it wants to shut plants.

At the Dearborn Assembly Plant, many Local 600 members on both shifts reacted with hostility to the proposals. But others said they want to see the full contract before deciding.

Bargaining committeeman Rudy Nelson said, "It will be hard to sell in this building. It has nothing for the younger workers. But I believe it will pass with the membership as a whole because many on layoff won't vote."

The proposal does include a crumb thrown to laid-off workers. Ford will put \$70 million into the depleted supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB) fund. But 92,000 Ford workers have lost their jobs. For those eligible to receive SUB, the \$70 million will last about five weeks.

And Ford's profit sharing promise doesn't amount to much.

The company is now losing money. Even if it could repeat its most profitable year, 1978, the profit sharing formula would only return about \$200 to each worker — much less than is being given up under the new contract.

But estimates are that Ford will save as much as \$1 billion from the concessions for the life of the contract.

At a meeting in Detroit of the UAW Skilled Trades Council, union President Douglas Fraser said, "How the Ford workers will react, I suppose, is problematical."

Objections to the settlement and to the practice of granting concessions in general were raised by some delegates to the conference.

International union officials will have

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EDITORIAL

U.S. ruling circles on how best to proceed in trying to thwart the victory of the Salvadoran revolution.

- Trade unionists demonstrating against Reagan's economic policies readily pick up chants opposing El Salvador intervention.

- The National Conference of Catholic Bishops declares opposition to guns for El Salvador's junta.

- Members of Congress, from both parties, report strong public sentiment against deepening involvement in that country. Three congressional delegations fly down there to check the situation, clearly suggesting they don't take the administration's word for it.

- A *New York Times* editorial characterizes Reagan's "certification" of human rights in El Salvador as "cynical humbug."

- A *Los Angeles Times* editorial suggests that instead of sinking deeper into the "bloody quagmire," an attempt at a negotiated settlement might be the wiser course.

The pressures confronting the Reagan administration were dramatically illustrated when Cable News Network videotaped three U.S. "advisers" in civilian clothes carrying M-16 rifles in El Salvador. The film was shown on television stations across the United States February 11. Reagan was forced to swiftly order the head "adviser" to leave El Salvador within a week. "Oral reprimands" were given the other two officers.

Washington's problem in El Salvador began twenty-three years ago — in Cuba.

The Cuban revolution of 1959 proved to be the first socialist revolution in the western hemisphere. The gains of that revolution have been an inspiration to the oppressed and exploited throughout Central and South America and the world.

Since the workers and peasants came to power in Cuba, U.S. capitalism has worked unceasingly to isolate and crush them. Its lying propaganda charge that Cuba is exporting subversion is a cover for its real concern — that the victims of colonial oppression in Central and South America will follow the Cuban example.

Back in 1965 when a popular rebellion developed in the Dominican Republic, the Johnson administration, without

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U.S. deepens intervention in El Salvador

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Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

The FMLN already enjoys the support and cooperation of tens of thousands of the country's workers and peasants. As a result, the junta is desperately trying to double the size of its army and achieve a ten-to-one numerical advantage over what it believes to be the troop strength of the FMLN's fighting forces.

Bonner of the *New York Times* reports that "several religious leaders here said recently that in some areas the army is engaged in forced recruiting, sweeping into villages and hauling off boys of fighting age. It is not unusual to meet 15-year-old soldiers, even though

the legal draft age is 18."

The resort to such drastic steps is one sign that the Salvadoran armed forces are beginning to fall apart. Bonner also reports concern among diplomats in El Salvador that "supplying the Salvadorans with more rifles and ammunition . . . could be counterproductive since many of the arms would be bought or captured by the rebels."

Troop role in Reagan's plans

Hence, Bonner says, there is growing "doubt that a military victory is possible without ground troops from other countries."

He reports, "The Salvadoran Govern-

ment 'cannot win without troops from the United States — or from someone,' a non-American diplomat said."

Plans for such direct intervention are already well advanced. The February 14 *Washington Post* revealed that "President Reagan has authorized a broad program of U.S. planning and action in war-torn Central America" that includes "the possible use of U.S. forces to deter the possible introduction of Cuban military forces in Central America."

Another aspect of the program, the *Post* continued, "is planning for exertion of 'direct pressure' against Cuba, in the form of such actions as a naval quarantine to block Cuban domestic petroleum supplies, and retaliatory air actions against Cuban forces and installations."

Charges of Cuban and Nicaraguan "intervention" in El Salvador are made repeatedly by Reagan and Haig to justify their own massive arms shipments to the military junta. They also serve as the pretext for the increasing threats of direct U.S. attack on the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions.

No evidence whatsoever has been presented to substantiate Washington's charges.

CIA vs. Nicaragua

Washington's big lie is designed to hide the fact that it is carrying out exactly the kind of intervention that it baselessly accuses Cuba and Nicaragua of. It is openly arming, financing, and training an army that is seeking to impose the will of a tiny minority — the Salvadoran capitalists and landlords — on an entire people.

And it is trying to do the same to the Nicaraguan people. "Reliable sources" cited in the February 14 *Washington Post* pointed to the CIA's role in "advising and supporting a force made up largely of anti-Sandinista exiles in Honduras in a position to harass the Nicaraguan regime." Raids by these terrorists — marked by robberies, kidnappings, rape, and murder — have left sixty Nicaraguans dead since November.

In the face of all this, Reagan had the gall on February 16 to warn the new Nicaraguan ambassador to Washington against "continued involvement in the affairs of your neighbor, El Salvador" and carrying out "an alarming military buildup."

'Election' plan backfiring

Washington's hypocrisy is also evident in its claim to be backing "free and democratic elections" in El Salvador. Amid a state of siege, press censorship, and massive repression, a vote for a con-

stituent assembly — which will name a new president — is scheduled for March 28.

Leaders of the political parties and popular organizations that make up the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) — which supports the FMLN's armed struggle — have rejected participation in these phony elections. They point to the atmosphere of terror, the army's long history of electoral fraud, and the standing threats issued by the armed forces to assassinate FDR leaders.

U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Deane Hinton — who organized U.S. economic sabotage against the elected Allende government in Chile in the early 1970s — has cynically suggested that the FDR campaign for office through video and sound tapes produced outside the country.

Even if the elections do come off, it will be clear to world public opinion that the vast majority of the Salvadoran people had no real choice and were prevented from voting for those who represent them.

And there are signs that the election ploy may backfire further on Washington. To maintain a minimum of credibility abroad for the Salvadoran rulers, the Reagan administration would prefer to keep President Duarte and his Christian Democratic Party in office, even while real power is firmly in the hands of the military brass.

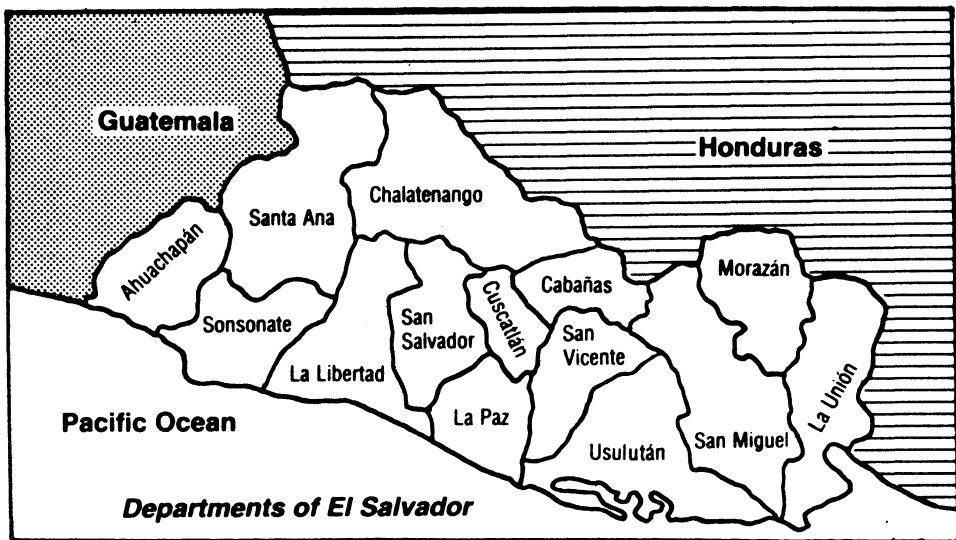
But U.S. officials are now expressing concern about a possible electoral victory by a coalition of extreme right-wing parties backed by many military officers. Such an outcome would expose to the entire world the killers who really run El Salvador for U.S. imperialism.

Chief among the rightist parties is the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA), headed by ex-National Guard Major Roberto d'Aubuisson.

D'Aubuisson, a former head of military intelligence who was trained in U.S. police academies, is widely believed to direct El Salvador's death squads and to have plotted the murder of Archbishop Oscar Romero. His party accuses even the Christian Democrats of being "communists."

"We don't believe the army needs controlling," says ARENA Secretary-General Mario Redaelli. "We are fighting a war, and civilians will be killed. They always have been. It's got to be that way."

With armed forces support, ARENA and the other far-right parties could win. And if that happens, says Jorge Bustamante, head of the central elections commission, "Then, instead of 3,000 guerrillas, we will have 300,000."



Ford proposal squeezes workers

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many opportunities to sell the tentative contract before the membership ratification vote the week of February 22. The Skilled Trades Bargaining Council will hear from Fraser February 16 here at Cobo Hall. The following day, the UAW Ford Council will meet in Chicago to vote on the proposal. The production workers bargaining conference starts in Cobo Hall on February 18. Full-time union representatives will hear the actual contract language on February 20.

Ford management and the big-business press throughout the country are welcoming the agreement.

A spokesman for the union-busting Reagan administration said, "We're pleased that the parties have made such progress in addressing their problems at the bargaining table."

Both officials of the UAW and General Motors have hinted they will use the Ford settlement to try again to reopen

the GM contract. Their efforts failed two weeks ago because of massive rank and file opposition.

Since then, General Motors has announced the shutdown of three plants. They are the trim plant in Euclid, Ohio, and the assembly plants in Fremont in northern California and the South Gate plant in Los Angeles.

The South Gate plant was producing the "J-cars" like the Cavalier and the Cimarron, just introduced last spring. The "A-cars," Celebrity and Ciera, built at Fremont, were only on sale for a few months.

Closing these three plants will wipe out at least 6,000 jobs. In addition, General Motors has announced a wave of new temporary shutdowns and layoffs throughout the country. These attacks against auto workers are intended to convince them to accept the contract takeaways demanded by the giant company.

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Clip and mail to: The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The Militant

Closing news date: February 17, 1982

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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.

Antiwar groups unite for March 27 rally

March on D.C. to protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

In response to the Reagan administration's drive toward war in Central America and the Caribbean, antiwar forces are uniting around the call for a national demonstration in Washington on March 27.

Initial members of the March 27 coalition are the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), American Indian Movement, Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), Mobilization for Survival, National Black United Front, National Black Independent Political Party, People's Anti-War Mobilization

(PAM), Clergy and Laity Concerned, National Network in Solidarity with the Guatemalan People, Religious Task Force on El Salvador, and the Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee.

Additional sponsors will be sought in the process of organizing the demonstration.

The CISPES national office reports that the slogans agreed upon for the demonstration are:

"Stop the U.S. war in El Salvador."

"Fund human needs, not massacres in El Salvador. Stop the U.S. military buildup."

"Self-determination for the people of

Central America and of all oppressed nations. No more Vietnams."

"Stop the Reagan administration's oppression at home and intervention in the Third World."

"No to the draft. No to racism. No to sexism."

The call for the demonstration urges antiwar activists nationwide to begin holding planning meetings in their areas in order to put together broad local coalitions to publicize the March 27 demonstration as widely as possible.

A number of successful planning meetings have already been organized.

In Newark, on February 8, a meeting

called by the New Jersey CISPES drew individuals from an estimated thirty organizations. They formed the New Jersey Coalition Against Intervention in El Salvador. Present at the meeting were individuals from SANE, New Jersey CARD, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Hispanic Bar Association, PAM, Citizens Party, Peace Center of New Brunswick, Socialist Workers Party, Communist Workers Party, and others.

The New Jersey coalition endorsed the March 27 demonstration and is building a February 27 action that will convene at noon in Journal Square, Jersey City, and march to St. Peter's College for a rally.

Among those scheduled to speak at the rally are William Ford, brother of Ita Ford, one of four missionaries slain in El Salvador in 1980; Sylvia Sandoval, a member of the Salvadoran women's organization, AMES; a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador (FDR); a representative of Casa Nicaragua; and a representative of the Riverside Church hunger strikers.

Buses from six cities in New Jersey have already been chartered to go to Washington on March 27.

In Chicago, on February 16, nearly fifty people attended a planning meeting organized by CISPES and held at the PAM headquarters. Among the organizations in attendance were the American Friends Service Committee, Illinois Coalition Against Reaganomics, Clergy and Laity Concerned, World Peace Council, campus representatives from Loyola and Northwestern universities, Casa Aztlán, Casa Chile, Socialist Workers Party, Communist Workers Party, and Workers World Party.

In addition to supporting March 27, the coalition has called a march for February 20 at 93rd and Commercial streets, a Chicano area where several steel plants are located.

On March 6, to commemorate International Women's Day, the Women's Organization for Reproductive Choice in Chicago will sponsor a forum for a female Salvadoran trade unionist.

Beth Perry, a Midwest regional coordinator of CISPES, told the *Militant* that similar activities are being organized by the ninety-one CISPES chapters in the Midwest.

In New York, a planning meeting organized by New York CISPES has called for a February 20 march. It will begin at the U.S. mission to the United Nations, then make its way to the Salvadoran mission and end up at the offices of prowar Senator Alfonse D'Amato.

Rallies are being planned at all three sites. Speakers will include Dave Dellinger, Maryknoll Sister Darlene Cuccinello, and representatives of the FDR, the Black Veterans For Social Justice, and CISPES.

West Coast activists have decided to hold three actions on March 27, in Los Angeles, Oakland, and Seattle.

The CISPES national office is urging that activists get in touch with the nearest regional center of CISPES or the local affiliates of the March 27 national coalition.

Miners meet Salvador rebel spokesman

During the recent convention of District 31 of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), a reception was held for delegates to meet Arnaldo Ramos of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). The reception was sponsored by the Latin American Solidarity Group and was held at the convention site, the Ramada Inn in Morgantown, West Virginia.

The reception, held January 19, was attended by District 31 President Carroll Rogers and UMWA International Executive Board member Steve Weber, along with other miners.



Demonstration of 4,000 in Bloomington, Minnesota, greets Reagan's visit February 8.

Atlanta Black party hits training of Salvadorans by U.S. military

The following statement was released by the Atlanta chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party.

The Atlanta chapter and the national offices of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) join others in protesting the training of El Salvadoran troops in this country. This type of action does not reflect the American

people's interest — to spend millions of dollars on war, while our important and beneficial social programs are going through cutbacks. We defend the right of the people of El Salvador to choose how and who will run their country.

This training demonstrates the U.S.'s increase in military intervention in the Caribbean, and the government's movement towards war on a world scale. Despite his campaign promise, the draft

and draft registration are being set into perpetual motion by the Reagan administration. NBIPP opposes the draft and all other actions towards a war in the interest of American capitalism.

We recognize that the driving force towards all U.S.-backed wars is greed — the desire to make greater profits for those who own the majority of the wealth in this country. Therefore, Black people working in the mills, shops, and factories have nothing to gain from the brutal murders of workers in other countries like El Salvador.

Black people in this country have historically been forced to fight and die in disproportionate numbers to whites in wars that have not been in our interest. Our young Blacks are forced into the military because there are no jobs. But once they are in the military, they are faced with discrimination or are the objects of racial attacks, like Lynn Jackson, who was lynched while stationed at Fort Benning. The murders of twenty-eight Black children in Atlanta, the killing and harassment of Black women and men in other U.S. cities, makes it clear that our differences are not with the people of El Salvador, but with the racist U.S. government and the "Department of Injustice."

We feel that it is in the interest of all workers in this country to be a part of the war against the real murderers and establish a system that surpasses the failures of this one — a system with new forms of economic, political and social power. A system that does not kill children, women and other workers in other countries.

The National Black Independent Political Party says: Stop the training of Salvadoran troops, no more bombs, no more wars, U.S. out of El Salvador.

Asner launches medical fund

A group of actors and filmmakers led by Ed Asner, TV's "Lou Grant," have given a major boost to medical aid for El Salvador.

At a February 15 Washington news conference, they presented a check for \$25,000 to be delivered to the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador for medical needs. The money was collected from about 8,000 donors to Medi-

cal Aid for El Salvador, a Los Angeles-based group.

Asner said the money was being given to the rebel forces because they were the only ones in El Salvador able to deliver it to the rural citizens who need the care.

The group said the \$25,000 was the start of a \$1 million fundraising campaign.



Ed Asner at news conference announcing medical fund, which will be delivered to Revolutionary Democratic Front.



Some 3,000 people marched in Boston February 15 against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Central America Solidarity Association initiated action.

Auto workers women's group backs March 27

Susan Anmuth reports from New Jersey that the Women's Committee of United Auto Workers Region 9 Community Action Program Council has endorsed the March 27 demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

The action will take place in Washington and is called by a broad antiwar coalition initiated by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

The UAW meeting, which had representatives of six local unions, also endorsed a local action in New Jersey on February

27, called by New Jersey CISPES to build support for March 27. The meeting donated \$50 toward an advertisement in the local newspapers to publicize these actions.

Labor committee hits aid to junta

The following article appeared in the January 1982 issue of *Solidarity*, the monthly publication of the UAW. It was titled "Fraser Urges End To U.S. Military Aid To El Salvador."

"UAW President Douglas A. Fraser recently helped initiate a National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador.

"The committee's first act was to address a letter to members of Congress asking them to 'delete all military aid to El Salvador from the foreign-aid authorizations and appropriations bills, and terminate our military presence there.'

"There is no democracy in El Salvador," the message continued. 'What exists is government at war with its own people. And that war is being supported and financed by the United States.'

"Joining Fraser in initiating the committee were Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, and William Winpisinger, president of the Machinists Union."

The National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador endorsed the recent January 11 actions organized nationwide by CISPES to protest the training of Salvadoran soldiers at military bases in the United States.

Rallies, pickets hit U.S. war threat

In San Francisco, a few days after Alexander Haig's statements declaring that the United States would not let the Salvadoran junta fall, 150 activists picketed the Federal Building demanding no U.S. intervention

in Central America. On February 6, 1,500-2,000 people marched to Union Square Park, also in San Francisco, to protest U.S. war threats in Central America.

In Portland, Oregon, on February 6, a rally of 300 protested the training of Salvadoran troops at military bases in the United States.

On February 10, 300 students from Columbia University in New York protested against the Reagan administration's certification of the junta's record on human rights and the escalation of American economic and military aid.

On February 5 and 6, at the University of Michigan, more than 500 people attended a teach-in entitled "Central America, the Next Vietnam?" The event was sponsored by the Latin American Solidarity Committee.

Salvadoran rebel in debate with Reagan official

On January 29, a debate took place between Fabio Castillo, representing the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, and Cleto DiGiovanni for the Reagan administration. DiGiovanni is a former senior officer of the Central Intelligence Agency. The debate took place at Wheeler Auditorium at the

University of California at Berkeley.

Despite appeals from the moderator to contain any partisan feeling, when Castillo was introduced the more than 1,600 people present gave him a standing ovation. When DiGiovanni was introduced he was met with a chorus of boos and hisses.

Native Americans tour in defense of Nicaragua

The following announcement was sent out by the CISPES Upper Midwest Regional Center:

"The El Salvador Solidarity Committee in the Twin Cities is pleased to announce that Vernon Bellecourt, a long-time member of the American Indian Movement and a tribal leader of the Minnesota Chippewa, is available to speak on the situation in Central America, particularly Nicaragua. Vernon, his brother Clyde, and AIM photographer Dick Bancroft have recently returned from a three-week-long visit to Nicaragua."

To arrange a meeting for Vernon Bellecourt, Clyde Bellecourt, or Dick Bancroft, contact: Gary Prevost, Regional Committee, Box 6177, Collegeville, Minnesota 56321. Phone: (612) 363-2725 or (616) 274-5826.

— NELSON GONZÁLEZ

Support widens for Feb. 27 march on Ft. Bragg

BY KATE DAHER

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. — On February 12 another 466 Salvadoran troops, many of them teenagers, arrived at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, to begin ten weeks of Special Forces training. Another 600 officers are being trained at Ft. Benning, Georgia.

About 185 U.S. soldiers are now assigned to train the Salvadoran soldiers.

A broad antiwar coalition is being organized in this state to protest the troops' arrival and to build a February 27 demonstration in Fayetteville, where Ft. Bragg is located.

The action is being sponsored by the February 27 Fort Bragg Coalition, and it has been endorsed — as part of a nationwide day of protest — by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

Nearly 100 people attended a February 15 conference in Chapel Hill sponsored by the Students Southern Activists Network. It voted to endorse the February 27 action as well as the national march on Washington called by CISPES for March 27.

In a keynote address Gail Phairis, a Maryknoll sister who worked as a missionary in the Atlantic Coast region of Nicaragua, blasted the Reagan administration's recent war moves against Central America.

Calling the Duarte government of El Salvador a "terrorist government," she told the conference, "if a government doesn't serve its people, the people have the right to change that government."

"If the American people clearly understood what was going on in El Salvador, they would not support the murder of women, students, professors, and peasants."

Pointing to the extreme poverty that the overwhelming majority of workers and peasants face in Central America, she said, "There is a revolution going on in El Salvador and Guatemala because there is a need for one. I say to Haig and Reagan, let Central America be Central America."

She also explained the need for antiwar forces in the United States to con-

tinue their defense of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Noting the gains of the Nicaraguan revolution, Phairis concluded, "I'm sure that the people of this country would want to support the Nicaraguan government with economic aid if they understood the truth."

Meanwhile, throughout the state committees are busy organizing educationals, vigils, and campus protests to build the February 27 action in Fayetteville. Organizing meetings are being held in Durham, Chapel Hill, Bonne,

Raleigh, Charlotte, Moore, and Greensboro. Buses are being chartered from Charlotte, North Carolina; Richmond, Virginia; and Columbia, South Carolina.

Many churches, student groups, and civil rights organizations have pledged their support for efforts aimed at getting the Salvadoran troops out of North Carolina.

Endorsers for the February 27 action include the Greensboro National Black Independent Political Party, American Friends Service Committee, Oxfam

America, Rev. Ben Chavis, Rep. Thomas Harkin of Iowa, Georgia State Senator Julian Bond, Rep. Don Dellums of California, and Atlanta Committee for Latin America.

Also, People's Anti-War Mobilization, CISPES, National Network in Solidarity with the Guatemalan People, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Communist Workers Party, and Boone Area National Organization for Women have endorsed.

The rally will begin in Pope Park in Fayetteville at 10 a.m. February 27.

Mel Mason backs Calif. antiwar protests

The following statement was released to the news media February 16 by Mel Mason, socialist city councilman in Seaside, California. Mason is running an independent campaign for governor of California.

A recently released news report of U.S. military "advisers" carrying M-16 rifles in combat areas in El Salvador exposes the real nature and intent of U.S. involvement in that country.

Millions of U.S. workers fear the so-called advisers are simply the first step toward the introduction of U.S. troops into El Salvador.

Just as in Vietnam, U.S. intervention in El Salvador would only be about proping up an unpopular and brutal dictatorship against the will of the majority of people.

As a candidate for governor of California, I pledge to make opposition to any such involvement a major focus of my campaign.

The young people in the state of California must not be used as cannon fodder. One hundred thousand (50 percent) of California's eighteen-year-olds refused to register for the draft last year. My campaign is opposed to the draft and to draft registration.

I salute the decision of these young people not to fight and die in a war that is not in their interests.

Here in Seaside, at Fort Ord, there are

many soldiers who feel the same way — especially young Black and Latino GIs. Many of these GIs have joined the army to try to escape from the joblessness, poor education, racism, and poverty they were facing.

These GIs have no stake in being dragged into a war against their brothers and sisters in El Salvador. Like them, the Salvadoran young people are struggling for a better society and the right to determine their own destiny.

The Reagan administration tries to make us believe that the rebel forces in El Salvador represent a minority of Salvadorans. But what worries the U.S. rulers are the recent rebel successes — made possible precisely because of the popular support they enjoy.

Despite massive amounts of U.S. military aid pumped into the Duarte regime, including fighter bombers of the type used in Vietnam, the rebels continue to make progress.

The Reagan administration offers up the lie that Cuban arms, military advisers, and troops are in El Salvador. But not one shred of proof has ever been presented to back up these false accusations. This is because no such evidence exists.

This talk of "Cuban aggression" is used to cover up the real source of the struggle in El Salvador — the struggle against years of exploitation and poverty at the hands of businessmen and

landlords backed by the U.S. government.

My campaign for governor stands for an end to all U.S. intervention in El Salvador. I say, "Not one cent, not one gun, not one soldier to the dictatorship in El Salvador."

I also call on all Californians to march in the West Coast demonstration on March 27 — part of the nationally called antiwar actions to protest the training of Salvadoran soldiers at U.S. army bases, and against U.S. involvement in El Salvador.

We must make our voices heard to prevent another Vietnam in Central America.



Mel Mason

Militant/Andy Rose

Labor figures hail Solidarity, hit Reagan hypocrisy on Poland

While the top leadership of the AFL-CIO has responded to the imposition of martial law in Poland by organizing demonstrations to back President Reagan's anticommunist campaign, other figures in the U.S. labor movement have spoken out against Washington's hypocritical "support" for the workers of Poland, contrasting it to U.S. support for dictatorships around the world and the antilabor drive here in the United States.

Last week's *Militant* carried coverage of a February 6 rally on Poland held in New York. This week we are printing excerpts from remarks by two of the labor speakers at that rally, Sam Meyers, president of United Auto Workers Local 259, and Ben Zemsky, a national organizer for the American Postal Workers Union.

We are also reprinting excerpts from a speech by Ed Sadlowski, who in 1977 ran as the Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for president of the United Steelworkers Union. The speech was given January 5 and is reprinted from *65 News*, the paper of Steelworkers Local 65 in Chicago. Sadlowski also spoke at the February 6 New York rally.

Sam Meyers

We are here tonight to bear testimony to one basic truth. That the working class, and the direction of the working class in any country of the world, will most profoundly affect the society of that country and the quality of that country.

We're here tonight to say that as far as we are concerned, we would like to see martial law lifted in Poland. We want to see a free trade union movement. We want to see the leadership of the Solidarity movement out of jail.

Let's talk about PATCO [the air traffic controllers union] here in this country. I want to talk about PATCO a little because when the brothers and sisters of PATCO went out on strike, Reagan fired them because they were engaging in a so-called illegal strike.

But to make it even worse, Reagan defined the PATCO strike [as] a foreign affairs situation when he said, "If we let them get away with this, how do we look to the rest of the world?" This big bully boy wants to show the rest of the world that he can take on 11,000 families and destroy them to show that he takes no shit from nobody.

But that's only the beginning. Brothers and sisters, we have a choice to make. And a choice of methods. Shall we become part of the foreign policy of Reagan and Haig, or shall we pledge that we insist upon free workers movements all over the world?

In El Salvador . . . we don't want to be part of Reagan's scheme. In South Africa the labor leaders are being put into jail and isolated from the workers that they represent. We don't want to be part of that.

In Turkey today fifty-two labor leaders are being tried for their lives, not just for jail, by a martial government, a martial law government that stands up and says "We oppose the martial law in Poland but. . ."

And in Guatemala and in Chile and in Argentina, all over the world, the United States supports those kind of dictatorships trying to destroy labor movements all over.

All over the world we're for workers control. We're for decent free labor movements.

Brothers and sisters, tonight we haven't forgotten that corporate America is attending the labor movement. It sees, like all corporate powers all over the world see, an opportunity to destroy

the movement that will make and help transform society.

We must join to see that the labor movement not only survives in Poland, but survives in our country, survives wherever working people want to organize and want to control and have a say in their country.

All of us must join together in that effort wherever we are. And if we do that, some day soon we shall see the kind of governments in which all of us will share.

Ben Zemsky

The speakers before me have alluded to the fact that in America there is a lot of support for Polish Solidarity, from the extreme right to the extreme left.

You are well aware whenever you pick up a newspaper now or listen to a news broadcast you will find somebody who never gave a damn about any labor union praising the heroic struggle of the Polish workers.

You find them among the most reactionary politicians, you find them in the National Association of Manufacturers, in the various Chambers of Commerce — every one of them singing "Solidarity Forever," for Poles, not for America. We have a lot of strange bedfellows.

I am envious of the fact that, of 35 million people in Poland, 10 million are members of Solidarity.

Almost 30 percent of that nation belongs to the movement. Can you imagine if 30 percent of the American working people — workers, laborers, farmers — came together in one Solidarity movement? Do you know what that would do to all the lovers of Polish Solidarity, to the National Association of Manufacturers, to the Chamber of Commerce, to the people in the White House and the State Department?

Can you imagine . . . if the leader of 70 million Americans in Solidarity said, "We will have a general strike"? What would the Solidarity-lovers of America do then? They'd cry help. They'd call out the troops, the National Guard, the Marines, and the Air Force. They'd put tanks in front of General Motors . . . U.S. Steel.

They used troops in 1970 when the postal workers went on strike. But there were too many of [the strikers]. So they won.

But there were only 11,000 in PATCO. So they used scabs. True scabs. They deprived them not only of their living, but their dignity.

But, more than that, they deprived all of American labor. And I say to you that if PATCO workers are not restored to their jobs, the little freedom that we all have as unionists, public and private, will be dissipated. And we will have only ourselves to blame.

So I want to echo the remarks of the previous speakers. Let us sing "Solidarity Forever" in Poland and also in America, together. Let's restore these people [to their jobs]. Let's fight for the rights of all American workers, too. And let's be inspired by Polish Solidarity people.

Let's just not praise them, but let us fight.

Ed Sadlowski

I believe in the last half century there have been two significant social movements throughout the world. The first was in the U.S. when the CIO was built in the mid-30s. When millions of people, working people, joined the ranks of organized labor and broke their chains of oppression against bosses who wanted to rule them continuously. Bosses who put down very oppressive hours and conditions of employment. Bosses who held you in subservience to the point where you were really a tool of the man you worked for.

Forty years later in a shipyard in Gdansk, the same issues were very prevalent. Workers laid down their tools and took over the factories, the same as workers did in Flint, in 1936. The parallels are there, the issues are the same, the oppression is just as equal. And workers in my opinion will prevail in Poland, just as they did in this country.

There's no time in my life when I have been more proud to be a member of the laboring class than I have been in the last eighteen months, by virtue of the solidarity projected by workers in Poland, and by the issues they have projected.

The right to speak out, the right to free elections, the right of who should be master, the right to say just how a worker should govern his own life. Those issues are very basic for freedom loving men and women regardless of where they exist.

The one thing that has goaded me, and helped prompt me to come down here and speak, is that I now see a lot of people come out of the woodwork and support the Polish worker and solidarity. People in this country who basically have their ties with Chase Manhattan Bank, and the banking institutions. People in this country who really don't concern themselves with workers. People who are using the Polish issue as something to try and grab the emotions of the American public.

People like Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter who never have said a word about shipyard workers in Newport News, Virginia, who were striking on the same issues. Who were having the same dogs, and police, and waterhoses turned on them. But as soon as Polish workers went on strike, Reagan became a champion of labor overnight, as long as it existed 6,000 miles away.

Someone asked me recently "Why are you for Polish workers, it really doesn't concern you, here we are living half a world away." Well it concerns me when workers are on strike, wherever they are.

I have found that the worker's instinct is the best instinct in the world. I have found when a worker has that yoke put upon him, or that whip put on his back he'll rise up. And that's exactly

Blacks host forum on Polish events

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — A panel discussion was held here February 12 on "The Crisis in Poland."

Sponsored by the Spirit of Life, a group of Black activists, the meeting featured an exchange of views on the events in Poland. Speakers came from the National Black Independent Political Party, Socialist Workers Party, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Communist Workers Party, and the Bolshevik League.

Socialist Workers Party representative Martin Koppel, who visited Poland last fall, described the fight by workers and farmers there as a struggle for socialist democracy. He explained that capitalism was overturned in Poland long ago, and that he hadn't found a single member of Solidarity who thought the country should go back to that system.

Koppel blasted as "anticommunist" the demonstrations on Poland called by the AFL-CIO. These actions, he said, are in solidarity with the U.S. State Department and not with the Polish workers. They aid the U.S. government's moves toward war in Central America and efforts to strangle the Soviet and Polish workers states through economic sanctions.

Kabili Tayari, from the National Black Independent Political Party chapter in Jersey City, said his chapter considers Poland an important issue and has been discussing it. He condemned Reagan's hypocritical "support" for de-



Reagan jailed striking air controllers while claiming support to Polish unionists. Above, PATCO leader Steve Wallaert in chains.

what the Polish worker is doing.

I'm here tonight to ask you to support the American worker. I'm here to ask you to support every worker in the world who is oppressed.

And I think by virtue of us joining together, raising our voices and shouting out loud and clear; we can make a change in this world. We can make a change that will not only benefit this generation, but generations to come. I think that's exactly what the issue is in Poland, and I think that's what the issue has always been.

mocratic rights in Poland, pointing to the oppression of Black people in the United States. Tayari also spoke in support of the liberation struggles in Central America, the Caribbean, and Africa.

A speaker from the Communist Workers Party described the Solidarity union as pro-socialist. She stated that the CWP hoped the ruling Polish United Workers Party would "rectify its mistakes" and that Solidarity would join that government.

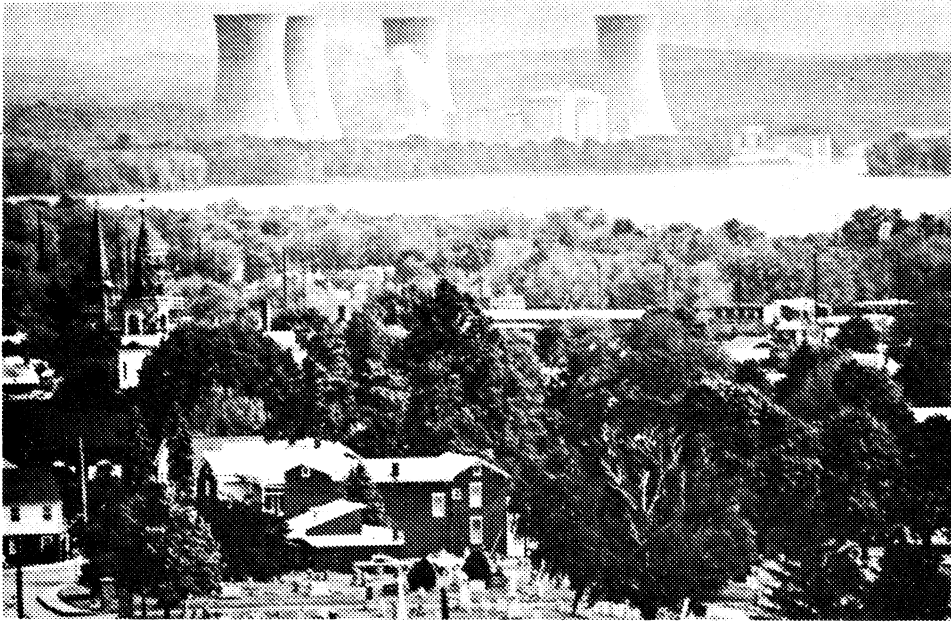
The representative of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee argued that the Polish events show a "dictatorship of the proletariat" is inherently "totalitarian."

The Bolshevik League speaker, who claimed to support Solidarity, stated that Poland is a capitalist country, as is every country in the world, including the Soviet Union since the death of Joseph Stalin.

The debate continued in the discussion period, which took up such questions as the class nature of the Polish, Cuban, and other workers states; the relationship of the Polish workers' struggle to the anti-imperialist movements in Central America; and the role Blacks play in the fight against imperialism and for socialism in the United States.

The Communist Party and the Workers World Party — both of which support the martial law crackdown in Poland — were invited to speak at the meeting but declined.

New dangers arise at Three Mile Island



Three Mile Island nuclear plant near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

BY KATHERINE SOJOURNER

HARRISBURG, Pa. — General Public Utilities (GPU), the owner of the Three Mile Island (TMI) nuclear power plant, faces a new obstacle in its drive to restart the undamaged Unit 1 reactor.

GPU announced February 10 that corrosion damage in the steam generator tubes is so widespread that it could take a year or more to repair, and poses a threat to the reactor vessel itself.

Eight thousand to 10,000 of the 31,000 heat exchange tubes in the steam generator are corroded. These tubes carry hot, pressurized radioactive water from the reactor to the steam generators.

Corrosion is a common problem in nuclear plants, but the problem at TMI is unusual because the number of tubes involved is so large, and because the corrosion seems to be working its way from the inside of the tubes outward.

Seepage from the leaky tubes was first discovered in November. This seepage was diluted with water and discharged into the Susquehanna River.

Estimated repair costs for the Unit 1 tubes is between \$60 million and \$100 million.

On March 28, 1979, Three Mile Island was the site of the worst nuclear accident in U.S. history. The Unit 2 reactor was severely damaged, forcing over 150,000 people to evacuate the area. The Unit 1 reactor was shut down for refueling at the time, and has been shut down since.

GPU has had an uphill battle for three years to restart Unit 1 and continue with the dangerous use of nuclear power. Majority public sentiment, demonstrations, lawsuits, and a growing movement against restart have kept the plant closed, despite the nuclear industry's money and power, and GPU's massive media campaign to convince the population that restart of Unit 1 will mean "reliable, dependable" energy.

A particularly sore point with central Pennsylvanians is the cleanup of Unit 2. Virtually no progress has been made in the cleanup of that extremely dangerous crippled reactor. GPU is unwilling to put its resources and profits into a cleanup campaign.

On February 10, GPU reported a ground-water monitor outside Unit 2 was picking up readings of radioactive tritium that were 200 times higher than previous recordings. Robert Arnold, president of GPU Nuclear Corporation, said the contamination may be due to fifty to sixty gallons of radioactive water that spilled on that spot in January when a water pipe froze and cracked.

Coming on top of tube corrosion and increased tritium levels, the announcement by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission this week on "acceptable" American deaths from reactor accidents was a damning indictment of nuclear power.

The NRC proposed a so-called safety goal on February 11 that accepts the possible deaths of 13,000 Americans from reactor accidents during the next thirty years. The NRC proposal is being offered for ninety days of public comment that will include three or four hearings around the country.

This is another blatant example of trading off lives, safety, and health for the profits of the nuclear industry.

Also on February 11, the Dauphin County commissioners (Dauphin County includes Harrisburg) voted to include a referendum on Three Mile Island on the May 18 primary ballot. The non-binding county referendum will read, "Do you favor restarting TMI Unit 1, which was not involved in the accident on March 28, 1979?"

As the third anniversary of the near-meltdown at TMI approaches, the restart and cleanup of Units 1 and 2 are topics of widespread discussion. Local antinuclear organizations are planning various activities to commemorate the anniversary. The theme of these activities will be, "We've kept it shut for three years. We're going to keep it shut forever."

What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power

By Fred Halstead

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

S.F. women's rights march, rally set

SAN FRANCISCO — The seventh annual "Day in the Park for Women's Rights" will be held here in Golden Gate Park on March 6 to commemorate International Women's Day.

This traditional event will have special importance this year, given the intensified bipartisan attacks on women's rights coming down from Washington.

The rally will focus on five issues: ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); defense of abortion rights; against the reactionary, so-called Family Protection Act; for affirmative action and equal pay for work of comparable value; and against the Reagan budget of war and austerity.

A highlight of the rally will be a talk by Maxine Jenkins of the California Nurses Association. Jenkins is one of the leaders of a hard-fought strike by 1,300 nurses taking place in Santa Clara County. The nurses are fighting for comparable pay with men for comparable work.

Other speakers at the rally will include: Deirdre English, executive editor of *Mother Jones* magazine; former White House aide Midge Costanza; Cheryl Dalton of Mormons for the ERA; Liz Rigali from the War Resisters League; a representative of the Committee to Defend Reproductive Rights; and a representative of the Salvadoran Association of Women.

The planning of the event has generated wide-ranging debates and discussions inside the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW), the main initiator of the Day in the Park activities. These discussions have raised broader questions of strategy for the women's rights struggle.

The debate arose over the seemingly noncontroversial question of whether NOW should build a march to the rally, as it successfully did last year.

Some members of the chapter argued that the extra effort it would take to build the march should be directed instead solely toward the ERA.

They believe that feminists should "work within the system" and concentrate on national NOW's Message Brigade campaign, which consists of gathering names of people who will send postcards to "key" legislators in states that have not ratified the ERA.

Many of the proponents of the march say they are fed up with sending postcards, and with "turncoat" Democrats who promise to support the ERA and then vote against it.

They noted that the legislators, just like everyone else, see the polls indicating majority support for the ERA, and yet have gone right ahead and voted against it anyway. So what's the good of postcards?

The march is seen as a good way to help build a broad women's liberation movement that can fight back against all the government's attacks — including both the ERA and abortion.

March supporters want to use it to

reach out to other victims of Reagan's policies — the trade unions, the Black and Latino communities, the draft-age youth, and antiwar forces — to invite them to come with their own banners and slogans and to show their support for women's rights.

The march is being organized by an ad hoc March For Women's Rights Committee, which includes NOW members and a spectrum of other organizations and individuals. The abortion rights committee of San Francisco NOW is actively building it.

Women from three rail union locals

are also building for the march, as well as a new organization called Women's Committee on Central America. In addition, the Bay Area chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party and the East Bay Coalition of Labor Union Women recently endorsed the march and rally.

The march will assemble at 10 a.m. at Civic Center and march to the rally site at the Golden Gate Park bandshell. For more information on the march call (415) 885-0504 or (415) 641-5528. For information on the rally call the NOW office (415) 386-4232.

Brazilian labor leader tours United States and Canada

BY DIANE WANG

NEW YORK — The leader of the trade-union struggle in Brazil spoke to a reception hosted here February 11 by the Almagamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

Luís Inácio da Silva — better known as Lula — explained the fight of Brazil's workers to organize not only militant unions, but a labor party. He is currently the Workers Party candidate for governor of the state of São Paulo.

Responding to a question about Brazil's Workers Party and its example for North American unions, Lula explained:

"Historically, we were used to thinking that the working class should not engage itself in political activity. Or that it should do it only at the time of elections, as an electoral aid to our bosses.

"We will never be able to have an effective democratic government as long as labor doesn't fight, not only for trade unions, but for political power."

"After all," he explained, "the housing question is a political decision; transportation is a political decision; foreign policy is a political decision. We have no choice but to participate politically."

"Our perspective is not to simply support and aid candidates of the middle class to represent the working class, but rather to have workers represent themselves."

Brazilian workers came to these conclusions after fierce battles over the last four years. Since 1978, the metalworkers of Lula's union have been involved in massive strike struggles against General Motors, Volkswagen, and other big multinational corporations with plants in Brazil.

In 1980, the autoworkers of São Paulo carried out a forty-one day strike that involved some 325,000 workers in solidarity strikes. As a result, Lula and other leaders were victimized under Brazil's labor laws, which are patterned after those of fascist Italy. Currently, Lula and ten others are appealing their second conviction in military courts.

But, as Lula pointed out, workers in all countries face similar problems. North American trade unions, too, are under pressure. "The economic crisis and lack of respect for labor are making American workers feel in their skins what their grandfathers felt in the 1920s. Reagan will make the labor unions raise themselves and take positions as they did after 1929."

Unionists "must become aware that all positions we take at a local level will have repercussions in another country," Lula pointed out. As he explained in response to a question, "Sometimes we discuss things in such a way as to blame other people. The biggest problem is not Japanese cars, not German products. The biggest problem is the hundreds of industrialists closing doors and going to countries where military governments guarantee the workers will be docile.

"When is that going to end? The day when American workers have a government that represents not economic powers but the workers."

Wearing a Solidarity union button, Lula blasted Reagan for his hypocrisy on Poland. "Reagan declares solidarity with Solidarity and at the same time fires the striking air controllers," Lula charged. "At the same time they are showing the situation of the Gdansk workers twenty-four hours a day, they don't show the situation of workers in Chile, of workers in Argentina. They don't show the brutality in El Salvador, the killings in Guatemala."

The meeting took place as Reagan began a major escalation of U.S. involvement in the El Salvador war. Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of ACTWU, and Ed Gray, district director of United Auto Workers Region 9, both pointed to labor opposition that had been organized against the Vietnam War. Gray announced a February 27 meeting being held in Newark by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

The ACTWU meeting capped a nine-day tour of the United States and Canada by Lula to meet with union leaders.

W. Va. socialists nominate for '82 race



Adrienne Benjamin and William Hovland, Socialist Workers nominees in West Virginia.

BY ALYSON KENNEDY

MORGANTOWN, W. Va. — Working people of West Virginia will have an alternative in this year's elections. Supporters of William Hovland and Adrienne Benjamin met in Morgantown on January 31 at a statewide meeting to organize the election campaign of working class candidates.

Hovland, candidate for U.S. Senate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, is running against Senator Robert Byrd, Democrat, and Congressman Cleve Benedict, Republican. Hovland, from Granville, West Virginia, is a coal miner and member of United Mine Workers of America Local 2095.

Benjamin, one of thousands of laid off autoworkers and chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance in Charleston, is the candidate for U.S. Congress in the 3rd District.

Hovland explained to the statewide gathering, "It is clear to millions of American workers what Reaganism means for us and the future of our children. And just as clear is that we can not depend on the representatives of the De-

mocratic and Republican parties to fight for us in Congress. Look at my opponents. Both Byrd and Benedict supported the Reagan budget last year. Senate Minority Leader Byrd played a key role in getting the Democratic Party to back the cuts.

"Byrd is now taking some pot shots at Reagan's 'New Federalism,' but he offers no fundamentally different proposals. Benedict, heir to Proctor and Gamble, has backed Reagan down the line.

"The government will never carry out real solutions to solve this economic disaster facing working people. Providing jobs for all, halting the massive amount of money funneled into the war budget, or fighting for full equality for women and Blacks runs right up against the profits of the big corporations."

Hovland continued, "The Socialist Workers Party supports the formation of a labor party and the fight for a workers government. If the bosses' government won't carry out measures to solve the problems we face, it must be replaced. To carry through this fight, workers will need a political party, our own party, that can challenge the control of the government by the rich."

"Put working people in Congress." This is the message that Hovland, Benjamin, and their supporters will carry all over West Virginia.

On March 6 campaign supporters will begin a four-week, statewide petitioning drive to get ballot status for Hovland and Benjamin. The law requires that 4,900 signatures of registered voters be gathered for the Senate position and 1,700 for Congress. Campaign supporters plan to get far more than the required number in order to make it more difficult to be ruled off the ballot. If they succeed, it will be the first time since 1936 that socialists have appeared on the ballot in the state.

It was after socialists began to get elected to public office in this state in the early 1900s that the election laws were rewritten to make it almost impossible for working class candidates to appear on the ballot. In 1980 a lawsuit filed jointly by the Libertarian Party, Citizens Party, and SWP was able to win changes in the election laws. Until this victory, independent candidates were forced to pay exorbitant filing fees, and the petitioning requirements were even more restrictive.

Although the Hovland-Benjamin campaign expects to get a good response from workers in West Virginia, obtaining ballot status will still be a hard fight. Neither the Democratic or Republican parties will want candidates on the ballot that are going to seriously challenge them.

The Senate race will be of national importance. It has been estimated that Byrd and Benedict will spend up to \$12.7 million on this campaign. The National Political Conservative Action Committee, a moral majority type group, has singled Byrd out for defeat.

The Hovland-Benjamin campaign committee will be forming a "Fair Ballot Committee." All people of West Virginia who support their right to be on the ballot will be asked to add their name to this committee.

This will be the third election campaign for the Socialist Workers Party in West Virginia. In 1978, Linda May Flint ran for U.S. Senate, and Tom Moriarty ran for governor in 1980.

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

Grand Opening of Mel Mason for Governor Campaign Headquarters. Speaker: Mel Mason, Socialist city councilman in Seaside, Calif., and independent candidate for governor of California. Open house, food, music. Sat., Feb. 20, 6-10 p.m. 7:30 program. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. (near Vermont Ave.). Ausp: Mel Mason for Governor Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Cops stonewall on SWP libel suit

BY MATT HERRESHOFF

The New York cops are attempting to stonewall a \$106 million lawsuit charging them and Associated Press (AP) with libel and attempting to disrupt the Socialist Workers Party.

The socialists filed suit after AP ran a story linking the SWP with the holdup of a Brinks armored car in Rockland County, New York, last fall. The story was carried prominently in newspapers from coast to coast.

The AP story claimed that "FBI spokesman Joe Valiquette . . . said the bureau had determined" that Judith Clark, one of those arrested in the Brinks holdup, "is now a figure in the Socialist Workers Party." A "corrective," issued by AP the next day, attributed the information to New York Police Commissioner Robert McGuire. Both the cops and the FBI now deny having made the statement.

This kind of smear job is a standard method used by the political police to disrupt political groups.

The socialists' first legal move in their suit against this disruption effort was to file written questions, called "interrogatories," with the cops and AP.

AP has not yet answered. But the cops have. Their answers are revealing — not for what they say, but for what they refuse to say.

The police deny passing the slanderous story about the Brinks holdup to AP.

But have they ever passed informa-

tion about the SWP to the press? Have they ever planted stories about the socialists? These interrogatories the cops refuse to answer, saying each question "is objected to as overly broad and not relevant to the questions at issue."

The cops deny that they have ever carried out disruption operations against the SWP. Asked if they view the SWP as "subversive," or "terrorist," or "a threat to the national security," they answer "No."

But do they spy on, wiretap, bug, burglarize or use informers against the SWP? Do they keep files on the party or its members? Do they collaborate with the FBI or other secret police agencies in going after the socialists? Again, the cops "object" to these questions.

In earlier legal papers, the cops asserted that "the injuries alleged by the plaintiffs were caused in whole or in part by and arose out of plaintiffs' culpable conduct." In other words, if the socialists were linked with the Brinks holdup, it is because they are guilty.

On what evidence do the cops base this remarkable statement? Once again, they refuse to answer.

The SWP's attorneys submitted thirty-seven different questions to the police about their disruption operations against the socialists. The cops refused to answer all but three.

The socialists are not the only group to be targeted by the cops around the Brinks holdup. The government attempt-

ed to use the robbery to whip up a massive hysterical campaign against so-called "terrorists." The chief target of this campaign has been the Black movement.

Dozens of Black activists have been singled out under the pretext of the Brinks holdup. Many have been jailed on frame-up charges. Some, like former Black Panther Sekou Odinga (Nathaniel Burns), were brutally beaten by the cops.

Fulani Sunni Ali (Cynthia Boston), a member of the Republic of New Africa, was arrested when her farm in Mississippi was raided by 150 cops with three armored vehicles and two helicopters. Ali was initially denied the right to an attorney when her lawyer, Chokwe Lumumba, was also branded a "terrorist."

The police frame-up of Ali collapsed when she proved she was in New Orleans — 2,000 miles away — at the time of the Brinks holdup.

The SWP's lawsuit is an important challenge to this campaign.

Attorneys for the SWP are now seeking a court order to force the cops to answer the questions they have tried to evade. These answers, and further legal moves being mapped out by the socialists, will help to further expose the government's frame-up campaign around the Brinks robbery. And they will also reveal more facts about the role of the cops and AP in the government's ongoing war against political rights.

Unionists back socialist's deportation fight



Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh

BALTIMORE, Md. — Leading unionists in this city are throwing their support behind Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, a twenty-year-old Iranian student, in her battle to remain in this country.

Earl Keihl, director of United Furniture Workers District 4, will headline a February 21 rally here supporting her fight. Other featured speakers include air traffic controllers' leader Gary Wolfe, and Rosa Lemon, vice-president of International Association of Machinists Lodge 1784.

Hariri-Vijeh is the target of a year-long deportation effort by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). She was targeted for deportation because of her membership in the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

Last month, an INS judge found Hariri-Vijeh "deportable as charged," and ordered her to leave the country by June 15. The INS judge claimed that Hariri-Vijeh's political views have nothing to do with the deportation effort.

But this claim is shown to be a lie: the INS first approached Hariri-Vijeh on

February 24, 1981 — just nineteen days after she joined the YSA.

The Baltimore rally is part of a national campaign to win support for Hariri-Vijeh's fight against this victimization.

Eleven leading participants in a February 13-14 anti-Klan conference sent messages protesting the INS decision. These include longtime civil rights activist Anne Braden; NAACP Regional Director Dr. Emmett Burns; Black leader Manning Marable; and Ann Sheppard, a victim of the Wilmington 10 frame-up.

Union leaders, such as Ronald Hollie, president of District 1199E, Hospital Workers Union, have also joined in this national protest campaign.

More such protests are needed to stop the deportation of Hariri-Vijeh. The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is organizing support for Hariri-Vijeh's case, is asking that protests be sent to: Commissioner, Immigration & Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C., 20536.

Please send copies to: PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y., 10003.

The development of Nicaragua's revolutionary government

Below we are reprinting a short excerpt from a new book, *Nicaragua: The Sandinist Revolution*, by Henri Weber. It was originally published in France in 1981. The English translation, published in Britain by New Left Books, is not yet available in the United States. We are taking these excerpts from the November 1981 issue of the British socialist magazine *International*.

Weber is a former leader of the Fourth International and of the French Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), as well as a former editor of the LCR's theoretical magazine, *Critique Communiste*.

Footnotes are by the *Militant*.

'The Sandinist Revolution'

BY HENRI WEBER

At first sight, the government establishment in Managua on 20 July 1979 seemed to hold out every guarantee to the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie and its international allies.

The Government of National Reconstruction and the staff of the various ministries included a great number of reputable figures: Roberto Mayorga Cortes, former general secretary of the Central American Common Market and now minister of planning; Noel Rivas Gasteasoro, ex-president of the Chamber of Commerce, a prominent member of the Conservative Party, and minister of industry; Manuel José Torres, a big Christian Democrat landowner now presiding over the destinies of agriculture; and Bernardino Laríos, a former colonel of the National Guard involved in a murky coup affair in 1978, who was of course minister of defence.

A newly-adopted Code of the Rights and Safeguards of Nicaraguan Citizens was not a whit inferior to the Code of the Swiss Confederation.¹ And the "Fundamental Law of the State," a preconstitutional document, was inspired by principles dear to the founding fathers of North American democracy. FSLN representatives held only three of the eighteen ministerial posts, and the June 1979 agreements between the various resistance groups envisaged that they would also be a small minority in the future Council of State.

In reality, of course, both executive and legislative power resided in the Government Junta of National Reconstruction (JGRN), where the FSLN had an effective majority despite the presence of Violetta Chamorro and Alfonso Robelo, since Sergio Ramírez, a 39-year-old writer and doctor in law, representing the "Group of Twelve,"² and Moises Hassan, a 38-year-old doctor in mathematics of Palestinian origin, representing the MPU,³ both fully supported the

positions of the FSLN. However, it was anticipated that general elections, due as soon as possible, would allow the situation to be normalised.

A huge public sector was created. But JGRN Decree No. 3 restricted nationalisations to the financial system, mining, and fisheries, as well as industrial, agricultural, and commercial enterprises belonging to Somozists. The private sector still largely held sway, and no fetters were placed on its activity. Indeed, the FSLN ordered all citizens to hand in the arms they had seized from the National Guard barracks in July.⁴ It was time for reconstruction.

Impressed by all these timely gestures, the Inter-American Development Bank granted Nicaragua a \$500 million loan to be spread over three years, with \$200 million available at once. The episcopal conference voiced its enthusiastic support, and exhorted all Christians to work hard. The Socialist International started collecting funds.

"Implacable in struggle, generous in victory": the FSLN seemed to be applying Sandino's motto to the letter, not only in its humane treatment of former Somozist guardsmen, but above all in its relations with the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, which, rights and property guaranteed, was given a significant place in the state administration.

Indeed, so generous was the FSLN that there was reason to wonder whether history was about to play another of its tricks, whether the anti-Somozist bourgeoisie, which Carter had vainly tried to hoist into power, would eventually carry the day through the derailing of the Sandinist revolution. Once the initial euphoria had passed and the country began to confront its enormous difficulties, would not the anti-Somozist bourgeoisie gradually impose a Portuguese-type solution? Might it not superintend a modernisation of the Nicaraguan society and State within the orbit of North American imperialism, merely rationalising the model of neo-colonial development with its growing inequalities, its oppression of the masses, and its incapacity for nationally-centred growth?

Would this Castroist-led revolution, which had triumphed at the cost of untold suffering and sacrifice, be taken over, as had so often happened, by its age-old enemies and last-minute converts?

A number of doctrinaire leftist currents, both in Nicaragua and abroad, did believe that this would happen, and they accused the FSLN of "construction of a bourgeois society and state without Somoza." Thus James Petras, who dubbed the Terceristas⁵ Social Democrats, went so far as to prophesy: "Nevertheless, this regime will be unable to solve any of the fundamental problems of the masses. On the contrary, in order to curry favour with its outside benefactors, it will have to demobilise the masses, limit change, and demand sacrifices, while restructuring the old class society — thus provoking mass protest.

groups, and political organizations that supported the FSLN's call for insurrection. Under FSLN leadership, the MPU helped to organize the 1979 uprisings in Managua and other cities.

4. It should be noted that this was a measure, supported by the *Militant*, aimed at arming the population in an organized fashion through the establishment of a people's militia. This militia now involves tens of thousands of Nicaraguans through their factories, neighborhoods, villages, and schools.

5. The Tercerista (Third) Tendency, also known as the Insurreccional Tendency, was one of the three factions into which the FSLN split in the mid-1970s. The three factions reunited and were dissolved in the months leading up to the 1979 insurrection.

"In these circumstances, the petty-bourgeois regime will resort to the old ploy of attacking counter-revolutionary forces of the extreme right and left. But in effect this will be a transitional regime facilitating a drift to the right — in much the same way that the Soares regime in Portugal was used as a means of stopping the revolutionary drift to the left and eventually discarded for an outright rightist regime."

More serious, and therefore more finely nuanced, was the position of Jorge G. Castaneda, a Mexican Marxist economist. In his view, the FSLN's conciliatory attitude to the capitalists would increasingly demobilise the masses and strengthen both the bourgeoisie and bourgeois pressure on the FSLN. Blinkered by an "economistic" approach to the problems of transition, the Sandinistas were not paying sufficient attention to the existence of antagonistic classes. But as always, the class struggle would take its revenge on the FSLN itself, which would be shaken by "a real class struggle between bourgeois and revolutionary tendencies."

"We are not referring," Castaneda made clear, "either to the problem of the old tendencies within the Front, whose unity is by now firmly established, or to the fact that there are individuals of bourgeois origin in the Front. . . . The point is that different political lines, representing antagonistic class interests, coexist within the Sandinist Front. And their coexistence is by no means peaceful: the two lines are irreconcilable; of necessity one must prevail over the other." Unlike Petras, however, Castaneda was confident that the revolutionary wing would emerge victorious.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International showed greater prudence and optimism in its declaration of October 1979.⁶ "The nature and history of the FSLN leadership, as well as its role in the first phase of this revolution, show that it would be an error to draw an a priori limit beyond which decisive sectors of the FSLN cannot go as the process of permanent revolution unfolds."

The declaration characterised the situation in Nicaragua as a peculiar type of dual power: the FSLN controlled the coercive state apparatus, but the bourgeoisie retained considerable power in the economy and the state administration. Nevertheless, the United Secretariat

went on: "It is not the case that two centralised powers confront each other (as in the Russian Revolution, where there was a potential conflict between Kerensky's Provisional Government and the Soviets); and the final outcome will not be decided through a central confrontation between two powers. In Nicaragua, as in Cuba in 1959, 'real power' is in the hands of the Sandinistas and if the process continues to follow the same dynamic, further political developments may well be a question more of form than of essential content."

Now, even if we bear in mind the predominance of the private sector in the economy, this "dual power" thesis has never seemed very convincing.

It correctly sought to emphasise the open-ended, contradictory character of the situation after July 1979. The bourgeoisie, it was said, retained such enormous power that it could halt the revolutionary process in its liberal-democratic phase, waiting, as in Portugal, for a strong-arm solution to ripen. And it was not certain that the FSLN would be prepared to counter bourgeois plans. The fate of the Nicaraguan revolution, then, was still an open matter. The bourgeois-democratic revolution might, as in Cuba, develop into a socialist revolution; or it might slide back in a neo-imperialist direction, as happened in Bolivia and Mexico. The compromise instituted after the victory over Somoza was highly unstable, and would inevitably lead to decisive class conflicts involving a redivision of power.

All these points are entirely relevant and have been confirmed in reality. Nonetheless, the concept of "dual power" does not seem to me applicable to the political situation during the first year after July 1979. For this concept refers precisely to situations in which two independently organised class powers confront one another: for example, the liberated against the occupied zones in China and Vietnam; or the federation of workers' councils against the Provisional Government resting on the Tsarist state apparatus in Russia between February and October 1917.

Dual power appears at the climax of a revolution when an autonomous bourgeois power resting on a state apparatus and, in particular, an armed force, stands opposed to a working-class counter-power in the process of organisation and centralisation. If the bourgeois power is still imposingly strong despite the intensity of the crisis, this is precisely because it controls the old state apparatus, which, though shaken, has by no



Intercontinental Press/Arnold Weissberg
Revolution in Nicaragua destroyed state apparatus of dictator Anastasio Somoza and built a revolutionary army and militia. Above: Sandinista troops during May Day 1981 celebration in Managua. Banner reads: 'The reaction will not succeed. The people will smash it.'



Intercontinental Press/Arnold Weissberg

Left: May Day 1981 celebration in Managua, Nicaragua. Billboard reads: 'Only the workers and peasants will go all the way. Only their organized strength will triumph.' Right: Russian revolution of 1917 gave the world the first example of a workers and peasants government in power, with the task still before it of constructing a workers state.

means collapsed. It is around this apparatus that the forces of reaction reorganise themselves. Destruction of this apparatus, above all its repressive bodies, is therefore a crucial task for the revolutionary movement. Unless it is achieved, there can be no revolutionary outcome to the situation of dual power.

Now, conditions in Nicaragua after 19 July 1979 were characterised by the actual destruction of the Somoquist state apparatus — and not only its military-police component. Functionaries and administrative personnel with an uneasy conscience took flight as soon as the dictatorship collapsed. Those who had not fled in time took refuge in various embassies, and 919 of these obtained safe-conduct out of the country in February 1980. What remained, then, of this bourgeois "second power," with no army, no police, no judicial apparatus, and no hierarchical body of functionaries? *We must not confuse "dual power" and the subordinate presence within the state of politically dominated classes.*

The bourgeois-democratic state, for example, is not a monolithic instrument in the hands of the ruling class. The relationship of class forces is refracted within the state.

The dominated classes, and non-hegemonic fractions of the ruling classes, also occupy positions within it. The bourgeois-democratic state is not merely the object, but the actual terrain of the class struggle. Its class nature does not refer to complete and undivided service of the dominant fraction of the dominant class, but to the fact that this fraction and this class occupy the strategic positions and real centres of power (which are not always designated as such), whereas the dominated classes occupy subaltern, mainly supervisory positions.⁷

In Nicaragua, most strategic points were occupied by the Sandinists on 19 July, and other such positions — in the administration and the economic apparatus — were taken over a few months later. The real centre of political power, both legislative and executive, has always been the National Directorate of the FSLN. One would have to be more than naive, for example, to imagine that ex-colonel of the National Guard Bernardino Larios actually controlled the Sandinist People's Army — an army composed of former guerrillas and partly structured according to their record of service.

This is not to say, however, that the

bourgeoisie's trusted men were there merely for show. By no means were all their posts purely honorific. Indeed, they enabled them to exert pressure on the real centres of power, to drag their heels, to place a force of inertia in the path of the revolutionary process, and to serve as a Trojan horse for the counter-revolution. These posts did not, however, enable them to promote an independent policy in the service of bourgeois class interests, or to mobilise the apparatuses of power for the implementation of such a policy.

It is true that the private sector was far more important than the public sector, and that there was no juridical barrier to the accumulation of capital. But this did not make it a situation of "dual power," not even a very peculiar or *sui generis* one. Conversely, the massive nationalisations and the existence of state planning do not make the economy socialist or transitional to socialism. The decisive questions are: Who commands the state? What dynamic does the relationship of class forces set in motion? If state power is in the hands of revolutionaries, and if they base themselves on mass mobilisation in order to counter the logic of profit and tailor economic policy to the basic needs of working people, then it is not of decisive significance that the private sector begins in a dominant, the public sector in a minority, position. For the dynamic thereby unleashed should soon reverse the relationship between the two.

There was no more a dual-power situation in the Nicaragua of 1979-80 than — to take the opposite case — there was in Germany and Austria in the twenties, when coalition governments were formed between bourgeois and Social Democratic parties, or in the France of 1945-57, with its Communist and Socialist ministers and its string of nationalisations.

Dual power — and to some extent even war communism — did arise in Nicaragua during the climactic insurrectionary phase of the revolution. Then, a workers' and peasants' counter-power, with its counter-administration (the CDCs),⁸ counter-justice and counter-army, really did stand opposed to the Somoquist regime. And it emerged victorious after a bloody 45-day trial of strength. The ensuing revolutionary power, dominated by the FSLN, set itself the goal of a transition to socialism

8. CDC — Civil Defense Committee. These were the committees that the FSLN organized in the neighborhoods of the major cities to carry out tasks related to the insurrection. Following the overthrow of the dictatorship, they were greatly expanded, nationally centralized, and renamed the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS).

in Nicaragua — the complete recasting of the political system and mode of production. Such a regime is what revolutionary Marxists term a "workers' and farmers' government."

'The Workers and Farmers Government'

The accompanying article by Henri Weber addresses a question of great interest and importance to fighters against imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation:

What was the character of the government brought to power by the victorious July 19, 1979, insurrection that toppled the hated Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua?

How to answer this question was the key political difference dividing participants in the 1979 World Congress of the Fourth International. The resolution adopted by the majority rejected recognizing the Nicaraguan regime as a workers and farmers government. Instead, it characterized the situation in Nicaragua as a "special kind of dual power," whose government was a "coalition with the bourgeoisie."

A large minority at the congress, including the fraternal delegates of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, presented a resolution rejecting the "dual power" characterization and recognizing the revolutionary regime in Nicaragua as a workers and farmers government.

This difference bore on other, related questions dividing the congress discussion on Nicaragua: the character and caliber of the Sandinista leadership, and of the leaderships of the Cuban and Grenadian revolutions, as well; the correct stance for the Fourth International on the Sandinistas' action in August 1979 expelling the non-Nicaraguan members of the adventurist Simón Bolívar Brigade from the country; how and whether other revolutionaries around the world should seek to emulate the Sandinistas; and the weight of Nicaragua and of Central America and the Caribbean in the world revolution.

The resolutions reflecting these differing points of view were published following the World Congress in a book of the major resolutions and reports discussed there.

Many of the historical and political questions involved in this discussion of the workers and farmers government were written about by Jo-

seph Hansen, a leader of the SWP and of the Fourth International who died in 1979, prior to the victory in Nicaragua.

Below, we are printing two items by Hansen: 1) excerpts from a July 26, 1970, letter to Robert Chester, another longtime SWP leader, who died in 1975; and 2) a 1978 introduction to an unfinished study by Chester on the workers and farmers government.

These two items are reprinted from the *Education for Socialists* publications: "The Workers and Farmers Government," by Joseph Hansen, and "Workers and Farmers Governments Since the Second World War," by Robert Chester. The accompanying advertisement provides information on how to order these publications, the book of World Congress reports and resolutions, and related materials.

In the first selection, Hansen comments on the following question posed to him by Chester: "Above all, what are the dynamics of a worker and peasant regime that make it the 'link in the revolutionary process'?"

What is involved is governmental power. A party or team that gains governmental power thereby gains the pos-

Continued on Page 13

Further reading on workers and farmers governments

The 1979 World Congress of the Fourth International: Major Reports and Resolutions. \$4.95

The Workers and Farmers Government, by Joseph Hansen. \$2.45

Workers and Farmers Governments Since the Second World War, by Robert Chester. \$1.45

The Nicaraguan Revolution, by Fred Murphy and Pedro Camejo. \$2.25

Nicaraguan Workers and Farmers Government, by Jack Barnes. \$1.75

Grenada Workers and Farmers Government, by Steve Clark. \$1.75

Proletarian Leadership in Power, by Mary-Alice Waters. \$1.75

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

7. Weber's theoretical framework in the preceding two paragraphs departs from the Marxist view of the state. As Lenin explains in *State and Revolution*, "According to Marx, the state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another."

Poland: how to advance strugg

A discussion of the Cuban leadership's position



Striking Polish workers gather at Lenin shipyard in Gdansk to hear Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. Solidarity was created by a spontaneous working-class rebellion that aroused all of Polish society.

BY DAVID FRANKEL

Events in Poland, particularly since the declaration of martial law there, have been the topic of considerable discussion among revolutionary fighters.

What are the forces responsible for the crisis in Poland? What social force can resolve the crisis? Does the crackdown by the Polish regime strengthen the defense of the Polish workers state against imperialism, or does it weaken it still further?

These questions are being discussed and debated throughout the world. How could it be otherwise?

One set of answers has been indicated by the revolutionary leadership in Cuba. Although there has been no government statement on the crisis in Poland, and no speeches by Fidel Castro or other Cuban Communist Party leaders on the subject, the Cuban CP daily *Granma* has provided readers with an orientation to these events.

Articles in *Granma*, written by Cuban press agency reporters from Warsaw, have expressed support for the declaration of martial law. *Granma* has also carried Polish and Soviet news agency dispatches.

Gain for imperialism?

Not surprisingly, the approach taken is in line with that indicated by Fidel in the main report to the Second Congress of the Cuban Communist Party held in December 1980. (See *Militant*, February 20, 1981.) That report characterized the events in Poland since the rise of Solidarity in August 1980 as a gain for imperialism. It said:

"What happened there was partly a result of imperialism's subversive policy. . . .

"The success that reaction has had there is eloquent testimony to the fact that a revolutionary Party in power cannot deviate from Marxist-Leninist principles, neglect ideological work and divorce itself from the masses."

Fidel avoided direct attacks on Solidarity, expressing hope that the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, the Polish Communist Party) would prove capable of resolving the crisis by "leaning on the healthy forces of the country and taking advantage of the enormous moral, patriotic, and revolutionary reserve of the working class."

But, he warned, "There is not the slightest question about the socialist

camp's right to save that country's integrity and ensure that it survives and resists at all costs imperialism's onslaught."

'Impending catastrophe'

Granma's coverage of the Polish crisis has been along these lines.

A December 13 Prensa Latina dispatch from Warsaw by Alcibiades Hidalgo reported on the imposition of martial law by paraphrasing Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's justification of this move.

"The extreme measure, stated the head of government, was adopted in accordance with the precepts of the Polish constitution and was provoked by the impending catastrophe that threatened the nation, a catastrophe that in recent weeks seemed closer each day to observers in this capital. . . .

"In the very center of the capital, the seat of the Solidarity organization in the Mazowsze region, which includes Warsaw, was occupied. Its leadership had played a central role in the resurgence of opposition actions this autumn, and supported the formation of openly anti-socialist political parties. . . .

"Strikes, strike preparations, and protest actions, [Jaruzelski] said, have become the norm of national life. Cases of terrorism and of physical and moral threats, as well as of direct violence, are multiplying. The nation has reached the limits of its capacity for resistance, he emphasized. . . .

"The opposition organization [Solidarity], on the other hand, had called protest demonstrations in the capital and principal cities for the following Thursday. These were prohibited by the authorities. In all probability there would have been confrontations with the police incited by Solidarity.

"It is necessary to block that confrontation, which Solidarity considers inevitable, emphasized Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski today."

Thus, the Cuban leaders felt that the leadership of Solidarity was in the hands of antisocialist elements and that Poland was on the brink of a confrontation that threatened to open wide the doors to imperialist destabilization and lead to the restoration of capitalism. As a result, they believe the crackdown was necessary and advisable.

In our view, this approach is wrong.

In looking at Poland, we have to start with the world proletarian revolution:

the fight to overturn capitalism, to advance the socialist revolution, and to defend every inch of ground already conquered against imperialism's unceasing counterattacks.

Defense of the workers states against imperialism is an essential component of any working-class program. The countries where capitalism has been overturned, as in Poland, represent crucial conquests in the struggle to advance the world socialist revolution. These bastions must be defended against any threat of capitalist restoration, and against any attack by capitalist forces.

This defense is unconditional. That is, a workers state must be defended against the enemy class regardless of its political regime. In the same way, class-conscious workers defend their trade unions against attacks by the capitalists, even when their union is saddled with an undemocratic and class-collaborationist leadership.

A restoration of capitalism in Poland would be a historic defeat for the Polish working class and for working people throughout the world. Those who reject this point of view, and yet speak in the name of solidarity with the Polish workers, do nothing to advance the cause of working people in Poland or anywhere else.

Within this framework, the question that has to be addressed is whether the actions of the Polish government have advanced or hindered the defense of the Polish workers state.

Is it true that the struggle of the Polish union Solidarity was opening the door to rightist and proimperialist forces to make a bid for power?

A look at what the Polish workers have been fighting for will make the answers to these questions clear.

Why workers rebelled

Solidarity was created by a spontaneous working-class rebellion that aroused all of Polish society. The workers in their millions took part in establishing and maintaining this organization.

The grievances that led to the rebellion are well known. Topping the list were social inequality and bureaucratic privilege, corruption, and mismanagement.

For example, in February 1981, some 200,000 workers in Bielsko-Biala, a textile manufacturing center in southern

Poland, struck for eleven days. They paralyzed more than 120 factories. Their main demands were for the dismissal of the governor and other top officials. These officials, the workers explained, had expropriated government buildings for their own use; constructed summer villas instead of housing for workers; allocated cars to the hated secret police instead of to doctors; and distributed priority coupons for the purchase of cars as favors or bribes.

"We had one provincial governor who built a villa at Ustron in the mountains with a brook running through it," said Mirosław Styczen, a member of the strike committee.

"The officials whose resignation we are demanding did not look after the workers' interests. They weren't public servants at all, but social parasites," said Solidarity leader Lech Walesa.

Nevertheless, the response of the government was to stand behind these parasites. "We have come face to face with manifestations of anarchy, with the transformation of an organization that proclaimed itself to be a trade union into something far removed from what it had declared in its statutes," former head of the PUWP Stanisław Kania declared.

Kania charged that Solidarity was "under the direction not of the workers but of instigators," and was "being steered in the direction of a political opposition."

One strike leader replied, "If a demand that the authorities be honest is political, then this is a political strike."

For democracy and social equality

But Solidarity has also presented a positive program for advancing the interests of the working class and the construction of a socialist society. On the broadest level, it demanded a long-overdue democratization of Polish society and elimination of the arbitrary rule of uncontrolled bureaucrats.

As the Solidarity draft program put it, "No one can stand above or beyond the law." (For the draft program of Solidarity, see *Militant*, July 24, July 31, and August 7, 1981.)

Solidarity demanded "freedom to criticize and to speak out," workers control on the job, and the right of workers to participate in making economic decisions. The union insisted that "the authorities function out in the open, and not keep covering up behind a screen of official secrecy decisions that are harmful, self-serving, illegal, or even criminal."

And it presented a broad program for the defense of the social interests of the working class and its allies, and against privilege and bureaucracy. Thus, the draft program stated:

"The areas of poverty in our society cannot be allowed to expand. We should insist that minimum welfare be guaranteed by the government to everyone in Poland. . . ."

While recognizing the economic crisis facing the country, Solidarity declared that "the costs of the crisis should be shouldered more by those with higher incomes than by those with lower ones. It proposed concretely:

- the introduction of a universal, compulsory, and progressive tax to equalize incomes. . . .

- the taxation of exorbitant wealth (luxury cars, vacation homes, etc.),

- the restriction of unwarranted material privileges for those in the ruling apparatus (apartments, official cars, special medical services, etc.), and the publicizing of the incomes and property holdings of people occupying positions in the apparatus."

Much of the conflict between the regime and Solidarity has been around

le for socialism

the right of workers to organize and to maintain their own union independent of control by the bureaucracy. But considerable struggle has also been generated by the social demands raised by the workers.

In November 1980, for instance, the government was forced under pressure of the mass movement to double the appropriation for education in the 1981 budget from 3 percent to 6 percent. It also agreed to allot 5 percent of the budget to health care.

In February 1981, some 300,000 workers walked off their jobs in the Jelenia Gora region. Among their demands was the conversion of an Interior Ministry sanatorium into a public hospital. They also proposed that a rest house open only to party members be converted into a community recreation center. In Nowy Sącz as well, Solidarity demanded that buildings belonging to the Ministry of the Interior be turned into much-needed health clinics.

Who provoked crisis?

As the Prensa Latina dispatch cited above correctly notes, the conflict between the Polish regime and Solidarity was coming to a head when Jaruzelski declared the state of martial law on December 13. The Polish authorities have sought to put the blame for the crisis on Solidarity, which, they contend, fell into the hands of "extremists."

In the official justifications for the crackdown, the Polish bureaucracy has contended that it was moving toward compromise and solution to the problems, but Solidarity rejected this course. The facts show the opposite to be the case.

At Solidarity's national congress in September-October 1981, a resolution was overwhelmingly adopted calling for democratic elections to the Sejm (parliament) and local People's Councils, free of control by the PUWP. Currently, candidates are nominated by the National Unity Front, composed of the PUWP and two smaller satellite parties.

Solidarity demanded an unlimited number of candidates, nominated by any citizen's group or political organization, with the union having the right to have poll watchers.

"The road to the nation's sovereignty leads via democratic elections to representative organizations," the resolution said.

The Solidarity program adopted later in the congress called for the establishment of a "self-governed republic" based on the Workers Councils and governing bodies democratically elected at all levels. It was a program for turning the government into one run by working people themselves.

It is only in the twisted language of the bureaucrats themselves, where "defense of socialism" really means defense of their own privileges, that this proposal for democratizing the Polish workers state can be called "antisocialist" or "provocative."

The bureaucracy had no intention of compromising with the workers' demands, although at times it was forced to make limited concessions.

Provocations by regime

Although the Solidarity leadership always made clear its willingness to discuss problems with the government, the authorities decided to move toward the use of force.

After the Solidarity congress, police began an escalating series of provocations against union members and political activists. In some cities, unionists were beaten. Others were fired from their jobs. Hundreds were investigated

on suspicion of "antistate" offenses.

In the meantime, the economic crisis in the country grew worse. The authorities refused to allow the workers to take part in economic decision-making, which was what was needed to begin resolving the crisis. Coupled with the government's direct attacks on Solidarity, the economic situation provoked numerous strikes and demonstrations.

At a November 27-28 Central Committee meeting, Jaruzelski announced that he would seek a new law giving the government sweeping emergency powers to outlaw strikes and protests. The Council of Ministers decreed that various economic reform measures that had previously been agreed to would be postponed at least a year.

Solidarity placed the responsibility for creating this situation squarely on the authorities. "The events of the past few days prove that the government has rejected the possibility of dialogue with society and has embarked on the road of violence," the Solidarity leaders declared December 3, at a meeting in Radom.

According to a tape of the discussions at this meeting later broadcast by the government, Lech Walesa declared, "The confrontation is unavoidable, and confrontation will take place. One has to make people realize that we can't avoid confrontation."

A week later, Walesa declared, "We do not want confrontation, but we cannot retreat any more."

The union had no choice but to respond to the escalating offensive by the regime. It called for mass rallies throughout the country on December 17 to protest the government attacks. At a National Committee meeting in Gdansk December 11-12, it passed a resolution calling for a national referendum in which the Polish people would be asked if they had confidence in the Jaruzelski regime, or favored the formation of a provisional government and free elections.

The next day, Jaruzelski declared martial law, implementing a plan that had been prepared long in advance.

Workers counterrevolutionary?

Thus, the facts show that it was not the workers, but the regime that provoked the crisis that led to the crackdown. However, the question still remains, was Solidarity opening the door to the restoration of capitalism? Involved in this question is the broader issue of the role of the working class itself in the construction of socialism.

One of the products of bureaucratic rule in Poland that is most harmful to the defense of the workers state is the caricature of Marxism that has been imposed as the state ideology and used to defend the most reactionary manifestations of bureaucratic privilege and social inequality.

Censorship is used to prevent the working masses from obtaining accurate information about the rest of the world, and even about their own country. The official media is so discredited that workers no longer believe it even when it tells the truth.

As a result, it is certainly possible to find many examples of reactionary and procapitalist ideology among working people in Poland today. Many workers there — as in other countries — have deep illusions about the character of the imperialist democracies, for example. (It is important to note, however, that these ideas are much stronger among the bureaucrats themselves than in any section of the working class.)

It is also true that many workers, repelled by the twisted version of Marxism taught by self-serving ideologues for the privileged layer, do not consider themselves Marxists or Leninists. But these weaknesses are the product of the bureaucracy, not of Solidarity's struggle.

In fact, by relying on the mobilization of workers and farmers themselves, Solidarity has pointed the way toward a deepening of class-consciousness. This is one reason why so many members of the PUWP — an estimated one million of them — were inspired to join Solidarity, and have become members and activists in its ranks.

Solidarity's social goals

But the fact that some backward ideas exist among Polish workers is only one side of the story, and not the most important.

The Polish working class is fighting not for the denationalization of industry, or a return to capitalism with its exploitation, war, inflation, unemployment, and extreme inequality.

Rather, what they are demanding is workers democracy. They are fighting for workers control in the factories, and in economic and social planning.

As Edward Lipinski, a socialist since 1906 and one of Poland's most renowned economists, told the Solidarity congress in September 1981, the struggle to advance socialism in Poland today "is a struggle for democratic management in the factories, for political freedom which

is a characteristic of the socialist state, for the abolition of censorship, for the real possibility of a planned development of the Polish nation. . . .

"There are no significant forces in Poland which desire the reprivatization of the means of production," he said to thunderous applause. "There are no such forces in the Katowice Steelworks or in the Lenin Steelworks." (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 16, 1981.)

Numerous figures in Solidarity have made similar points. As Solidarity adviser Bronislaw Geremek told the Paris weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur*, "The problem of publicly owned property is definitively settled."

He added: "To return to the western system would be a regression in civilization." The setup in Poland is being challenged "not because it is socialist, but because it is insufficiently so."

The working class has never been and cannot be the agent of reaction. In Poland, that role is played by the ruling bureaucracy, which has gone so far as to encourage the revival of anti-Semitic filth in its struggle to maintain its privileges.

It is Solidarity that has aroused hope and inspired the masses, presenting a vision of what the workers state could become.

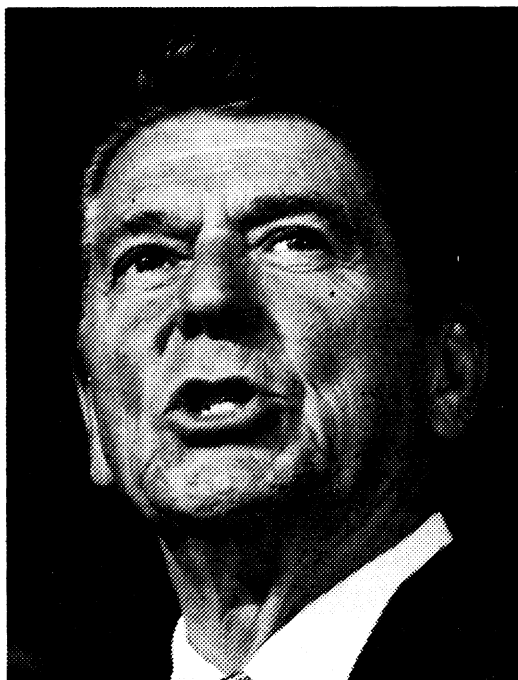
In the course of their struggle to correct bureaucratic abuses in Poland and to advance the construction of a socialist society, the masses of working people will find their way to a deeper understanding of Marxism and Leninism. They will enhance their understanding of their own struggle, and of the struggles of workers and peasants throughout the world, who are their allies. And they will absorb the necessary lesson that the fight for workers democracy and genuine proletarian internationalism are inseparable.

Blow to world working class

Having looked at the true goals and aspirations of Solidarity, we can see more clearly that the declaration of martial law and the efforts to crush Solidarity have done nothing to strengthen the Polish workers state. On the contrary, they have weakened it.

In the international arena, the crackdown in Poland has provided fuel for the imperialists' anti-Soviet and anticommunist propaganda drive. U.S. President Ronald Reagan, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, French President François Mitterrand, and their counterparts in the other imperial-

Continued on next page



José Laranderos

Reagan and U.S. ruling class are accelerating their criminal intervention against freedom fighters in El Salvador. Crackdown in Poland has provided fuel for imperialists' anticommunist and prowar propaganda drive. It helps to discredit socialism in the eyes of workers and farmers in Poland and around the world, thus weakening defense of workers states.

Continued from previous page
ist countries have been seized on the Polish events with glee.

The U.S. rulers in particular hope to defuse opposition to their drive toward military intervention in Central America, and to their efforts to introduce new nuclear missiles into Western Europe.

The bureaucratic repression of Solidarity has also provided new ammunition to procapitalist forces within the labor movement in countries like the United States. These forces argue that whatever faults capitalism may have, socialism is no answer because it simply means tyranny.

And what about within Poland itself?

Neither the construction of socialism nor the fight against bureaucratic abuses can be advanced by weakening the organization and mobilization of the working class. The crackdown in Poland has strengthened not the workers, but the petty-bourgeois bureaucracy that holds down the working class and retards the development of the workers state.

By repressing the genuinely popular movement of the toilers in the name of socialism, the privileged bureaucracy also helps to discredit socialism in the eyes of Polish workers and farmers. As a result, it further weakens the defense of the Polish workers state, which depends first of all on the consciousness of the masses.

Return to normal?

Moreover, the crackdown has done nothing to ease the crisis. Just the opposite.

A January 5 Prensa Latina dispatch from Warsaw stated that "the situation in Poland is gradually returning to normal." It quoted a government official in Warsaw as asserting that "better labor discipline and increased productivity were noticeable in the city."

But this is not the case. Demonstrations and protests by workers have continued, despite severe repression. Workers are showing up in the factories to avoid arrest for striking, but they are continuing their passive resistance.

Already, Solidarity activists around the country have begun to reorganize themselves, setting up numerous workers committees and publishing unofficial leaflets and bulletins. In response to drastic price hikes decreed by the government, groups in Gdansk and other cities have issued new calls for strikes and other protests.

The crackdown on Solidarity and the declaration of martial law is merely one more step along the same disastrous course previously followed by the Polish bureaucracy, a course that has brought the country to the crisis it now faces.

This course is not the result of mistaken policy or poor judgment. The problem is that the Polish government is in the hands of a distinct petty-bourgeois social formation whose interests are opposed to those of the workers and farmers.

This parasitic petty-bourgeois layer plays no necessary role in production — on the contrary, its only contribution is inefficiency, waste, and disorganization. Yet it skims off much of the wealth produced by the toilers for its own private consumption. Therefore, it must monopolize political power in order to defend its privileges at the expense of the working class.

Because its privileged position is incompatible with the existence of workers democracy, the bureaucracy is incapable of finding any progressive solution to the crisis. Such a solution can only come from the working class itself.

Cuban approach

The approach followed by the revolutionary leadership in Cuba in dealing with the problems of bureaucratism is the opposite of the course followed by the PUWP in Poland.

Privilege, corruption, and other manifestations of bureaucratism are topics that the Cubans have frequently analyzed. Moreover, they have organized the Cuban masses to combat these ills since the earliest years of the Cuban revolution.

As Fidel put it in a speech celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Federation of Cuban Women in August 1970, "The moral principle we should embrace — above all the revolutionary vanguard, those in posts of responsibility, should be to make even more sacrifices than those that we ask of the people."

"And nobody should be surprised if any manifestation of privilege taking should arouse the most profound indignation among the masses. This is but logical."

Also discussed by Fidel in that speech was the broader question of democratizing the government apparatus.

"We have scores of problems at every level. . . . We must create the institutions which give the masses decision-making power over many of these problems. We must find efficient and intelligent ways to lead them deliberately forward to this development so that it will not simply be a matter of the people having confidence in their political organizations and leaders and their willingness to carry out tasks, but that the revolutionary process be at the same time — as Lenin wished — a great school of government in which millions of people learn to solve the problems and carry out the responsibilities of government. . . ."

"This implies the development of a new society and of genuinely democratic principles — really democratic — replacing the administrative work habits of the first years of the Revolution. We must begin to substitute democratic methods for the administrative methods that run the risk of becoming bureaucratic methods."

Although big strides have been made in creating democratic institutions in Cuba and in the battle against bureaucratism, this is an ongoing process. In an October 28, 1979, speech, Raúl Castro discussed the pressures on Cuba from imperialism and the problems of the Cuban economy, including low productivity among workers. Raúl pointed out:

"But the main ones to blame for all these weaknesses and the lack of work discipline are not the workers but the managers and functionaries of enterprises who, we know, fiddle with the statistics, reporting land ready or planted when it's not, production that hasn't been done, using and abusing the prerogatives that go with their post and the resources of their enterprise to solve the problems of their own and of their friends. They have no standing when it comes to being demanding of others. . . ."

"The authority administrators have comes from a job done well, a life given over to work, a work style that is far removed from fraudulent buddyism and warping tolerance, and from living a modest life in keeping with their means. . . ."

"It's a question of not abusing those prerogatives that go with the job and the position, not using them as if they owned what the people have created and paid for with their sweat and toil. What is under their control and administration is to be used for work and the social good, not for their own or their family's comfort."

Fidel also commented on the continuing battle against bureaucratism in Cuba in his report to the Second Congress



Prensa Latina

Massive march in Havana on May Day, 1981. Cuban leadership consciously promotes internationalism and combats development of bureaucratism in Cuba by politically educating and organizing masses.

of the Cuban Communist Party in December 1980, when he noted:

"There were increasing signs that the spirit of austerity was flagging, that a softening-up process was going on in which some people tended to let things slide, pursue privileges, make accommodations and take other attitudes, while work discipline dropped. . . ."

"Was our Revolution beginning to degenerate on our imperialist enemy's doorstep? Was that an inexorable law for any revolution in power? Under no circumstances could such a thing be permitted."

Just two months before, in September 1980, with the July-August strikes in Poland and the formation of Solidarity fresh in everyone's mind, Fidel spoke on the twentieth anniversary of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs). These, he said, "represent an extraordinary political experience, . . . something that no Marxist-Leninist Party can ever ignore, and that is, the closest ties possible with the masses!"

Speaking of the CDRs and the other mass organizations in Cuba, Fidel declared, "I dare say that they are unique in the world."

Bureaucracy vs. internationalism

The Cubans are also well aware of the relationship between privilege-seeking bureaucrats and opposition to revolutionary internationalism. Those who are interested primarily in securing a better apartment or a new car are not enthusiastic about going to fight imperialism in Angola. As Raúl Castro put it, they are the ones "who vacillate and are faint of heart."

This sentiment takes on political form through a policy aimed at reaching a live-and-let-live accommodation with imperialism at the expense of the world revolution. Fidel had something to say about this question at the time of the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Fidel supported that invasion on the same grounds that *Granma* supports the crackdown in Poland today. He argued that the country was heading toward

the restoration of capitalism. But he also asked, if this were the case, how had such a state of affairs come to pass? Among the points he cited were:

"Bureaucratic methods in the leadership of the country, lack of contact with the masses — a decisive question for every true revolutionary movement — neglect of communist ideals. And what do we mean by neglect of communist ideals? We mean forgetting that men in a class society, the exploited in a class society, the enslaved, struggle for a whole series of ideals, and when they speak of socialism and communism they are not only speaking of a society where exploitation does actually disappear and the poverty resulting from that exploitation disappears, but they are speaking also of all those beautiful aspirations that constitute the communist ideal of a classless society, a society free from selfishness, a society in which man is no longer a miserable slave to money, in which society no longer works for personal gain. . . ."

"The communist ideal cannot, for a single moment, exist without internationalism. Those who struggle for communism in any country in the world can never forget the rest of the world. . . . They can never forget, for a single moment, the needs of that [underdeveloped] part of the world, and we believe that it is impossible to instill into the masses a truly international outlook, a truly communist outlook, if they are allowed to forget the realities of the world."

And Fidel bluntly said, "We have seen to what extent these ideas and international sentiments, that state of alertness and awareness of the world's problems, have disappeared or are very weakly expressed in certain socialist countries in Europe."

He cited the Tass statement on the invasion of Czechoslovakia in which the Warsaw Pact governments declare "their unbreakable solidarity against any outside threat. They will never permit anyone to tear away even one link of the community of socialist states."

Fidel commented:

"And we ask ourselves: 'Does that declaration include Vietnam? Does that statement include Korea? Does that statement include Cuba? Do they or do they not consider Vietnam, Korea and Cuba links of the socialist camp to be safeguarded against the imperialists?'"

"In accordance with that declaration, Warsaw Pact divisions were sent into Czechoslovakia. And we ask ourselves: 'Will Warsaw Pact divisions also be sent to Vietnam if the Yankee imperialists step up their aggression against that country and the people of Vietnam request that aid?'"

'Essence of bureaucratism'

In an interview with Chilean journalist Marta Harnecker in December 1980, Carlos Rafael Rodríguez elaborated on Cuba's approach to the problem of combating bureaucratism. Rafael Rodríguez, a member of the Political Bureau of the Cuban Communist Party, ex-

Continued on next page



Militant/Ernest Harsch

Food line in Poznan. Bureaucratic mismanagement of the economy has meant severe hardships for Polish people.

The revolutionary government in Nicaragua

Continued from Page 9

sibility of smashing the old state structure and overturning capitalism.

If a revolutionary Marxist party exists, and gains governmental power under the impulsion of a revolution, there is no question as to the subsequent dynamics. The party assures it through its program, through the cadres imbued with that program, and through the experience gained in the living class struggle that finally puts it in power. The course of the Russian revolution is a classic example. Note well, however, that the Bolsheviks held power for a period on the basis of the capitalist economy. Time was required to carry out their program. If anything, they had to carry through these changes *prematurely*. (This had to be paid for later, as Trotsky explained, by the New Economic Policy.) Thus the Russian revolution provided the world with the first example of a "Workers and Peasants Government" in power with the task still before it of actually establishing a workers state.

This study deals with a subject that to many socialist militants might appear at first sight as hardly of great concern: *What is the first form of government that can be expected to appear as the result of a successful anticapitalist revolution, and how does it relate to the preceding struggle for power?*

The topic itself came under consideration quite late in the development of key revolutionary socialist concepts. It was submitted for general discussion for the first time at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in 1922. Only the delegates of the Bolshevik Party, in the period when it was led by Lenin and Trotsky, could have suggested the importance of the question to the cadres of the Third International.

The delegates at the Fourth Congress did not engage in fanciful speculation. Their debate was based on the experience of the October 1917 revolution in Russia, on five years of thinking over that mighty chapter in the development of civilization, and on the need to bring subsequent experiences into the context of the lessons of 1917.

After 1922 the subject was not taken up again. The life-and-death struggle with Stalinism cut across further development of Marxist theory on this question as on much else. Trotsky referred to it in passing in the Transitional Program, which was adopted at the founding congress of the Fourth International in 1938, but he did not enlarge upon it.

The necessity to resume where the Fourth Congress of the Communist International had left off arose from new complex events in the international class struggle. In the aftermath of World War II, workers states appeared in Eastern Europe, China, Korea, Vietnam, and Cuba. The processes through which these states came into being had to be explained correctly in the light of Marxist theory.

Failure to do so would have put in question the continuity of Marxist theory, including Trotsky's analysis of the meaning of the extension of the borders of the Soviet Union at the beginning of World War II and eventually his analysis of the degeneration of the first workers state.

To carry out this task, the significance of the post-World War II overturns of capitalism had to be connected with the conclusions reached by the Fourth Congress in 1922. Those conclusions had to be either rejected, extended, or modified as the facts might dictate.

The importance of the question becomes obvious when it is thought through and the consequences for political practice are grasped. Nonetheless, it is a fact that it remains a field of prime interest only to advanced revolutionary cadres. This holds true for the world Trotskyist movement as a whole.

The main reason for this discounting of the question is to be found, I think, in the paramountcy of problems facing small revolutionary organizations in

disseminating a revolutionary socialist outlook among the masses. A better understanding of what is involved can be gained if we single out three general aspects, or phases, of this consciousness-raising process — not forgetting, of course, that in the final analysis they mesh together:

1. The educational work of bringing the masses to understand that the great social and economic evils they suffer from are consequences of capitalism in its death agony, and that the dilemma facing humanity on a world scale with ever-increasing acuteness is *socialism or barbarism*. The task is preeminent in countries where the program of revolutionary socialism is represented by only small minority movements.

2. The organizational work of building a revolutionary socialist mass party as the means for meeting the central dilemma. The problem facing small revolutionary groups of linking up with the masses comes under this heading. The task demands doggedness, the utmost attention, and an expenditure of time and effort bordering on fanaticism.

3. The final push of playing a leading role in the working-class struggle for power when the conditions for this have matured.

For periods longer than expected, revolutionists have had to concentrate on the two preliminary phases. The associated tasks are just as difficult as those of the third phase — perhaps more so. The preliminary problems, standing in some instances for years, if not decades, at the top of the revolutionary agenda, can certainly appear to be more real than the question of what form of government might appear as the consequence of a revolutionary victory.

However, in today's highly unstable world, seemingly remote theoretical questions have a way of suddenly imposing themselves in the political arena and demanding answers that can decisively determine the fate of groups and currents bidding for leadership of the working class. Thus, problems related to

the struggle for power cannot be placed in deep-freeze to be brought out "when the time comes." They are with us now, both in the sense of internationally important events on which stands must be taken (the Cuban victory, for instance), and in the sense of gaining a more concrete appreciation of the possibilities in coming struggles.

Moreover, the struggle for power, along with the accompanying problems and tasks, must be kept constantly in mind. As the goal, that culminating phase dominates our decisions in selecting the means required for its realization.

Bob Chester was one of the cadres of the Socialist Workers Party who saw the importance of studying that feature of a socialist revolution called a "workers and farmers government." He

set out to gain an independent understanding of the phenomenon, going back to the Russian experience and moving to subsequent events in other countries.

He had not finished his study when he died of a heart attack on June 22, 1975. The manuscript he left was thus somewhat rough. Perhaps in a final draft he would have dealt with some points at greater length while compressing others or placing them in a different order.

Certainly he would not have changed his views. The more material he gathered and thought over the more convinced he became of the importance of the topic. I am sure he would have felt deep satisfaction if his study succeeded in helping others to gain the insights he achieved through this work even though they might not agree with everything he said or the way he put it.



Joseph Hansen speaks to the 1968 convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Struggle for socialism in Poland

Continued from previous page

plained that the term "bureaucratism" has many meanings and is used to describe different things.

"There is the bureaucratic attitude of the leader who is separated from the productive processes and believes that his office is the center of the universe he gets to administer. The lack of contact with reality, with the factory, with the agricultural unit, can therefore lead, and does generally lead, to mistaken bureaucratic decisions.

"We also speak of bureaucracy when, in making decisions, the needs and the interests of the population are not taken into account; when the requirements of the citizenry disappear in the endless paper-shuffling, when they get no response to their needs or their questions.

"But in the final analysis the essence of bureaucratism is substituting for the role of the masses in the decision-making process, on whatever level those decisions are made, implanting an administrative or political apparatus over the workers and not taking either the workers or their organizations into account. . . .

"Lenin was concerned about this from the first moment of the socialist revolution. He fought against the 'bureaucratic degeneration' in the revolutionary state. He always fought the 'encrustation' of those who lead and was a partisan of airing all the problems before the masses.

"You have listened to Fidel, and have listened to his constant criticism of bureaucracy, his concern that the leaders at all levels are linked to the productive process in each one of its stages. This is the policy of our party. These are its constant objectives. I think that the way that we have organized the relationship between the working class and the leaders, the role that we assign to the workers' unions and mass organizations, and our efforts to make sure that the party continually listens to the workers and knows how to assimilate their judgments with sensitivity — all this constitutes ongoing prevention against the never completely overcome tendency toward bureaucratic positions.

"If I were to tell you that we have attained these objectives, that would be ignoring the realities that are before our

eyes. But this is a battle not only of the party and its leaders, but it must be understood as a great people's battle, in which the working class has to play a predominant role."

What the events in Poland show once again is that there has been a historical break in revolutionary continuity, a basic departure from what Lenin and the Bolshevik Party stood for. The approach of the Polish bureaucracy toward the workers of Poland is the exact opposite of the policy Lenin advocated and fought for in the Soviet Union.

Lenin understood that the security and defense of the workers state and its advance in the direction of socialism could only be accomplished by the workers themselves. The working class is the only revolutionary class in modern society. If given the chance to organize and participate in political activity, it will be the motor force to move all of society forward.

The rise of Solidarity in Poland is not a detour from the historic advance of the socialist revolution that we are seeing today with the victories in Nicaragua and Grenada. It is part of the same process of working-class radicalization that led to these revolutions, to the Iranian revolution, and to the new awakening of the workers movement in the imperialist countries.

Solidarity has inspired working people throughout the world by its vision of a socialist society free of the diseases of privilege, inequality, and repression. Its example gives the lie to capitalist propaganda equating communism with totalitarianism. Its struggle deserves the support of all who consider themselves socialists and communists.

February 9, 1982
From Intercontinental Press

For further reading . . .

Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution
by Joseph Hansen, 393pp., \$7.95. This collection includes the article "Fidel Castro and the Events in Czechoslovakia" written in 1968.

Poland: Workers in Revolt
by Dave Frankel et al., 498pp., \$1.25.

Fidel Castro Speeches: Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy 1975-1980
391pp., \$7.95.

Selected Speeches of Fidel Castro
134pp., \$4.00.

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

Rail workers vs. the MX missile

BY TOM PONTOLILLO

The Reagan administration and Congress are planning to spend tens of billions of dollars on a new intercontinental ballistic missile called the MX. The giant weapons program has aroused opposition since it was proposed by the Ford administration.

When Carter was president, he wanted to make the land-based system mobile by building a railroad system for it. It would have shuttled trains along underground tracks in an area of thousands of square miles in Utah and Nevada. There were going to be 4,600 pads where the 200 missiles could be launched.

This plan was scrapped after massive opposition developed in those two states. The sentiment from workers, farmers, and ranchers there was so strong that conservative groups like the Mormon Church hierarchy came out against the MX.

The Reagan administration is moving ahead with building the missiles and proposing several alternative launching pads.

An unwanted monster

The latest plan is for forty MXs to be put in Minuteman III missile silos. The government is debating where to put the rest. The problem is that nobody wants them; they are an unwanted monster.

The underground railroad plan was supported by the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General David C. Jones; but popular opposition was too strong.

The government has suggested launching the missiles from planes that would remain airborne for extended periods. The Air Force brass is against this idea, and it doesn't have much of a popular following. Airplanes have been known to crash. What if a plane crashed while carrying the missiles?

Another proposal is to put them in Titan missile silos. After the explosion in a Titan silo in Arkansas in September 1980, this idea also makes many people uneasy. The government is trying to reassure them with the argument that the solid-fuel MX is safer to have in your backyard than the liquid-fuel Titan.

There are proposals to launch the enormous missiles from trucks running along the interstate highway system. But even sophisticated missiles are not guaranteed against traffic accidents.

Another suggestion is to carry the MX on freight trains under military supervision. They would just be coupled onto freights going anywhere.

None of the suggested places for the MXs is any better than another. What should be done with MXs is not to build them at all.

The latest information I've gotten is that the MX freight train idea was proposed seriously late last year. Republican Congressman Cooper Evans of Iowa was very enthusiastic about it. But the government is leaning toward other proposals now.

An idea to be taken seriously

Nevertheless, rail workers should take the very idea dead seriously. For one thing, it brings the war issue home to railroaders. For another, it raises issues concerning other deadly cargoes we carry, such as nuclear waste. We should raise our voices in opposition.

The MX is scheduled for deployment beginning in 1986. Each missile will contain ten independently targeted war-

heads, and each warhead is reported to have an explosive force up to forty-six times the blast force of the atomic bomb which annihilated Hiroshima. The missiles are seventy-one feet long, about eight feet wide, and weigh ninety-six tons each.

The MX will be targeted against missile installations in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. As Herbert Scofield, Jr., president of the Arms Control Association, puts it, "the MX's can only destroy Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles if they are used in a first strike; otherwise, they hit only empty silos."

This weapon is a threat and a warning hanging over the heads of working people throughout the world. It is designed to give the ruling class a freer hand in intervening against the revolutionary movements of the people of the Caribbean and Central America, especially El Salvador.

The MX will be one of the most expensive weapons systems ever built. The cost is estimated at \$34 to \$70 billion over the next five years. And that's before the usual cost overruns and inflation, which will double or triple the price.

Who will pay for it?

The rail workers and other working people through taxes and cuts in our hard-won social benefits.

It appears that the rail industry would be a most willing accomplice to putting these death machines on freight trains. One industry representative, summing up the support already expressed by a number of major railroads, said, "it would be a nice piece of revenue, and we're behind it." The modern-day robber barons must also be salivating over the possibility of having their substandard trackage upgraded at taxpayers' expense. But the stakes are vastly different.

Where union officials stand

The heads of the rail unions have not officially commented on the plan. But in reporting the development in its official organ, *UTU News*, the United Transportation Union reported Congressman Evans's statement that the railroads can play a role in defending the nation with MX missiles. The *UTU News*, didn't take issue with this idea, and in fact, pointed out "the advantage of cost savings over other alternatives." This is a dangerously misleading characterization.

What the idea really poses for rail workers are increased hazards on the job and a threat to our unions and our very jobs.

The safety record of the rail industry in the transportation of hazardous materials is abominable. Serious accidents are becoming typical. The September 1981 C&O freight train derailment in Bridgman, Michigan, resulted in a spill of fluorosulfonic acid which caused the evacuation of 1,500 and the hospitalization of eleven. The spilling of 40,000 gallons of toxic chemicals into a creek after a MoPac wreck in Marion, Missouri, is becoming typical of railroad accidents.

A wreck involving nuclear warheads would be catastrophic. And yet the American Association of Railroads, the Chamber of Commerce of the rail industry, is pushing for the rollback of already inadequate safety standards and legislation.

The threat to the workers' unions and job security is no less grave. Becoming part of the national "defense" system would subject the unions to greater restrictions on their already severely limited right to strike, if not a total ban on all strikes. It would also expose all rail workers to victimization by the carriers and the Defense Investigative Service for their union activism or political beliefs. A score of workers at Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas have already been victimized.

We must go to our locals and educate our co-workers about the dangers of this plan. We must enlist the support and active participation of our locals and local

and national officials in circulating resolutions, statements, and petitions condemning the MX and its possible deployment on the railroads.

It is a false and dangerous strategy to tie the fight to protect railroad jobs, pay, benefits, and working conditions to the idea of "national defense."

The rail union leaders tried this trick at the April 29 demonstration of 30,000 rail workers in Washington last year.

They argued that the government shouldn't cut funding for Amtrak and Conrail because the rail systems are needed to move weapons. Reagan and Congress must have just laughed at the sight of these union leaders trying to outflank them from the right by arguing for a stronger military.

Conrail and Amtrak were cut and are being cut further. The union leaders ended up agreeing to wage cuts for their members.

Protests against military build-up

More April 29s and September 19 Solidarity Day protests is one step we can take to protect railroaders' jobs and rights. We also need to begin right away

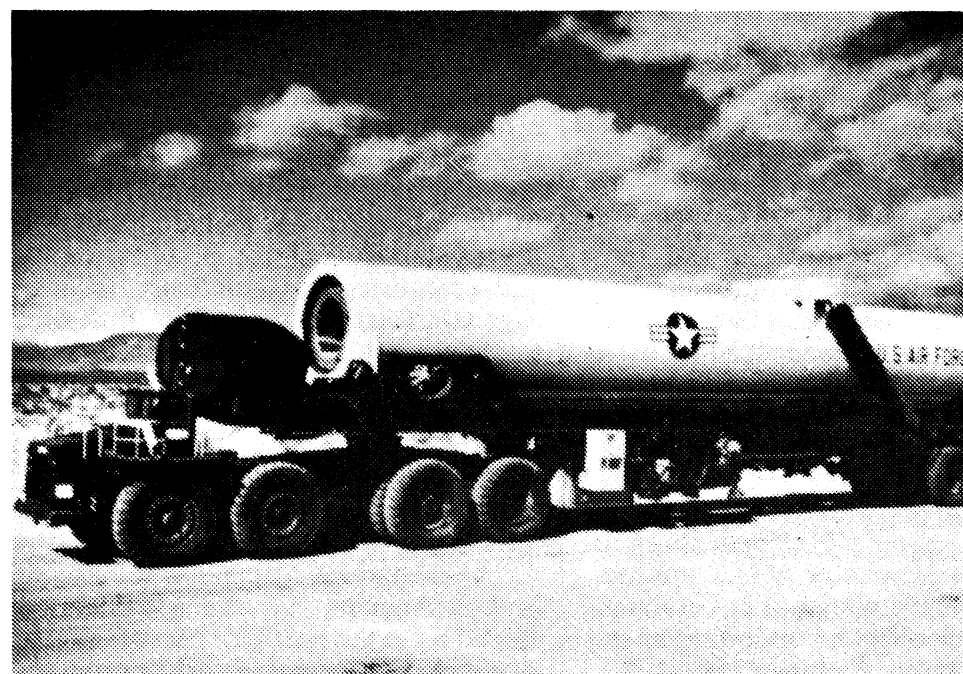
organizing participation by rail workers in the antiwar action in Washington on March 27 against U.S. military intervention in El Salvador.

We should participate in the June 12 national demonstration for disarmament in New York.

And we should continue to discuss the idea of independent labor political action. The MX plans and the war threats in Central America are the work of the Democrats and the Republicans. They are pushing these plans for the people they really serve at the expense of the workers.

There is a crying need for a break from the parties of the bosses. A labor party based on the unions could do something that the Democrats and Republicans will never do — represent the true majority in this country, working people. It could organize and lead the fight for money for jobs, not for war; against the MX system; and for safe working conditions on the railroads.

Tom Pontolillo is an engineer on Conrail and chairman of Division 501 of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.



MX prototype on transporter at Nevada test site.

Israelis join protests of Golan Heights annexation

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

OCCUPIED GOLAN HEIGHTS — A delegation of about thirty Israeli citizens, Arabs and Jews, traveled here from different parts of Israel January 30 to express their opposition to Israel's annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights and to show their solidarity with the Arab population there.

Israel occupied the Golan Heights — along with the West Bank of the Jordan River, the Gaza Strip, and the Sinai Peninsula — during the war it launched against its Arab neighbors in June 1967. At that time there were some 150,000 people living in the Golan Heights.

The Israeli occupiers expelled all the Christian and Muslim inhabitants. Only the Druze, a religious group derived from Islam, were allowed to stay. Today only 13,000 of the original inhabitants remain in the area, and out of some 100 Arab villages, only five are still inhabited.

On December 14, the Israeli Knesset (parliament) voted to extend the laws, jurisdiction, and administration of the Zionist state to the occupied Syrian territory. This formalized an annexation that began in 1967.

The delegation from Israel, organized by the Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit University, represented the growing segment of Israeli society that opposes the continued occupation of the territories seized in 1967.

Joined by Druze activists from the Golan, the Israelis formed a caravan of about twenty cars and toured the villages of Mas'ada, Bukata, Ein Kuniye, and Majdal Shams. In each village the caravan was received by all the inhabitants, the men lining up, as is Druze custom, to personally greet and shake hands with the visitors. A short rally was held in each town, with speakers from the Bir Zeit Committee and the Syrian villages.

A major theme was the link between the struggle against the occupation and the struggle against the Zionist regime's social policies inside Israel.

The Druze villagers burst into applause when one of the Israelis expressed the hope that one day they would return to visit the Golan Heights "with a visa from the government of Syria."

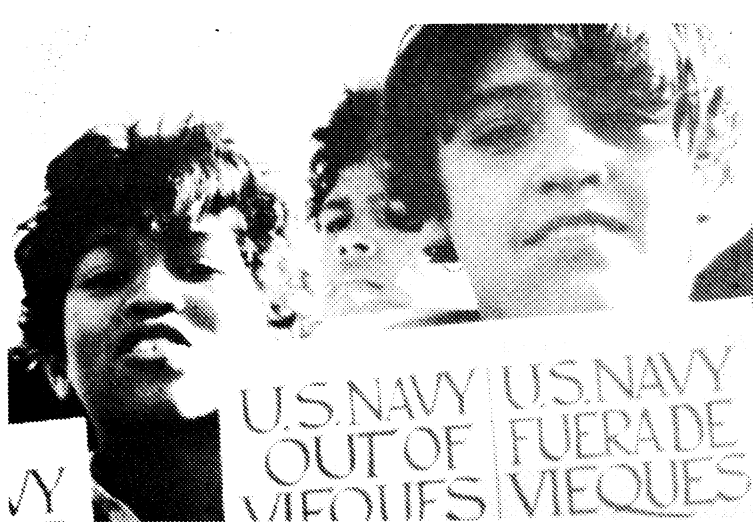
Sheik Mahmoud Hassan Safadi, one of the leaders of the struggle against the imposition of Israeli citizenship on the Druze, explained that their fight is "for peace and justice." He pointed out that the Israeli government claims "Arabs want to kill the Jews, but this is a lie. Jews have as much right to live as any nation. But not on our land."

A Druze construction worker summed up the sentiment of the Arab population in the Golan Heights when he told this reporter, "The Golan Heights is Syrian, and will remain Syrian no matter how long Israel stays here."

From Intercontinental Press

American Labor Struggles 1877-1934

By Samuel Yellen
416 pp., \$6.95
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Puerto Rican fisherman speaks out against U.S. Navy war moves

Calls for 'U.S. out of Vieques!'

Struggle to free Vieques is supported by broad sector of Puerto Rican population.

The following interview with Carlos Zenón, leader of the Association of Fishermen of Vieques, an island six miles off the east coast of Puerto Rico, originally appeared in the January 25, 1982 issue of 'Perspectiva Mundial,' a socialist fortnightly published in New York. The interview has been slightly abridged.

The U.S. Navy and Marines occupy three-quarters of the land surface of Vieques, using the island for naval gunnery practice, close air support training, and air-to-ground exercises. As a result, the residents of the island live in constant proximity to artillery fire, exploding bombs, and strafing jets.

In addition, huge amounts of ammunition and weapons are stored in hollowed-out mountains for use by the Atlantic fleet in any conflict involving Africa or Central or South America.

The interview with Carlos Zenón was conducted by Herminia Cruz, co-coordinator of the Vieques Support Committee of Hartford, Connecticut, during a tour that Zenón made to gather support for the struggle of the people of Vieques against the U.S. Navy's occupation of their island. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press'.

Question. Zenón, can you tell us why the people of Vieques are involved in a struggle against the U.S. Navy?

Answer. This struggle has been building up for years. Since the U.S. Navy came to Vieques in 1940, our people have suffered a number of blows.

First there was the expropriation of land when the U.S. Navy took over 26,000 of the 33,000 cuerdas [one cuerda = one acre] of land on the island.

The Navy set the price for the land belonging to the people of Vieques, even though they did not want to sell it. If anyone resisted the sale of their property, they were given twenty-four hours to move off it and take the price the Navy wanted to pay.

Later, in the 1950s, our young people were the victims of attacks, murders, and outrages. In the 1960s the abuses on the island continued to get worse, and in the 1970s, areas of the sea were declared off-limits to the fishermen.

Fishing is the only industry that has any real importance on the island, since the Navy caused the disappearance of sugar cane and agriculture. All we have now are a few jobs with the municipality and in two factories.

Q. What is the situation on Vieques in social and economic terms as a result of its occupation by the U.S. Navy?

A. The U.S. Navy has the island of Vieques in an economic and social stranglehold. The plans that exist for development of the island are impossible to implement because of the Navy's presence. Since the Navy expropriated the property of the people on Vieques, the population has dropped from 14,000 to the present 8,000. This is due to the small area left for civilian use. Our population lives on 7,000 cuerdas. Therefore we cannot even practice agriculture because of the large number of people living in that small area.

The unemployment rate has risen to 64 percent, and 75 percent of the fami-

lies live on food stamps. We do not have colleges for our youth, and those that can must leave Vieques to continue their university studies.

We do not have hospitals. When women are going to have a baby they have to go to the big island [Puerto Rico] by plane.

In addition, as you know, our people live by fishing, and the continuous use of our waters by the U.S. Navy will ruin that industry. When these ships come into the one-hundred-foot deep waters where we fishermen have our traps, the ships' propellers destroy the buoys that indicate where our traps are. When that happens it is hard for us to find the traps. As a result, the trap stays on the bottom for eight or twelve months, attracting many fish who then die in the traps.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture made a study of these traps and found that a single trap collects from 4,500 to 5,000 pounds of fish in ten months. The U.S. Navy destroyed 131 traps in 1977, so you can imagine the damage already caused, and the damage that will continue to happen if these practices are continued.

The U.S. Navy has caused damage to the plant and animal life, and has caused erosion of the reefs as a result of the constant bombardment.

At the time of the hostages in Iran, the United States was ready to unleash the third world war. But the United States has published nothing about the 8,000 Puerto Rican hostages on Vieques. The U.S. Navy must leave, because our island wants to develop, not continue to be strangled.

Q. What is the relationship between the military bases on Vieques and the struggle of our Latin American peoples in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Cuba, and elsewhere?

A. The U.S. Navy is training personnel and carries out exercises that simulate invasions of other countries. In 1964, for example, U.S. Marines were trained in Vieques for the intervention in Santo Domingo. They have also carried out practice invasions of Guatemala, Nicaragua, and now El Salvador. The navy recruits our young people, calling them Sea Cadets.

Because they speak Spanish and have Latin features, it is easier for them to be used to intervene in El Salvador, representing the dehumanizing policy of the United States in this brother country.

Our young people go along with this type of work because of the island's economic situation, not because of the political implications that go with it. The parents of these young people are guards trained by the Navy to act as a means of repression against the people of Vieques who struggle against the Navy.

Seven months ago, sixty-four Navy officers received special training and were sent to El Salvador. Comrade Ernesto Cardenal [the minister of culture] of Nicaragua told me that two ships that had been training in Vieques [one being the USS Dwight] steamed toward Nicaragua.

They are carrying out maneuvers on a scale never before seen in the forty-one years the U.S. Navy has been on Vieques. We have made a connection between these training operations and the recent news reports about possible inva-

sions of Cuba, Nicaragua, and El Salvador.

During these maneuvers the ships sailed with their lights out and came in very close to shore, something that only very well-prepared ships can do. No U.S. Navy ship would approach the shores of Russia to invade it, but they would do this against any of our Latin American peoples.

Q. Recently it was reported in "Perspectiva Mundial" that a possible invasion of the island of Grenada was being prepared somewhere in the Caribbean. Can you tell us anything about this?

A. The training for this possible invasion of the island of Grenada took place on Vieques. Three months ago some maneuvers were carried out with Vieques simulating Grenada, since the topography of the two islands is very similar. Grenada also is building an airport that is similar to the U.S. airport on Vieques.

They also trained in carrying out possible aerial attacks against the people of Grenada. In fact, reports on this simulated battle were obtained and are now being debated in the United Nations General Assembly.

I have no doubt that Vieques would play a role in the naval blockade that the United States is planning against Cuba.

Q. Does this mean that the training carried out in Vieques takes on a greater scope as a possible invasion of one of these countries approaches?

A. Absolutely, although it is necessary to make the point that training is always going on. Some operations are public, and some are secret. For those of the public type, where they want a lot of fanfare, they invite naval forces from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), as they did in 1978. It is very difficult to know the purpose of this type of maneuver.

The secret-type training is not announced. For example, they carry out training every night on the beaches of Vieques. These maneuvers endanger the lives of our people and our brother peoples.

Q. Zenón, when the NATO force was training in Vieques in 1978, how did the people react to this training?

A. In February 1978 the Navy invited NATO and other allied navies to train for twenty-seven days in the waters of Vieques. They sent us, the fishermen, a letter advising us that we could not fish for twenty-seven days, until the training was over.

When we tried to discuss this with Admiral Robert Fanagan, who issued the order, he told us we should go on food stamps, since the Navy had invested millions of dollars in these maneuvers and was not going to cancel them for the fishermen of Vieques.

Here we decided that for the first time in history, the U.S. Navy would have problems. We fishermen would organize ourselves and confront them, paralyzing the training operations.

Among the countries that took part were Brazil, France, Holland, Argentina, and Canada. In fact, this was not the first time that the Navy invited NATO to practice in Vieques. In 1958 the United States rented the island of

Vieques to the members of NATO, charging \$1,200 per hour per ship.

Q. What kind of local, national, and international support have the people of Vieques received?

A. The struggle of Vieques is a broad struggle. On the local level there is the Crusade to Rescue Vieques, which involves all types of organizations of workers, students, fishermen, merchants, etc., that have arisen against the U.S. Navy in Vieques.

On the national level in Puerto Rico, we have the support of the churches, universities, Vieques support committees, and political parties like the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP). We also have the support of political leaders like Severo Colberg of the Peoples Democratic Party (PPD) and Radamés Tirado of the New Progressive Party (PNP) [the PPD and PNP are the two main political parties in Puerto Rico] and the nationalist heroes [four Puerto Rican patriots who were released in 1979 after spending more than twenty-five years in prison].

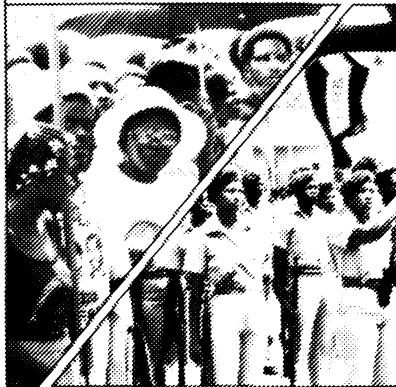
On the international level there are support committees in nearly all the states of the United States. There are also support committees in Canada, Venezuela, and Santo Domingo. In addition, since the case of Vieques is being debated at the United Nations, there are a tremendous number of countries that support the struggle of Vieques, such as the Cuban delegation, the delegation from Grenada, and others.

So with all this international, national, and local support, we will get the U.S. Navy out of Vieques, and restore peace to the island and to our brother Latin American countries.

Every day that the fishermen disrupt the U.S. Navy's training in Vieques is one fewer day the United States has for invading our Latin American peoples.

From Intercontinental Press

GRENADA Revolution in the Caribbean



by Sam Manuel & Andrew Pulley

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Supply-side dept. — Reagan wants to hike admissions to national parks and maybe impose fees on such items as drinking



Harry Ring

water and toilet facilities. We can see it now. That lean-to at the end of the hiking trail houses a toll booth. Try to urinate behind a tree and there's

Smokey the Bear with a change cup.

Disneyland forever — The proposed increases in national park fees will not only help pay for operating the parks, the administration explains, but will also help make the parks less competitive with the private recreation industry.

Workers' friend — Governor Rhodes of Ohio announced plans for more budget cutbacks, a "temporary" increase in the sales tax, and, in a demonstration of solidarity with the Polish

workers, ordered state liquor stores not to stock Russian vodka.

Grinding away — The Agriculture Department plans to OK including ground bone in processed meats and labeling it with such euphemisms as "mechanically retrieved meat." Percentage of bone content will be listed as "percent calcium." In addition to calcium, animal bone includes such goodies as lead and strontium 90.

No protection too much — The president proclaimed April 25-May 1 National Consumer

Week. However, he cautioned, "too much government regulation" is counterproductive.

Shopping tip — Supermarkets may start pasting electronic devices on items which can be used as price tags, but which trigger if they leave the store without going through the cashier. If it was a genuine anti-theft device, it would start shrieking when the price is put on it.

To combat godless materialism — Booths at the National Religious Broadcasters convention featured such items as

the Electronic Funds Transfer's "checkless giving" machine — "delivers donors' dollars even during a mail strike" — and an Electronic Signatures device which provides 700 "automatic handwritten" signatures per hour to "personalize your solicitations."

Probably does, too — Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates finds his job "frustrating, discouraging." To relieve the tension, he said, he confides in superiors. And, he added with a laugh, "I go home and kick the dog real hard."

—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

What's Really Happening in Nicaragua. Slide show and presentation by member of Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Tucson

Ten Days That Shook the World. Film by Sergei Eisenstein based on book by John Reed. Sun., Feb. 28, 3 p.m. and 7 p.m. Arizona Ballroom, Student Union, University of Arizona. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 622-3880.

FLORIDA

Miami

What a Socialist America Will Look Like. Tape of speech by James P. Cannon, founding leader of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 26, 8 p.m. 1237 NW 119th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 769-3478.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Fundraising Benefit Rally for Jearl Wood Defense Committee. Sun., Feb. 28, 4:30 p.m. to 1 a.m. Hitching Post Lounge, 2975 W. 159th St., Markham. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Jearl Wood Defense Committee.

INDIANA

Indianapolis

Malcolm X and His Ideas. Speakers: Lupe Ellis, Socialist Workers Party; Musa Baye, owner of MWA Afrikan Bookstore. Sat., Feb. 20, 7 p.m. 4850 N. College. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Two Films: A Tribute to Malcolm X and Malcolm X Speaks. Sun., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Two Films: Malcolm X Speaks and Malcolm X: the Struggle for Freedom. Sun., Feb. 21, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

Music, Literature, and the Crisis in American Society. Speaker: Kofi Natambu, editor of *Solid Ground*. Sun., Feb. 28, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA

Twin Cities

The Destruction of Public Education: Can It Be Prevented? Speakers to be announced. Sun., Feb. 28, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Will Abortion Rights Be Lost? Speakers: representative of Reproductive Freedom Committee of Kansas City Urban chapter, National Organization for Women; Marcia Gallo, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

St. Louis

Malcolm X: His Legacy and the Fight for Black Liberation Today. Speakers: Sharon Grant, National Committee, Young Socialist Alliance; others to be announced. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Malcolm X: Why His Ideas Are Relevant for Us Today. Speakers: Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party; Representative, National Black Independent Political Party Women's Commission. Fri., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Mil-

itant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Malcolm X: The Meaning of His Ideas for Today. Film and panel discussion. Speakers: Minister Michael Amon-Ra, National Black United Front; representative of National Black Independent Political Party; others. Fri., Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m.; dinner 6:30 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2 forum, \$4 forum and dinner. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 874-7922.

Stop INS Raids on Undocumented Workers. Speakers: Johnny McCulloh, Haitian Workers Association; Sandra Boyer, H-Block/Armagh Committee; Héctor Marroquin, socialist fighting deportation; Darlene Kalke, N.Y. Committee for Inter-Religious Community in the United States. Sat., Feb. 20, dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$4 dinner and forum, \$2 forum. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7923.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Malcolm X and Dr. King: the Fight for Freedom Now. Speakers to be announced. Thurs., Feb. 25, 7 p.m. Gibbs Hall, Room 307, A&T State University. Ausp: A&T Political Science Society and Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

Winston-Salem

Malcolm X and Dr. King: the Fight for Freedom Now. Speakers: Dr. Howard Wiley, representative of National Black Independent Political Party; Dolan Hubbard, professor of English at Winston-Salem State University. Recording of "The Ballot or the Bullet," a speech by Malcolm X. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 216 E. 6th St. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OHIO

Cleveland

Contract Givebacks: A New Threat to Working People. Speakers: Daryl Tukufu, chair, National Black Independent Political Party, Akron; Delores McAll, United Auto Workers Local 122; Alicia Merel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

Cincinnati

Tribute to Malcolm X. Film: *Malcolm X Speaks*. Speakers: Essie Hughes, cochair of Cincinnati National Black Independent Political Party; Rev. Daniel Buford, Black Campus Ministry. Sun., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

OREGON

Portland

Memories of Underdevelopment, a Cuban Film. Sun., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

Creationism vs. Evolution: In Defense of Scientific Thinking. Speaker: Sara Baird, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp:

Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

Harrisburg

Three Mile Island 1979-1982: A View Three Years Later. Speakers: John Kovalic, Board of Directors, People Against Nuclear Energy, Middletown; Jane Lee, Etters, Pa., farmer who researched the effects of radiation on plant and animal life around TMI; Steve Patton, Three Mile Island Alert; Katherine Sojourner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor. Sat., Feb. 20, 3 p.m., YWCA, 215 Market St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (717) 234-5052.

Philadelphia

Malcolm X Memorial Meeting. Speakers: Sam Farley, member of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 27, 7 p.m. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

TEXAS

Houston

Malcolm X: His Meaning Today. Film: *El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz*. Speaker: Gary Trabue, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4367 and Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 6333 Gulf Freeway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Sunday Evening Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 924-4056.

San Antonio

The Legacy of Malcolm X and the Black Movement Today. Panel discussion, speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 26, 8 p.m. Eastside Multi-Service Center, 2805 E. Commerce St. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

The Crisis in El Salvador. Speakers: Joe Navarro, professor of political science, University of Utah, and member of Committee in Solidarity with Central American People; Herb Clemens, president of Salt Lake City chapter of Amnesty International (organization for identification purposes only); Mike Moody, member of Utah State University Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Kay Sedam, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 27, 7 p.m. 677 South, 700 East. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

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Alicia Alonso and Cuba's national ballet



Alonso and Jorge Esquivel in 1978 performance of 'Giselle.'

Alicia and Her Ballet Nacional de Cuba, by Walter Terry. Anchor Books. 146 pages, \$10.95.

BY FRANK BOEHM

Is there a country where the president gives a fledgling ballet company twice as much money as it asks for? Or a place where dance instruction is included in grammar schools throughout the land, as well as in the military? (You read that right, the military.)

How about a place where famous ballet dancers perform in factories and fields as well as city opera houses? Where huge mansions of the rich are made into beautiful studios and rehearsal spaces? Where the leading ballerina is a popular hero?

Any dancer or dance enthusiast in this country would think no such place could exist. Certainly this

BOOK REVIEW

is not the United States, where training is expensive, careers limited and uncertain, pay poor, medical costs for common injuries astronomical, and where what little government support exists is being slashed away.

Such a place does in fact exist, and very close — Cuba.

The well-known dance critic and historian Walter Terry has written a new book, *Alicia and Her Ballet Nacional de Cuba*. This slim volume is an illustrated biography of Alicia Alonso.

In the process of telling her story, we are given a picture of dance in Cuba today. And it is an exciting picture of artistic achievement, growth, and innovation. The book is valuable to supporters of the Cuban revolution because it helps fill out the true picture and further break down the wall of lies Washington tries to maintain.

Alicia Alonso has been and remains the driving

force of dance in Cuba. The island's incredible achievements are in no small part due to her. Terry justly describes her as "one of the greatest lyric dancers of the century."

Born in Havana in 1921, Alonso left for a career in the United States when she was sixteen. For most of her life, from the age of nineteen on, she has been nearly blind.

While dancing with the American Ballet Theater (ABT), she often returned home with the dream of building a genuine Cuban ballet company. In the late 1940s, she began a small company and school in Havana.

In 1956, Cuban dictator Batista withdrew the small stipend Alonso's company received from the government because she refused to allow her company and school to be absorbed into the government's Institute of Culture.

Batista's move prompted protests. Terry describes what happened: "Alicia received national popular support for her rejection of the Batista stand. Committees to appeal the government's withdrawal of the subsidy and planned takeover were formed. Protest rallies were held."

"A tour of the entire country elicited total support for the Alonsos and the independent Ballet de Cuba. The culmination of the nationwide protest occurred on September 16, 1956, when the Havana Stadium was packed with vociferous, militant supporters of Cuban ballet's illustrious 'Dama'."

Goes into exile

Alonso, declaring she would not dance in Cuba as long as Batista remained in power, went into exile, performing primarily in the United States with the ABT. In 1959, she went to the Soviet Union as a representative of "American" dance, and was the first dancer from the United States to perform with the world famous Kirov and Bolshoi ballet companies.

The Cuban revolution in late 1959 opened the doors for her dream to become reality, so she returned to her homeland. Washington responded by barring her from performing in the United States. This exclusion kept her from U.S. audiences for the next fifteen years.

Alonso sided in no uncertain terms with the revolution, and plunged into the work of realizing her vision of a ballet company of technical precision and artistic depth.

Terry writes of the results: "In an unbelievably short time, then, Cuba has succeeded in building a national ballet of remarkable professional stature." In 1978, when the Ballet Nacional de Cuba was finally allowed to perform in the United States, it received rave reviews from critics and public alike.

Alonso's success was ultimately due to her identification of this project with the revolutionary transformation that was taking place.

It started with money, of course. Fernando Alonso, Alicia's former husband, met with Fidel Castro in 1960 to discuss government support for dance. Alonso asked for "about \$100,000" to get a company and school started. Castro, a ballet enthusiast, offered \$200,000, adding, "but it better be good ballet."

Joined work brigade

The Alonsos set about gathering the human material. They toured all over Cuba, even to the most remote villages. They sent lecture-demonstrations to the factories and fields. The dancers, with Alicia in the lead, participated in work brigades to harvest sugar.

They developed innovative approaches for using dance therapy for psychologically impaired youths, using dance instruction to remedy health and widespread postural problems due to years of unbalanced diet, and providing a form for important emotional and artistic expression.

The extraordinary bond between the revolution and Cuban dance has resulted in considerable artistic creativity and ferment. Although Terry primarily notes Alonso's success in staging the classics, he mentions the Ballet Nacional's development of repertoire along Spanish and Cuban themes. Choreography and the dance vocabulary itself are richly affected by the free mix of new and old ideas, experimentation, the new social consciousness, and the heritage of African and Spanish cultures.

The new choreography ranges from the abstract to attempts to deal with the contemporary experience: "Woman"; "Awakening," which deals with the revolution; "Vietnam — the Lessons"; and "Conjugación," inspired by the life and death of Che Guevara.

Aside from the Ballet Nacional de Cuba, there is another major classical company, the Ballet Camagüey. There is also a modern dance company and a national folklore company.

It is inspiring to witness an art form not alienated from society, but part of its struggles, hopes, and accomplishments. Art will flourish when it can be organically connected to the social, human experience. In turn, it will help society progress.

The Cuban experience inspires us to reaffirm that possibility. And knowledge of that experience will inspire workers and artists in this country to seek that possibility here.

Frank Boehm is a jazz dancer and teacher in Chicago.

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

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 30209. Zip: 68503. Tel: (402) 475-2255.

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: Citywide 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. Tel: (717) 234-5052. 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 Col-

lege: 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: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. 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.

Labor's response to Reagan's budget

Shortly after President Reagan announced his new budget — proposing new cuts in food stamps, services for children, education, and health care, while boosting arms spending by as much as \$74 billion — the AFL-CIO executive council began meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida.

As the labor officials met, newspapers across the country headlined the story that Reagan was considering the use of U.S. troops in order to save the El Salvador junta.

The first action of the AFL-CIO leadership meeting was to approve an alternative budget proposal to Reagan's. The AFL-CIO plan focuses on the crisis of unemployment and the brutality of newly announced cuts in funds for human needs. It urges an immediate program to create jobs, noting that "the real unemployment rate is 12 percent."

At a news conference February 15 to announce the plan, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said the burden of the new war budget falls "squarely on the backs of working Americans and the poor."

Kirkland's statement reflects the outrage millions feel as they watch hospitals and schools closing down while helicopters and fighter planes are sent to the dictatorship in El Salvador.

But Kirkland said nothing about the deepening U.S. involvement in the El Salvador war. Instead, he reaffirmed the union body's support for a "strong national defense," arguing that increased war expenditures could be financed by jacking up income taxes. Corporations, he suggested, should be required to pay a third of the tax surcharge, leaving working people to pay the rest.

The AFL-CIO's answer to Reagan shows how out of touch it is with the sentiments and needs of the millions of workers it represents. Its alternative budget even accepts the massive cutbacks imposed last fall, stating only that the "second-round budget cuts must be blocked."

What should labor's response be to Reagan's latest moves?

First of all, it should be in the forefront of organizing opposition to the war course the Reagan administration is on in Central America and the Caribbean. The "national defense" Kirkland refers to — defense of U.S. corporate investments there — has nothing to do with defending the interests of workers and farmers in this country or Latin America.

U.S. rulers debate move toward war

Continued from Page 1
hesitating a moment, dispatched thousands of Marines to Santo Domingo to crush the uprising. Johnson was applauded by all sectors of the U.S. ruling class for his decisive action.

But much has changed since Santo Domingo.

For one thing, there was Vietnam. Direct U.S. military aggression was defeated in that country.

Washington has been living with the Vietnam syndrome ever since, and its best efforts have not succeeded in eradicating it.

That's why Washington has not been able to repeat the Dominican solution in Central America or the Caribbean.

It did pour guns into Nicaragua to save the butcher Somoza. But the wrath of the people was so great this was to no avail. Not ready to accept the consequences of direct military intervention, Washington then tried to persuade the Organization of American States to front for it with an intervention of troops. But even client South and Central American governments said, "no thanks."

There was a successful revolution in Grenada, setting up the first government of workers and farmers in a Black, English-speaking country.

And as the Salvadoran revolution advances, the rebellion grows in Guatemala.

The Reagan administration and its supporters have worked hard to build prowar sentiment that would permit direct military intervention in El Salvador.

But very few people buy it. The claim that the Salvadoran revolution is organized from the outside has little credibility. And "certification" of human rights progress by the murderous regime there is bought by even fewer.

Antiwar activists in the United States working to build opposition to intervention in El Salvador are finding a growing responsiveness among working people.

For more than a year, meetings and discussions on El Salvador in the unions have gotten the facts out about what is happening there and convinced many workers that it is not in our interests to support U.S. intervention.

The National Black Independent Political Party has been playing an increasingly active role in the

To provide funds for the millions of jobs the AFL-CIO admits are needed, the place to start is with the war budget — not hiking taxes even higher for working people.

A real program for jobs means a massive public works program to build socially necessary schools, hospitals, child care centers, and public transportation. It also means a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to spread the available work, unemployment benefits at union scale for as long as a worker is out of a job, and protection and expansion of affirmative action programs.

Fighting for such demands requires a struggle on the part of the labor movement. But the AFL-CIO leadership has no intention of that. Instead, they propose a "Solidarity Day II" next November, where workers would go to the polls to elect Democrats.

The AFL-CIO's statement on the budget claims the problems we face today began when Reagan took office. "The Republican Administration cannot blame anyone else for this recession," it says.

This cover-up for the Democrats gets to the heart of the crisis the labor movement is in today. The war-austerity offensive emanating from Washington is a bipartisan one. It is not a policy of parties fundamentally, but the policy of a class — the capitalist class of bankers, corporation heads, and landlords.

The truth is that the labor movement must break with the Democratic Party as well as the Republican Party in order to make the kind of response needed to combat imperialist war, layoffs, and the devastating social cuts Reagan is proposing.

What is needed is not a Democratic government to replace the Republicans, but a workers government, one based on meeting the needs of all the oppressed and exploited in this country.

The unions need their own political party to advance the fight for such a government, a labor party that would mobilize the workers, farmers, Blacks, Latinos, women, and other victims of the capitalist offensive.

If even one union were to take the initiative and run candidates in next fall's elections against the Democrats and Republicans, it would be a powerful example. It would stimulate interest in many other unions and get a broad discussion going in the labor movement about the need for independent working-class political action.

Salvadoran solidarity movement, with its chapters helping to build demonstrations and providing speakers at rallies. This reflects sentiment within the Black community and the prospect for winning substantial support there for the growing movement.

And nowhere is the Vietnam syndrome more deep and persistent than among those who would have to fight and die in Reagan's war, America's draft-age youth.

The point was driven home February 13 when California's Selective Service director reported that 49 percent of the draft-age males in that state had failed to register.

Coupled with the advances of the Salvadoran rebels, these are the things that are worrying many capitalist politicians and publishers.

They agree with Reagan that the United States somehow has the responsibility to intervene to prevent El Salvador from "going communist" — that is, to deny it the right to determine its own destiny. What they are beginning to question is whether the measures taken by the Reagan administration will accomplish this objective or provoke a massive anti-intervention movement in this country.

The doubts and hesitations expressed by important sectors of the ruling class, however, don't mean that they won't support or go along with direct U.S. military intervention if they feel all other avenues have been tried.

But their misgivings reflect a far more profound process that is taking place among the American people.

And, by broadening the debate on El Salvador policy, they increase the prospects for those fighting against U.S. intervention to be heard. No matter how timid, or falsely motivated, the beginning of disagreement within the ruling class helps to heighten public consciousness and gives greater weight to the voice of independent opposition.

Initiated by CISPES, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, a march and demonstration will be held in Washington March 27. The developing dispute within U.S. ruling circles on how to proceed in El Salvador adds to the prospects for building that demonstration on a big scale.

Their difficulty is our opportunity.

Lessons on alliance of workers and peasants in Russia

BY LOUISE HALVERSON

Peasants constituted a majority of the population of Russia before the 1917 revolution. Building an alliance between the working class and the poor peasants was a decisive question in the struggle to overthrow czarism and establish a workers and farmers government.

Agricultural development in Russia in the early 1900s lagged way behind that of industry. Remnants of feudal times bound the peasant to the landlord in many ways, despite the reform of 1861 which ended serfdom.

For instance, a peasant had to plow the landlord's land and harvest his crops for the right to use his pasture. Or he became indebted because his cattle trespassed over a strip of the landlord's land in order to reach water. The majority of the rural population tended small plots of land but it was often not enough to get by.

One of the central questions posed to radicalizing Russian workers and their party was how to relate to

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

the peasants. What position should they take toward the peasants' demand for more land? How could an alliance be forged to overturn the czarist monarchy?

These questions — crucial for the Russian revolution — are the central theme of *Alliance of the Working Class and the Peasantry* (available from Pathfinder Press for \$2.95). The book is a useful selection of speeches, articles, and resolutions by Lenin from 1901-1923. It is organized to make it easier for the reader to follow the Bolsheviks' approach to establishing a workers and peasants alliance as it developed in response to changing conditions.

The earlier writings (including "To the Rural Poor," a popular pamphlet written in 1903 explaining the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party's program to the peasants) explain Lenin's view that the *whole* peasantry will ally with the workers to overthrow the czar and the domination of the landlords. As the rich peasants, who employed wage labor, would have no interest in carrying this democratic revolution further, the workers and poor peasants would then be pitted against both the capitalists and the rich peasants in the struggle toward socialism.

Reading this collection is a lesson in how to skillfully apply Marxist concepts. The agrarian program of the Bolsheviks in power was adapted in order to always keep the main objective in the forefront — winning and maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat.

From the early 1900s the Bolsheviks advocated nationalization of the land in order to break the grip of the landlords over the peasants. Lenin explained that nationalization was not identical to establishing socialist relations on the land. It simply meant that the state would grant the poor peasants use of the land they were already cultivating without being burdened by rent payments.

In August 1917, following a congress of peasant representatives, Lenin proposed that mandates adopted by the peasants be enacted into law. The mandates called for nationalizing the land and confiscating the landlords without delay. They also called for equitable redistribution of land among the small peasants, thus breaking up large landholdings, and for the elimination of wage labor in agriculture. When the workers and peasants, led by the Bolsheviks, took power a couple of months later, the peasant mandates were adopted by the new government.

The measures on land distribution and wage labor were not what the Bolsheviks had been advocating. They considered elimination of wage labor on the land and *equal* distribution of the land to be utopian. But because they agreed with the peasants on the key questions that pitted them, in struggle, against the capitalists and the landlords, they yielded on the measures on which they disagreed. Lenin explained that the peasants would have to go through the experience of carrying out these measures.

The government under Lenin then developed means of encouraging the voluntary collectivization of agriculture.

Also included in this book is the "Draft Resolution on the Agrarian Question" presented to the Second Congress of the Comintern. Drawing from the Russian experience, this important document outlines the basic approach to developing an agrarian program for all capitalist countries.

Why U.S. rulers wanted to silence Malcolm X

Malcolm X was gunned down on February 21, 1965, by assassins as he addressed an audience at the Audubon Ballroom in New York City. Just one week before his death, his home was fire-bombed while he and his family slept.

While the capitalist media tried to explain his murder as a factional feud within the Black move-



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Melvin Chappell

ment, Malcolm always believed that his real enemies were the government and the cops. They wanted his voice silenced once and for all.

The questions that surround the murder of Malcolm point to a cover-up by the cops and the government. Questions like, how much did the informers and the finks in Malcolm's organization, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, know about the plot? Why did

the cops outside the Audubon withdraw from sight just before the shooting? What happened to the plain-clothes cops planted in the audience? Where were they during and after the shooting?

We may never know the complete answer to these and other questions. But the fact remains that Malcolm was seen by those who rule this country as an ardent foe because of his ideas and his commitment to the liberation of Black people from capitalist exploitation. FBI files released since his death provide some clues about the government campaign against Malcolm.

An FBI memo in 1968, for example, ordered agents to "prevent the rise of a Black 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the militant Black nationalist movement." It added: "[name deleted] might have been such a 'messiah,' he is the martyr of the movement of today."

Malcolm X was an internationalist. While he spoke mainly to the needs of Black people, he fought for social justice for all. He was a supporter of the anti-imperialist freedom fighters in Cuba, Vietnam, and the Congo (now called Zaire). Whenever possible, he would point to their revolutionary example and raise solidarity for their struggle. Malcolm understood

that our enemy is organized internationally and that we should do the same.

He was never an advocate of violence, contrary to the slanders of the press. He wanted to end violence, mainly violence committed by racists against Blacks. Whenever he spoke to the public he would answer the lies that he was a "racist in reverse" and an advocate of violence. His answer would always be "No! So, we only mean vigorous action in self-defense, and that vigorous action we feel we're justified in initiating by any means necessary."

Malcolm advocated independent political action — breaking from supporting the candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties that are responsible for the maintenance of racial oppression. As Malcolm put it: "in no way identifying with either party or selling ourselves to either party, but taking political action that's for the good of human beings and that will eliminate these injustices."

He was a revolutionary freedom fighter who realized that the capitalist system could not grant Black people our freedom. He was in favor of its total abolition. This point, more so than any other, made him a dangerous enemy to the ruling class.

LETTERS

'Granma'

After reading your latest edition of the *Militant* (February 12), I note that your editorial spoke on the government ban on Cuban periodicals and the fact that it's been lifted for individuals.

Now that it's permitted, perhaps you could supply me with information concerning subscription rates, where to order, etc. I am particularly interested in obtaining a subscription to *Granma*.

I believe it would be a very good idea to publish this information in your next issue of the *Militant*, so as to permit others to benefit from such publications.

A prisoner
New York

(In reply — One way to subscribe to *Granma* weekly review is to buy a money order in Canadian dollars — or any other currency except U.S. dollars — from a foreign-based bank with offices in the United States. Because of the U.S. economic blockade, Cuba cannot accept checks drawn on U.S. banks or U.S. money orders.

(Subscriptions can also be purchased in Cuba.

(The annual subscription rate for *Granma* is \$10 a year. *Granma* also offers a special discount rate: you can buy a year's subscription for a friend at \$5 if at the same time you buy a year's subscription at the regular rate. Rates include airmail postage.

(The subscription order should be mailed to: Ediciones Cubanas, Empresa de Comercio Exterior de Publicaciones, O'Reilly 407, Apartado 605, Ciudad de La Habana, Cuba.

(*Granma* weekly review is published in three languages: English, French, and Spanish. Subscribers should specify which one they want.

(Because of the U.S. economic blockade regulations, people should order each subscription individually — i.e., not order bundles — since whether bundles will be cleared by customs is still unresolved.

(The prices given are in U.S. dollar equivalents. Canadian dollar prices would be higher [about \$12.15].)

Cuba and Poland

Enclosed is a check for my renewal for one year. Why has the *Militant* editor failed to tell the readers that Castro supports

martial law and the purge of the Solidarity union in Poland? Why hide this important fact? Appreciate a reply on this.

D. Cooper
San Diego, California

Anti-Semitism

I have read your editorial, "Sharp increase in anti-Semitic attacks" (February 5) with great gratification. Racism, whether as an expression of anti-Semitism, anti-Blackness or any other, is one of the mainstays of capitalism, especially American capitalism. The *Militant's* systematic exposure to its readers of this most negative phenomenon is one of this newspaper's many outstanding pluses.

I wish, however, to object to one point raised by your editorial, which is a minor one in a sense, but which is nevertheless important. Using the Anti-Defamation League as source and authority for statistics and, by implication, evaluation and conclusion, could mislead many readers with regard to the ADL, which itself is guilty of "racism and racial discrimination," as well as prejudice and misrepresentation of different forms.

The ADL's support for capitalism and Zionism, and its many stands against Black struggle are well known. Quoting the ADL, even on anti-Semitism, without qualifications, is like quoting Hitler on the devil, or Stalin on Hitler.

Reja-e Busailah
Kokomo, Indiana

Sontag's 'jingoism'

I read your editorial on Susan Sontag's anticommunist speech, and assume it was a typographical error that introduced the phrase "rapid jingoism" to characterize Sontag's remarks. I think what you intended to say was "rabid." I mention it because, while it was indeed rabid, it wasn't as "rapid" a conversion as some people might conclude.

In fact, Sontag had made her right-wing views on Poland well known prior to this rally. She was one of the signers of a statement issued by the misnamed "Committee in Support of Solidarity" the day after the crackdown in Poland. This statement, also signed by Josif Brodsky, another speaker at the New York rally, said: "We appeal to every democratic government, and to all those who

believe in the Polish people's right to basic freedoms, to immediately halt all economic and other transactions with Poland, until every member of Solidarity is freed."

Such a blockade against Poland — and why not the Soviet Union as well — would do nothing but punish the Polish working people for the crimes of the regime, further weakening their struggle to construct real socialism. It is the program of the far right in this country.

What has this got to do with solidarity with Solidarnosc? Nothing.

Ira Wachter
Newark, New Jersey

1940 witch-hunt case

Readers of the *Militant* who follow the activities of the Political Rights Defense Fund and other civil liberties efforts may be interested in a recent development in an important forty-year-old case involving the dismissal of more than fifty City College of New York teachers for alleged Communist associations.

In 1940, more than a decade before the height of McCarthyism, the Rapp-Coudert Committee of the New York State Legislature began an investigation of Communist activity in the schools and called these teachers to testify about their own activities and those of others. Those who refused to cooperate were denied counsel, refused information about their accusers, refused transcripts of the proceedings, and by 1941 all had been fired or had resigned under pressure.

One of these was Morris U. Schappes, today editor of the left-liberal magazine *Jewish Currents* and at that time a thirty-four-year-old instructor in English at City College. He served a year in prison because, although he acknowledged his own Communist Party membership, he refused to name the names of others accused.

A few of those fired — such as Philip Foner of Rutgers and the knighted scholar of Greek history Sir Moses Findley (formerly Moses Finkelstein) — went on to achieve eminence in their fields, but many had their lives and careers ruined.

Apologies to Schappes and the others finally came late last year. On October 28, 1981, the City University Board of Trustees decided to adopt a resolu-



tion expressing "its profound regret at the injustice done to former colleagues." Similar resolutions were passed last March 19 by the City College Faculty Senate and on May 19 by the City University Faculty Senate.

Those interested in learning more about this important case should watch for future issues of *Jewish Currents* to read Schappes's account from the viewpoint of the victims, as well as to obtain information about a May 2 dinner to honor Schappes for his vindication on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday.

Alan Wald
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Golf tournament

Anyone who regularly reads the sports page of their daily paper probably noticed that the first golf tournament of 1982 netted the low man \$100,000. The winner of the five-man field took home \$500,000.

It seems the tournament was held in Bophuthatswana, Africa. Where is Bophuthatswana, Africa? Well, it's *South Africa*. And the tournament was promotion for a new, posh, resort called Sun City, for which the apartheid government of South Africa kicked in the \$1 million prize money.

Allan Grady
New York

Detroit teachers

Detroit teachers returned from their Christmas holiday to be confronted by an ultimatum from the school board: reopen your contract to negotiate concessions or face the layoff of up to 1,000 school employees and drastic cutbacks in educational programs.

The vote at my school was unanimous to instruct our executive board not to reopen the contract, and when the final tally is

in, that position will have the support of the overwhelming majority of the Detroit Federation of Teachers.

This is a significant development for the labor movement in Detroit, which has been on the defensive since the UAW negotiated concessions with Chrysler in 1979. Since that time municipal workers have been forced to give back some of the gains won in a 1980 strike, and workers at McLouth Steel have given up benefits to "save" their company.

Other school employees unions are joining teachers in voting "no" to the board's demands.

Tim Craine
Detroit, Michigan

Thanks for review

Many thanks for Sara Smith's review of *In Your Face* by Lee Ballinger (*Militant* February 5, 1982). *Militant* readers may be interested in knowing that Ballinger also publishes a monthly newsletter of the same name (subtitled "America's Bluecollar Sports Letter").

One year subscriptions can be obtained by sending \$7 to All-Star Features, Box 1041, Warren, Ohio 44485.

Jeff Beneke
Bridgeport, Connecticut

More attractive paper

I just wanted to write and say that I very much like the changes in the *Militant*. The new layout, style of letters, and especially the front page all make the paper more attractive and professional in appearance. I think that the changes will help us reach more industrial workers with our ideas. In fact, more workers in my plant are reading the *Militant* now.

Rob Roper
Tempe, Arizona

Polish workers resist martial law

Hundreds of demonstrators defy cops in Poznan

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Hundreds of Poles took to the streets of Poznan, in western Poland, on February 13 to protest the beginning of the third month of martial law.

According to a Warsaw radio account, the demonstrators gathered in Adam Mickiewicz Square, a popular site for protest rallies. In the middle of the square is a monument to the scores of workers killed by police and troops during the 1956 Poznan uprising; and it was there that more than 200,000 Poles rallied in June 1981 to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the uprising, an action organized by the Solidarity union movement.

The government radio account charged that the protesters had been "provoked by pamphlets urging them to assemble." In an apparent reference to antigovernment slogans, it said that "hostile shouts were heard."

Show of force

To put down the demonstration, police moved in and arrested at least 194 persons. All movie theaters and other places of public entertainment were closed down, as were all gas stations. Private cars were barred from the roads.

There had been calls for similar demonstrations in Warsaw, but a large police and military show of force and stepped-up document and automobile checks appeared to have headed off any large-scale displays of resistance in the capital.

The Poznan demonstration was just one more reminder that the martial law administration of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski is still far from its goal of stifling opposition to bureaucratic rule.

Just two weeks earlier, on January 30, thousands demonstrated in the northern port city of Gdansk to protest sharp hikes in the prices of food and other consumer items. Around the same time, students at the Polytechnical University in Wroclaw, in southwestern Poland, demonstrated for two successive nights, singing songs and chanting political slogans.

The only response of the government, which still claims to speak in the name of the workers, has been repression. Besides all the restrictions of martial law — bans on strikes and demonstrations, the suspension of Solidarity's activities and the detention of thousands of its top leaders, strict controls on travel and communications — the authorities have been staging trials of union activists and strike organizers across the country.

Stiff prison terms

At the end of these summary trials, workers are being sentenced to stiff prison terms. On February 10, for instance, four coal miners in Katowice drew jail terms of between three and four years. Several days earlier in Gdansk, Wladyslaw Trzcinski, an associate of Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa, was sentenced to nine years in prison.

This repression, however, has not been able to still the spirit of resistance. Even in the courtrooms continued support for Solidarity has been expressed by defendants and defense lawyers. At a trial of a Solidarity organizer from the large Ursus tractor factory outside Warsaw, some 200 spectators burst into the Polish national anthem while the verdict was being read.

Union activists who have evaded arrest have lost little time in trying to re-

organize Solidarity. They have set up resistance committees in factories and cities around the country. Because of the conditions of repression, these committees, known as Social Resistance Circles—Solidarity (KOSS), do not carry out their activities in public; they are organized as a network of overlapping cells, each involving no more than five persons.

Resistance bulletins

To combat the government's censorship and propaganda, these committees are publishing a stream of uncensored bulletins, leaflets, and statements. Among the more regular bulletins are *Tygodnik Wojenny* (State of War Weekly), *Nowa Agencja Informacyjna* (New Information Bureau), *Wiadomosc* (The News), *Komentarz Biezacy* (Running Commentary), *Z Dnia na Dzień* (From Day to Day), and *Solidarnosc Walczaca* (Fighting Solidarity).

Statement by various Solidarity leaders have urged workers to contribute money for the families of prisoners or for those unionists who have been thrown out of their jobs, to circulate information about cases of repression or acts of resistance, and to organize work slowdowns.

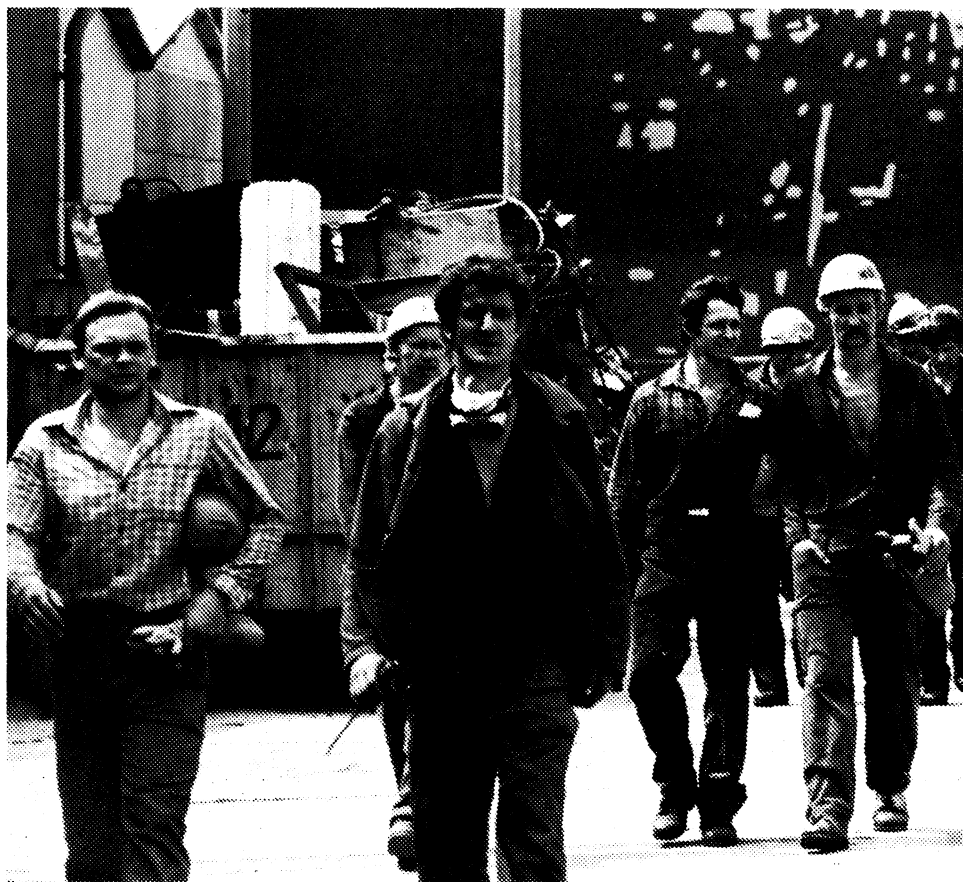
"Let them arrest us for striking," a statement by former Solidarity vice-chairman Bogdan Lis said, "let them put the whole nation behind bars, in concentration camps, or wherever. They cannot; they are in no position to do so."

Others called on members of the ruling Polish United Workers Party to resign from the party in protest.

Appeal to troops

Several appealed to troops and police not to fight against the workers. Zbigniew Bujak, the head of Solidarity's Warsaw regional chapter, told them to "listen to the voice of your conscience, and follow it rather than the orders you are given."

"Become our allies," appealed the Solidarity Interfactory Strike Committee in Gdansk. "Do not let the career officers



Militant/Ernest Harsch

Workers at Lenin shipyard in Gdansk. 'People here don't feel defeated yet. We don't think Solidarity is finished.'

treat you as blind instruments. Do not passively participate in measures against strikers and democratic oppositionists."

Another Solidarity statement categorically rejected the use of terrorism. This was in reply to recent government statements accusing activists of terrorism, both to portray their struggle as that of a handful of isolated individuals, and to set the basis for further repression.

Workers not defeated

In fact, however, the response of Solidarity members has been extremely disciplined, despite all the provocations they have been subjected to.

In an attempt to reinforce its claim that Poland was getting back to normal, the government took a group of foreign journalists to the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk.

Many workers were indeed back at their jobs, but as one worker said in reply to a question about work slowdowns, "We could certainly be working harder and faster."

"People here don't feel defeated yet," another said. "We don't think Solidarity is finished."

A slogan chalked on a metal gate summed up the feelings of many workers throughout Poland: "The winter is yours, but the spring will be ours." It was signed, "Solidarity."

Work stoppage hits S. Africa regime

BY G.K. NEWAY

More than 50,000 industrial workers in South Africa, mainly Black, stopped working on February 11 to take part in a thirty-minute protest against the apartheid regime's practice of detaining opponents without trial. Among the factories where the stoppage was observed were the Ford and General Motors auto plants.

The strike was sparked by the death in detention of Dr. Neil Aggett, a young white physician who was secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers Union, which is mostly Black. Aggett, who was arrested on November 27 along with sixteen other opponents of the white supremacist regime in South Africa, had been held under the Terrorism Act, which allows the government to hold suspects without trial for as long as it chooses. He was found hanged in his cell on February 5, in what prison authorities claim was a suicide.

Since detention was instituted in 1963, dozens of detainees have died in prison. Aggett was the first white among them. The death of Black Consciousness movement leader Steve Biko in September 1977 brought world attention to this practice.

Relatives and colleagues of Dr. Aggett have rejected the government's explanation that his death was a suicide. "He was totally the most unfazed person I ever met," David Lewis of the General Workers Union stated. "Really not emotional. I would say he was a remarkably stable kind of guy. Either he was submitted to pressure beyond belief, or he was killed."

The African Food and Canning Workers Union issued a statement that no government inquiry would ever convince union members "that Neil Aggett took his own life."

It should be recalled that when Steve Biko's death was first revealed, South African authorities claimed that the Black leader had died while on a hunger strike. But an autopsy revealed that Biko had suffered brain damage and other injuries. A subsequent inquiry indicated that he had been kept naked and chained in his solitary confinement cell for several days after his injuries, and then transported 650 miles in a jeep to Pretoria, where he died.

Only days after Aggett's death, the security police officer in charge of Steve Biko's detention was promoted to deputy commissioner of police.

The arrest of Aggett and the other sixteen union activists was part of a broader crackdown on trade-union activity by Black workers in South Africa. At least 306 people connected with Black trade unions were arrested in the past year.

According to Louis Le Grange, the minister of police, many of the detainees will be brought to court soon in a major political trial because "they are directly involved in threatening internal security and especially because they are involved in alleged African National Congress activities."

The ANC, which is fighting to end white minority rule in South Africa, has been outlawed since 1960. Its leader, Nelson Mandela, has been serving a life sentence on Robben Island since 1964.

Mandela's wife, Winnie, has been under a "banning" order for most of the past twenty years. People who are banned in South Africa — and there are currently 115 — are confined to specific areas, cannot go out at night or on weekends, are forced to report regularly to the police, cannot meet socially with more than one person at a time, cannot write anything, even a diary, and cannot be quoted in the press, even after their death.

From Intercontinental Press