

Why U.S.-staged election won't bring democracy to Salvador



Thousands of opponents of U.S. intervention in El Salvador massed in Washington March 27. See story, page 3, and editorial, page 22.

BY HARRY RING

APRIL 1 — The Reagan administration declared a big propaganda victory when it succeeded in carrying out elections in El Salvador March 28. The media agreed, and portrayed a massive turnout at the polls.

But the reality of the civil war — and U.S. involvement in that war — remains unchanged. In fact, the election results, which failed to give President José Napoleón Duarte a majority, may mean that figures even further to the right than Duarte will take control in the new government.

As the *Militant* went to press, U.S. officials were working overtime to prevent Roberto d'Aubuisson from becoming the new president. D'Aubuisson is the former Army major described by ex-U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White as "a pathological killer." A key figure behind the ultrarightist death squads, he is widely believed to be the man who ordered the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero in 1980.

D'Aubuisson's ARENA party won 29 percent of the vote. Along with the National Conciliation Party (PCN), it will have the largest bloc of seats in the new

constituent assembly. As the ARENA candidate, d'Aubuisson called for nationalizing guerrilla-held areas, vigorously opposed any negotiations, and urged an end to the minimal land reform program. The PCN held power in El Salvador from 1961 until 1979 by means of what the *New York Times* called "repeated electoral frauds."

What Washington wanted

The elections were never intended to give the Salvadoran people a voice in determining the future of their country. Washington orchestrated them as an international public relations event in the hopes of masking the murderous character of the military dictatorship it is backing there.

The elections were aimed in particular at the American people, the overwhelming majority of whom oppose U.S. involvement in El Salvador. The Reagan administration clearly assumed Duarte would be reinstalled through the elections, thus maintaining a thin facade of "moderation" in the regime.

If Duarte is replaced, it will make Reagan's job of selling U.S. intervention all the harder. But in expectation of d'Aubuisson's possible accession to power, U.S. officials began shortly before the elections to portray the ultrarightist as not such a bad guy after all. U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton pointed out, "There's lots of people who are sort of attracted to the idea of restoring law and order with a strong man."

Rebels' view of elections

Guillermo Ungo, leader of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), told reporters that the elections had done nothing to bring peace to his country. People voted, he said, "because an abstention could be read as support for subversion and that was dangerous."

Ungo described Washington's strategy as "war with elections." He reiterated the rebels' longstanding offer to negotiate. "We have always said that the war would continue before, during, and after

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Arab general strike shakes Israel

BY M. SHAJOR

TEL AVIV — For the first time since the establishment of the state of Israel, a general strike by the Arab population was held inside Israel and in occupied Arab territories March 30. A few days earlier, an unprecedented demonstration of 50,000 people, most of them Jewish, took place here to protest the Israeli government's attacks on Arabs.

The general strike was called by Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip; by Arabs on the Syrian Golan Heights; and by Palestinians inside Israel. The demands were opposition to the continued occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, against the discrimination of the Arab population in Israel, against the annexation of the Golan Heights, and for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

Smoke from burning tires rose from Nablus, Ramallah, Hebron in the West Bank; Sakhnin and Arraba in the Galilee; and Tira, Taiyba, and Um-el-Fahm. There were demonstrations everywhere, mobilizing most of the people from the Arab villages in Israel.

In the West Bank and Gaza Strip, confrontations continued between the population and the army. Roads were blocked. There were turbulent demonstrations.

There was a confrontation in East Jerusalem between the army and demonstrators, as the city remained closed down by the general strike.

Arab workers from the occupied territories who work in Israel did not go to their jobs. This was felt especially in the construction sites, the small plants, and the textile industry, which rely heavily on labor from the occupied territories.

Although the bosses threatened the Arab workers with firing if they did not come to work, the strike included the Arabs living inside Israel as well. It was a success.

Nazareth, the only Arab city inside Israel, was shut down. Workers did not go to their jobs. The shops were closed. Except for buses, nothing moved.

In Um-el-Fahm there was a big demonstration on the night of March 29, where 7,000 people participated. They carried banners demanding the right to establish an independent Palestinian state, against the occupation, and against the annexation of the Golan Heights.

At a mass meeting in Sakhnin March 30, there were slogans declaring, "We are all feydayeen." When two Palestinian flags — which are outlawed in Israel — were unfurled, no one took them down.

In contrast to the police restraint in Sakhnin, the police did intervene in some villages, made arrests, and took away leaflets.

About 50,000 people poured into the streets of Tel Aviv March 27 to protest the Israeli government's brutal crackdown against the Arab population in the occupied territories.

It was the largest antiwar demonstration in Israel since the Peace Now movement of 1978. But it was far more militant.

The demonstrators chanted or carried signs with the slogans, "Murderers out of the West Bank," "No to the occupation," "The Golan Heights is Syrian,"

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U.S. government orders socialist deported

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

After more than two years of silence, the U.S. Board of Immigration Appeals has turned down Héctor Marroquín's request for political asylum in the United States, ordering him to leave the country "voluntarily" within thirty days.

Marroquín, a twenty-eight-year-old native of Mexico, is a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee and of the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The immigration board ruling constitutes yet another escalation of the Reagan administration's war against the political rights of working people in the United States. It comes on the heels of the introduction in Congress — with administration backing — of new anti-immigrant legislation and the relaunching of factory raids by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

Political activists have been a special target of Reagan's anti-immigrant vendetta. The INS has stubbornly refused to grant asylum to Haitians and Salvad-

orans fleeing brutal dictatorships in their homelands.

In addition, two other members of the U.S. socialist movement, Mojgan Hari-Vijeh and Hamid Reza Sodeifi, have also been faced with U.S. government attempts to deport them in the past year. Both are Iranian students.

In its March 23 decision on the Marroquín case, the Board of Immigration Appeals tries to camouflage the political basis of its order to deport him. It states that Marroquín's "particular political ideology" has nothing to do with the denial of asylum, but rather that he "has failed to establish a well-founded fear of persecution" if he were to return to Mexico.

The entire history of the Marroquín case refutes this claim.

Marroquín was a student and political activist at the University of Nuevo León in Monterrey, the largest city in northern Mexico. In January 1974 Marroquín and three other students were publicly branded terrorists by the cops, who

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Militant/Arnold Weissberg
Héctor Marroquín

Elections won't bring Salvador democracy

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the elections until there are peace negotiations," he said. "And if the war continues, it is bound to intensify."

The majority won by ultraright parties, he noted, means that "the elections have restored what we've had for the past fifty years."

Were elections free?

The so-called free elections were restricted to the country's right-wing. Voter choice ranged from "moderate" right to extreme right.

True, the left had been invited to participate — if they laid down their arms. That's a form of gallows humor that was even recognized by U.S. Ambassador Hinton. During the election campaign he suggested the rebel forces could participate by submitting videotapes rather than inviting assassination by campaigning in person. Hinton didn't address himself to the problems that would have faced those signing election petitions for the insurgents.

Nevertheless, it's argued, many people did go to the polls, at least by the junta's count. The Salvadoran regime and Washington claim people voted in order to repudiate the guerrillas.

A better reason

A more credible explanation for the turnout was the possible consequence of not voting.

Every person who voted had their finger — and their ID card — stamped with indelible ink. That, allegedly, was to bar repeat voters.

An accountant in the town of Santa Tecla explained it quite simply to correspondents for the *New York Village Voice*: "Voting is an obligation. What would happen to me if I showed up at work and they checked my ID card and found that I didn't vote?"

And, by official count, 11 percent of those who did go to the polls cast blank or defaced protest ballots, as proposed by the guerrillas. Even this was a risky undertaking, since ballots had to be dropped into clear plastic boxes under the watchful eyes of government officials.

Part of the media propaganda drive in this country about the great "success" of the election is the assertion that the rebel forces failed in their objective of preventing the voting from taking place.

But the simple fact is that they didn't try to stop it.

Radio Venceremos, principal voice of the rebels, explicitly stated that the guerrillas would not try to prevent people from voting.

A *New York Times* correspondent de-

scribed passing through a guerrilla roadblock outside the town of Santo Domingo. Residents were freely permitted to pass through to vote. "If they want to vote," a guerrilla said, "we're not going to interfere."

Washington has also asserted the elections proved the guerrilla movement is weaker than previously assumed and is without significant support among the people.

But two days before the voting, rebel forces attacked Usulután, El Salvador's fourth-largest city.

Sandinista leader takes case to UN

BY SUZANNE HAIG

UNITED NATIONS, New York — As Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, coordinator of the Nicaraguan Junta of National Reconstruction, entered the chambers of the UN Security Council March 25, he was greeted by loud, enthusiastic applause from the packed visitors' area.

The Nicaraguan government had requested this meeting of the Security Council to "warn the nations of the world that the Central American crisis has reached the point of a dramatic explosion" because of increasing U.S. aggression.

With quiet dignity, Ortega appealed for peace and for the right of the oppressed to break the chains of their oppression. He expressed the determination of the Nicaraguan people to defend their revolution to the last drop of blood, if necessary.

By contrast, Jeane Kirkpatrick, speaking on behalf of the U.S. government, presented a cynical diatribe, comparing the Sandinista government to the Nazis in Germany.

She was met with sounds of disbelief and disgust from the audience. Guards were stationed in front of the gallery to ensure silence.

"Throughout history, humanity has engaged in a constant struggle to attain better and more just ways of life," Ortega began. He explained that the revolutions in Central America today are part of this historical process.

Ortega pointed to the record of the U.S. government, which has a long history of "continuous backing to antipopular governments, and has harassed and overthrown worthy governments, and carried out armed interventions against our people."

In light of Washington's support to the murderous junta in El Salvador, and of its sponsorship of counterrevolution-

ary attacks on Nicaragua, Ortega said, "I am obliged to appear before you because I share the legitimate concerns of the responsible men and women in the United States Congress and Senate who are making great efforts to prevent intervention; because I share the legitimate concern of the most important and serious mass media of the United States, and of the American people . . . who reject another Vietnam in their history and share the Nicaraguan people's desire for peace; and because both are peoples whose deepest historical memory contains images of intervention and pains of war."

Five-day battle

Fierce fighting took place in the streets of the city for a full five days. Then the rebels simply slipped into the surrounding countryside.

The March 31 *New York Times* described the scene after the rebels left.

"Although soldiers were listening, the

residents of Usulután did not speak with anger or resentment about the guerrillas who had attacked their town. 'The truth is we don't hate them, nor fear them,' said a 36-year-old woman who sells cheese and fruit from an open-air market stall in times of peace.

"They didn't harm us, they didn't rob us," said a 63-year-old woman. . . .

"They only fought with the authorities," added a 15-year-old girl."

It will take more than staged elections to hold back that kind of movement.

they are invaded, which is the same vigor that enabled the Americans to win their independence in 1776."

Ortega ended by reaffirming the desire of the Nicaraguan and Cuban governments, along with the Salvadoran revolutionaries, to begin negotiations for an end to the conflict. But he insisted that such negotiations should be accompanied by an end to all hostile actions against Nicaragua by the United States.

Following Ortega, Kirkpatrick accused the Nicaraguan government of "psychological projection," because "hostility is the dominant emotion of Nicaraguan policy."

She claimed that the Nicaraguan "army is supporting the overthrow of countries in the area."

Comparing the Sandinista revolution to "a coup d'état in stages, like the Nazis," Kirkpatrick said it was moving "step by step" to ban trade unions and close down newspapers. "At each stage the government's demand for more power comes with charges of enemies without and within."

When Kirkpatrick finished, a tiny handful of people in the gallery applauded. Otherwise, there was dead silence.

From *Intercontinental Press*

Honduras arrests FDR figure

Ramon Cardona, well known spokesperson for the El Salvador Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), was arrested in Tegucigalpa, Honduras on March 30. Cardona was changing planes on his way to Nicaragua from Puerto Rico.

When Cardona got off Air Florida Flight 196, the Honduran Immigration Police picked him up and charged him with carrying subversive material. The Honduran government denies any knowledge of Cardona's whereabouts or

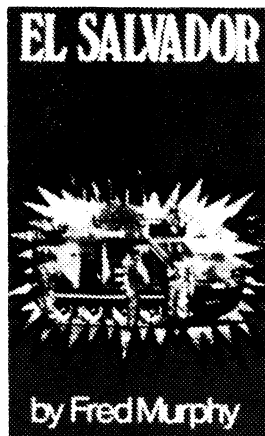
his arrest, but the March 31 Managua papers carried a notice of the incident.

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) is asking people to send telegrams demanding information on Cardona's whereabouts and safety to Honduran President Roberto Suazo-Cordova, Casa de Gobierno, Tegucigalpa, Honduras.

CISPES is also requesting phone calls to the Honduran ambassador to the United States, Federico Poujol, at (202) 966-7700.

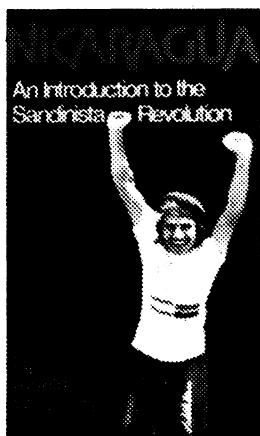
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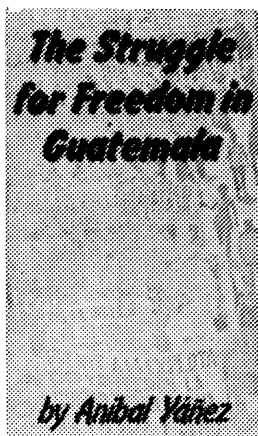
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Thousands say 'U.S. out of El Salvador'

New antiwar generation takes to the streets



Sign at Washington march reads "We don't want a Vietnam in Central America."

BY SUZANNE HAIG

WASHINGTON, D.C. — On March 27, the day before the elections in El Salvador, a strong message was sent to the Reagan administration as thousands demonstrated here against U.S. intervention in Central America.

Organized by the March 27 Coalition, the action of 40,000-50,000 people was powerful evidence that Washington has been unable to reverse public opinion against U.S. intervention — despite its orchestration of "democratic elections" in El Salvador.

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) played the main organizing role for the demonstration.

New antiwar generation

The crowd consisted overwhelmingly of youth — a new antiwar generation that has drawn important lessons from U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

People chanted, "Hey, hey, Uncle Sam, we remember Vietnam!" and "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador."

Signs read: "Remember Vietnam," "No more Vietnams," and "Vietnam vets against military involvement in Central America."

The demonstrators linked opposition to U.S. foreign policy to Reagan's social service cutbacks, chanting, "Money for jobs, not war!" Signs read: "Cornell agronomists say, 'More food, less war!'; 'American college students say, 'Restore funding to education, arts, and sciences. Stop U.S. support for El Salvador dictatorship'; and Health care not warfare — Albert Einstein College of Medicine."

Many signs were directed at President Reagan and Secretary of State Haig, including "Reagan hates kids, and kids hate Reagan" and "Al Haig, international terrorist."

A large number of the demonstrators were students. Buses, vans, and car pools came from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor; Kent State; Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School; Vassar College; Princeton University; Davidson College, North Carolina; Hunter College High School in New York; and many more.

Latino contingents

Thousands of Latinos participated in the demonstration. Contingents included Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, Guatemalans, Colombians, Dominicans,

Puerto Ricans, and Chileans. Cubans from the Antonio Maceo Brigade carried a sign reading "Cubans against U.S. intervention in El Salvador." A bus of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans came from Chicago.

Chants from these contingents included "Duarte, Somoza, la misma cosa" (Duarte, Somoza, they are the same thing) and "Si Nicaragua venció, El Salvador vencerá y Guatemala vencerá" (If Nicaragua won, El Salvador will win and Guatemala will win).

Casa Nicaragua of New York carried a banner reading "CIA out of Nicaragua."

A major demand of many marchers was for an end to the deportation of Central American and Caribbean refugees from the United States. As one sign put it, "Deport the junta's army, not El Salvadoran refugees."

In addition, some 150-200 Palestinians marched, chanting "Money for jobs, not war, U.S. out of El Salvador" and "We want jobs, we want peace, U.S. out of the Middle East." They passed out a statement opposing U.S. intervention in Central America and the Middle East. Haitians had a contingent, and Rev. Gerard Jean-Juste, director of the Haitian Refugee Center, Inc., in Miami, addressed the morning rally.

Turks, Greeks, and Filipinos also marched in their own contingents.

The National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), the National Black United Front, and the Black Vets for Social Justice had contingents.

Ben Stewart, a Black Vietnam vet from the Methodist Federation for Social Action in Wheaton, Illinois, told the *Militant*, "The people of the Third World are not intimidated by Washington anymore. What can the U.S. do? Kill them? They are already starving to death, and they are saying 'I will fight for my freedom, now.'"

There were a few union contingents, including the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Local 169 from New York City; Hospital Workers 1199; American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 1720; and an American Federation of Teachers local. Unionists marched in many other contingents as well.

Many of the ACTWU members carried the blue-and-white flag of El Salvador.

One ACTWU member, José González, came here from El Salvador in 1981 be-

cause the security forces were trying to kill him for his political activities. González, who said he wants to see a "democratic and socialist government in El Salvador," thought the demonstration was important because it "told the truth about my country."

United States war

Arnaldo Ramos, a representative of the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), was the major speaker at the afternoon rally.

Ramos told the crowd assembled in Lafayette Park, "This is truly a United States war, the one going on in El Salvador. It's a war against the Salvadoran people that has taken the form of military aggression.

"This is also a war against the American people. In spite of its rhetoric about negotiations, a military solution still is the basic policy from Washington. And this is against the wishes of 72 percent of the American people.

"This is against the wishes of Congress, which in February passed a resolution, 391 for and 13 against, urging a peaceful settlement in El Salvador.

"This administration has made it very clear that it is acting directly against the immediate material interests of the American people. Bread is taken out of the mouths of hungry children and converted into guns. Important social programs are being cut in order to expand the lethal capabilities of the Central American armies."

At the morning rally, Detroit city councilwoman Mary Ann Mahaffey presented the seal of that city to Ramos.

Dee Bates of the NBIPP also spoke. "While the U.S. spends billions of dollars to support brutal dictatorships around the world, and trillions to build up a Frankensteinian war machine," she said, "millions of people here in the United States have been thrown out of work. Billions of dollars have been slashed from social programs to poor and Black people who have been forced to depend on government assistance. Millions of our people's lives are being shattered by the racist policies of Reaganism and Reaganomics.

"We call on all peace-loving peoples to demand an end to U.S. military and economic assistance to the El Salvador junta," she said, "an end to U.S. support to the repressive regimes of Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Haiti, and South Africa; and an end to U.S. repression and threats against Nicaragua, Cuba, and Grenada."

Miskitu people

Bill Means, executive director of the International Indian Treaty Council, recently spent two weeks in Nicaragua.

Actions in other U.S. cities

Protests against U.S. intervention in Central America took place March 27 in a number of other U.S. cities.

The largest was in **Seattle**, where 10,000 demonstrated. The action was endorsed by several unions, plus the Whatcom County (Bellingham) Central Labor Council.

In **Oakland**, 2,500 to 3,000 people demonstrated. Police arrested 125 at a sit-in at the Alameda Naval Air Station.

In **Denver**, 750 marched in the Chicago community. Banners from machinist and clothing workers unions were carried.

Texans and Oklahomans protested in **Dallas**. Participants came from Austin, Houston, San Antonio, and Nacogdoches in Texas; and from Norman, Oklahoma City, and Tulsa in Oklahoma.

Iranian Moslems in Dallas distributed a message from Ayatollah Khomeini denouncing U.S. intervention in Central America.

In **Los Angeles**, 700 people heard

He spoke in defense of the Sandinista revolution there and took up Washington's hypocritical "support" for the Miskitu Indians.

Bob Lopez, United Auto Workers international representative, asked the crowd, "Why is the Reagan administration supporting the junta? Whose interests does it represent?" He then said that the El Salvador military regime perpetuates the "oppression of labor by the banks and corporations.

"Reagan hides this truth in lies, phony documents, phony elections," he added.

Rev. Herbert Daughtry, chairman of the National Black United Front, spoke of the struggle against U.S. aggression around the world — from Puerto Rico, to Palestine, to Haiti, to the United States itself. He noted Reagan's anticommunist hypocrisy in declaring March 21 "Afghanistan Sunday," pointing out that "March 21 is the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre."

Demonstrators saw through Washington's attempts to blame Cuba and Nicaragua for the civil war in El Salvador. There were signs calling on the United States to begin serious negotiations.

Pablo Medina from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in Chicago said the U.S. charges were "an excuse to develop misconceptions of what is happening in El Salvador — to unfocus the view of the American people about El Salvador and other places."

And signs read: "Stop military aid to El Salvador, stop CIA war on Nicaragua"; "Hands off Nicaragua and Cuba. No more Bay of Pigs"; and "Where are the real terrorists? Training at Ft. Bragg."

El Salvador and Iran

"We are militarily in El Salvador like we were in Iran — to support our multinational corporations, our coffee and sugar," Mark Kilduff, a student at Circle Campus in Chicago, told the *Militant*.

"We help overthrow good governments that don't cooperate with us, and support the evil ones that help us. Yet we gave the Soviet Union all hell because of what it's doing in Poland — and we're doing worse. What hypocrisy!"

One sign summed it up: "El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala equals Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia."

The action went smoothly despite an attempted disruption organized by the Spartacist League. This group held a counterdemonstration aimed not against the U.S. government, but against the leadership of the Salvadoran liberation forces and their call for

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Martin Martínez, one of five Salvadorans on hunger strike there to protest U.S. intervention, and others.

One hundred and fifty Arizonans demonstrated at **Tempe**, just outside Phoenix.

San Francisco saw a march and rally of 500. In **San Diego**, 160 marched to a rally at Balboa Park.

Earlier, memorials were held in several cities for Archbishop Oscar Romero, who was assassinated by the junta in El Salvador two years ago on March 24. In St. Paul, Minnesota, 5,000 attended a memorial service, march, and rally. In Philadelphia, 1,000 attended a Romero commemoration.

There was also a prowar action March 27 in San Francisco by 200 counterrevolutionary Cubans, Nicaraguans, Salvadorans, and followers of Rev. Sun Myung Moon of the Unification Church. There was also a handful of Moon supporters counterdemonstrating in Dallas.



Militant/Lou Howort

Socialist candidates join protests against U.S. war in Central America

Many glad to see 'someone supports right side'

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Socialist Workers Party candidates and campaign supporters helped build and took part in the March 27 demonstrations against U.S. intervention in Central America.

In distributing literature — including the *Militant* — at the demonstrations, the socialist campaigners helped get out the truth about U.S. threats in Central America and the Caribbean.

The *Militant's* eyewitness coverage from Nicaragua, and its printing last week of the open letter to President Reagan from Sandinista Orlando Nuñez, were cited by Laura Garza, socialist candidate for mayor of Newark, as especially attractive to new readers.

That was also the experience of Andy Towbin, a campaign supporter from Brooklyn, who sold more than 120 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in Washington that weekend. "People were also interested in the article on why the U.S. is intervening in Central America," Tobin said.

At press time reported sales of the *Militant* totaled nearly 1,500 single copies and sixty-two subscriptions; 177 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* were reported sold along with twelve subscriptions. In addition, 1,200 copies of the *Young Socialist* were distributed. Final sales results will be available next week.

Pathfinder Press reported D.C. sales of \$425 worth of socialist books and pamphlets, including 131 Spanish and English pamphlets on Central America and the Caribbean. More than \$100 in books and pamphlets were sold in Los Angeles.

In discussions at the actions, socialist candidates explained their views and listened to what the demonstrators had to say. Edith Wolff, twenty, who was attending her first demonstration, told Jane Roland, candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts:

"I came here to learn different views. I totally disagree with Reagan's foreign policy and arms buildup. He's living in some kind of made-up world. He connects everything with the Soviet Union and Cuba. The U.S. should be on the side of the populace, and not act on what's beneficial for business."

In Seattle, Chris Remple, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, said many people told him they were "glad someone who supports the right side in El Salvador" is running against Democratic incumbent Henry Jackson.

Ike Nahem, running for governor of Illinois, was interviewed on the march by a student newspaper from Syracuse University. Nahem reported keen interest by the interviewer in the socialist view that workers and farmers should run the government here, as they are doing in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

Nahem and other candidates told the *Militant* that people they talked with saw the demonstrations as powerful weapons against the U.S. war drive.

Nahem reported that dozens of Salvadorans came from Chicago. Many, he said, "were excited to know that a candidate who supports their struggle will be on the ballot in Illinois."

More than 500 people in D.C. signed petitions for the reinstatement of unionists fired from plants in Atlanta

and St. Louis with Pentagon contracts. "All we had to say was 'sign to get some antiwar workers' jobs back,'" said Jody Curran, a worker harassed by McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis. "Many people made the immediate connection that these firings were an attack on the unions."

Socialist Mary Nell Bockman said she had traveled 1,100 miles from Lincoln, Nebraska, with seven other people, four of them high school students.

On the way to Washington, she said, "we stopped at a truck stop in Newark, Ohio (a small city off Interstate 70). The waitress asked us who we were with and told us people in Newark were very aware of what was going on in El Salvador."

"She told us that a group of Salvadoran baseball players recently played in a tournament in Newark. Three of them requested asylum, saying they were afraid to return. The government is trying to deport them, claiming they face no danger in returning to El Salvador."

"But the people of Newark feel differently. As our waitress said, 'They would be killed if they went back.' The attend-

ant who pumped our gas also mentioned this and said he was glad we were on our way to D.C. to protest."

Socialist candidates helped build the March 27 protests, calling for participation in them through campaign statements and interviews. They helped in other ways, too. Maceo Dixon, running for governor of Georgia, was one of many volunteer marshalls at the Washington demonstration.

Young Socialist Alliance members in Price, Utah, couldn't find an antiwar event near their small mining town, so they showed the film *Revolution or Death* at a forum attended by several Salvadoran and Mexican miners.

After the actions, the YSA held open houses where demonstrators could meet socialist candidates. In Washington, several hundred people heard Yvonne Hayes, Maryland SWP candidate for U.S. Senate:

"Our job," Hayes said, "is to unite millions of Americans in action, to help lead them into the streets, to stay the hand of those rich and powerful few who would destroy the lives of millions."

She described how the YSA fought the

U.S. government's early attempts to destroy the Cuban revolution. She went on:

"As the U.S. government escalated its war in Vietnam, the YSA threw itself into building the movement to bring the troops home. Inspired by the determination of the Vietnamese masses, we sought ways to draw together everyone who opposed the war to demand, 'U.S. out now.'"

"Almost 90 percent of the population opposes intervention with U.S. troops in El Salvador. Seventy percent oppose further military aid. And 50 percent say they would support draft resisters if Reagan takes us to war there."

"These numbers represent powerful forces in our country that have yet to be tapped — youth, Blacks, and Latinos, unionists, women. These are the people who can stop U.S. war moves if we do our part."

To help mobilize this antiwar sentiment, and to join the struggle to replace the capitalist government of war with one that represents workers and farmers, Hayes urged everyone present to join the YSA.

Canada, Europe actions protest war drive

BY BOB BRAXTON

MONTREAL — More than 5,000 people all across Canada braved subzero weather and chilling winds to demonstrate March 27 against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

More than 1,000 marched in Vancouver; 700 in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; and more than 500 in Toronto and Montreal, with smaller demonstrations in a number of other cities.

The demonstrations capped a cross-country week of activities March 20 through 27. Three things stand out about these actions:

- First, the geographic expansion of the antiwar movement. El Salvador committees now exist in all ten provinces, including in many smaller towns and cities, particularly in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario.

- Second, the breadth of the movement. Ecumenical services held to commemorate the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero involved thousands of church members. Students in Quebec and elsewhere have formed dozens of solidarity committees in colleges and high schools. Contingents of workers from the Canadian Union of Postal Workers and the International Woodworkers of America participated in the Vancouver demonstration, while in Quebec the National Federation of Trade Unions has launched a campaign to raise \$1 per member to send to the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador.

- Third, growing opposition to the Pierre Trudeau government's complicity with the U.S. war effort. Joining in the week of solidarity activities were opponents of the federal government's policies on El Salvador from all major political parties — the Conservatives, the New Democratic Party, Trudeau's own Liberal Party, and the Parti Québécois.

- In Britain, 15,000 demonstrators marched past the U.S. embassy in Lon-

don to Trafalgar Square on March 28 to demand "U.S. hands off El Salvador!" and "Victory to the FMLN and FDR!" The action was called jointly by the El Salvador Solidarity Committee and the Labor Party.

The rally was addressed by Trades Union Congress Chairman Alan Sapper and Labor Party leader Michael Foot. Foot denounced the elections in El Salvador as a "sham" and called the participation of British observers in them a "disgrace."

- In Denmark, thousands demonstrated in several cities March 26 under the slogan, "No to U.S. Intervention in El Salvador!" In Copenhagen, some 5,000 people marched to the U.S. embassy. Demonstrations were also held in Århus, Odense, and Ålborg.

Vietnam hails U.S. peace fighters

The following statement was released by the Vietnam Committee for the Defense of World Peace on the occasion of the March 27 demonstrations against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

On the occasion of the Day of Solidarity with the people of El Salvador, we send our warmest greetings to the progressive American people and peace fighters.

The Reagan administration is carrying out a policy of open intervention in El Salvador, running counter to the interests of the American people and disregarding strong protests from all over the world. The administration is attempting to maintain the dictatorial, genocidal regime of Duarte-Gutiérrez, and to prevent the Salvadoran people from deciding their own destiny.

Likewise, the Reagan administration has stepped up hostile activities against Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, seriously threatening the independence, sover-

- West German riot police fired tear gas to disperse a crowd of 10,000 demonstrators at the U.S. air base at Tempelhof, in West Berlin, March 27. The same day, some 4,000 marchers protested U.S. intervention in El Salvador in the northern city of Bremen.

- On March 26, about 1,000 persons rallied outside the U.S. consulate in Amsterdam, the capital of the Netherlands, to protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador and to commemorate the four Dutch journalists who were murdered in El Salvador by the junta's terror gangs. A week earlier, two actions were held in front of the consulate involving up to 5,000 people, who erected five crosses there, four for the journalists and one to symbolize the tens of thousands of Salvadorans killed by the junta.

eighty, security, and peace of the countries in the region.

The Vietnamese people energetically denounce these criminal acts of the White House. We resolutely demand that the Reagan administration put an immediate end to its policy of war and aggression against the Salvadoran people; that it respect their right to self-determination, and seriously respond to the constructive good-will proposals of Nicaragua, Cuba, and Mexico, with a view to easing tension in El Salvador and Latin America by peaceful means.

We are strongly convinced that the progressive American people will help drive back the Reagan administration's war policy. We know the American people played an important part in stopping the U.S. war of aggression against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea.

Hands off El Salvador!
Peace and national independence will win!

Pacific islanders demand an end to nuclear terror

BY DUNCAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK CITY — One of the most important contingents at the June 12 demonstration at the United Nations in New York against nuclear weapons will be coming from the Pacific islands known as Micronesia.

Their contingent will be only ten or so, but their suffering at the hands of the U.S. military-nuclear gang is the most damning indictment of the Pentagon's arms buildup. And their struggle against the death merchants in Washington has placed them in the forefront of the international movement against nuclear arms.

Micronesia is the name given to the islands in the Western Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines (see map). It is the home of roughly 110,000 people, with a land mass about the size of Rhode Island. It is often called an island paradise for its white beaches, coral reefs, volcanic rock formations, and lush vegetation.

Roman Bedor is a leader of the Nuclear Free Pacific Movement and of the struggle for independence of Belau, an island republic in western Micronesia. He has been touring U.S. cities to explain the situation of the islanders and to win support for their struggle against the nuclearization and militarization of the Pacific.

'Dark side of paradise'

In his talks, accompanied by a dramatic slide presentation, and in an interview with the *Militant*, Bedor illuminated what he calls "the dark side of the island paradise."

Micronesia has been under colonial domination for centuries. Until 1899 the islands belonged to Spain; from 1899 to 1919, to Germany; and from then until the end of World War II, to Japan. Since 1947, Micronesia has been a U.S. colony, formally designated a United Nations Trust Territory.

As a result, Bedor said, "my generation learned English as a second language, my parents learned Japanese, their parents German, and before that it was Spanish."

Thousands of islanders died in World War II "when the U.S. and Japan made our islands into a battlefield in a war many of our people believe we should not have been a part of."

With the Japanese surrender in 1945, the Micronesians hoped for a return to a peaceful way of life. "But for our people, as the older ones say, World War II has never ended." For soon after the war, the United States began using their home as a testing ground for its nuclear arsenal.

Micronesia was introduced into the nuclear age when the bomb that was dropped on Nagasaki was stored on the island of Tinian. "According to a U.S. military official at the time," Bedor said, "this was done so if there was an accident, no American children would be affected."

Between 1945 and 1963, more than

sixty atmospheric nuclear tests were conducted by the U.S. government in the Marshall Islands, in eastern Micronesia. These included one of the first detonations of a hydrogen bomb in March 1954 in the Bikini atoll.

'For good of mankind'

"The U.S. government told us this was for the good of all mankind, to end all wars," Bedor noted. But the reality has been otherwise for the people of Micronesia.

The U.S. Navy forcibly evacuated thousands of people from their islands, allowing them to take only what they could carry by hand. The tests wiped several islands literally off the face of the earth. Others are contaminated and will not be fit for human habitation for 25,000 years. Plant and sea life have been contaminated as well.

"We know now," Bedor stated, "that the military deliberately evacuated our people to islands downwind of the blasts, using them as guinea pigs for nuclear fallout."

Many islanders, mainly children, suffered acute skin burns, rashes, and loss of hair as a result of the blasts and the "black snow" that followed. People of Roman Bedor's generation often bear deformed children because of genetic damage caused by radiation.

Although the U.S. government discontinued its testing in 1963, the nuclear horror is not over for the people of the Pacific. Bedor indicated that France has conducted more than seventy tests in the last ten years in the Mororua islands in the South Pacific. (In 1981, the people of Tahiti, who are allowed to participate in French elections, voted overwhelmingly for Socialist Party candidate Francois Mitterrand, because he had promised to end the tests. But the French government began again last August with an atmospheric detonation of a neutron bomb.)

Japan is seeking to use the waters of Belau as a dumping ground for radioactive waste from its nuclear reactors.

And the U.S. government is moving ahead with plans to build a base in Belau for its Trident nuclear submarines.

U.S. military domination

U.S. military domination is present throughout the islands. One example: the people of Kwajalein were evacuated from their homes to make room for a U.S. Navy base, complete with baseball fields, tennis courts, and private homes for base personnel. Now the original inhabitants live in barracks on Ebeye island.

"This is the only reservation in the Pacific," Bedor said. "Eight thousand people live on an island you can walk around in twenty minutes."

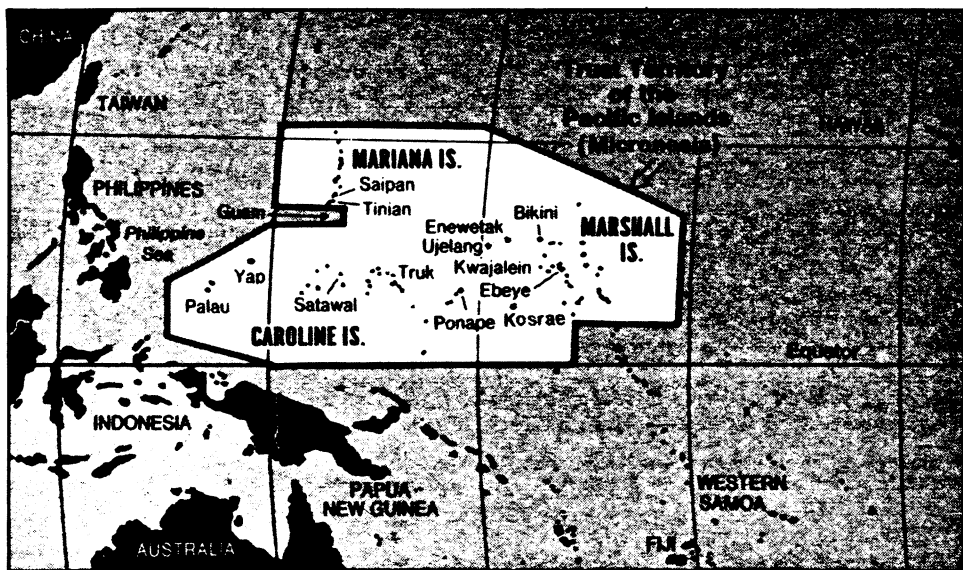
Micronesia is the only remaining UN Trust Territory. The U.S. government still administers the islands through the Department of the Interior.

The island people have charted a course toward independence in their fight to free themselves from U.S. nuclear and military domination.

In 1979 the people of Belau held a convention and drew up a constitution, the first and probably the only constitution in the world that prohibits all testing and storage of nuclear weapons, all nuclear power, and all dumping of nuclear waste on the islands and their 200-mile territorial waters.

After the constitution was ratified by 92 percent of the electorate in July 1979, "the U.S. ambassador said that the United States did not recognize the vote," Bedor explained.

"So they sent a lawyer from Chicago to meet with nine men who we did not choose, and they came up with a consti-



Belau (Palau on map) is site of planned U.S. base for Trident submarine. These islands have suffered from nuclear testing since World War II.

tution that was acceptable to the U.S."

Instead of independence, Washington wants to force a "Compact of Free Association" on the Belauans. This would allow the U.S., in return for \$40 million a year for the next fifteen years, to build the Trident submarine base; to use 30,000 acres of Belau's main island for military training and maneuvers and for ammunition storage; and to expand the airport to accommodate anti-submarine warfare planes from Japan.

It would also give the U.S. the right to "defend" Belau for fifty years and to deny any other country the use of the islands for 100 years.

Tries to buy votes

The U.S. government spent more than \$100,000 in trying to buy the votes of Belauans. But the new constitution was defeated in a 1980 referendum. Then the Belauan voters went back to the polls in July of last year to ratify the original antinuclear constitution, this time by a 78 percent majority.

Washington has shown it has no intention of honoring the will of the people of Belau and has escalated its efforts to subvert their democratic and human rights and force the "Compact," which is up for a vote this summer. In September 1981 the office of the president of Belau was destroyed by a bomb blast. "We do not make bombs in Belau," Bedor noted. "It is illegal even to own firearms. We know that this bomb was made in the U.S.A."

American working people have every reason to support the people of Micronesia in their fight for independence and against nuclear weapons. They face the same enemy as we do in this country — the capitalist government and its war machine. They also hear the same arguments we get when we protest against budget cutbacks, nuclear weapons, the draft, and U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean — it's all

necessary for national defense.

As Bedor noted: "Our people have lived in peace for thousands of years, long before the U.S. government was established. When we ask why we need missiles and military bases, we are told it is to protect and defend us.

"From what?" we ask. They say, 'from the Russians and communism.' But who will protect us from the U.S. military bases?"

Important U.S. tour

Bedor's tour in the U.S. is the first of its kind. It resulted from a decision in 1981 that "if the American people are informed of what their country is doing to us in the name of human rights and democracy, they probably would give us much support."

He spoke before church and student groups in New York, Boston, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Washington. "The response has been very good for the people of the Pacific islands," he said.

This summer supporters of the Nuclear Free Pacific Movement are planning to tour several of the NFPM representatives who will attend the June 12 demonstration in New York. They deserve a hearing and support from antinuclear and antidraft groups, Central America solidarity committees, and from as many trade unions and Black and Latino organizations as possible.

For information on the tours, contact Paul Hutchcroft, Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), 198 Broadway, New York, New York 10038. Telephone: (212) 964-6730.

For literature and resource materials, contact CALC or the Bay Area Coalition for a Nuclear Free Pacific, 2118 Eighth Street, Berkeley, California 94102. Telephone: (415) 849-2360; the Pacific Concerns Resource Center, Box 27692, Honolulu, Hawaii 96827; or the Micronesia Support Committee, 1212 University Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii 96826.

Trade unionists in New York City plan for June 12 disarmament rally

NEW YORK — Trade unionists held a meeting March 29 to discuss building labor participation in the June 12 demonstration for disarmament at the United Nations.

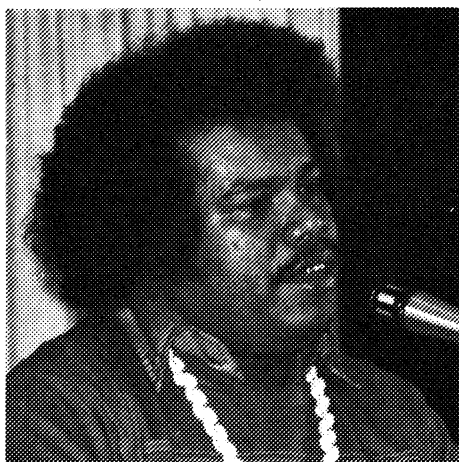
Attending the meeting were members of International Ladies Garment Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, District 65 of the United Auto Workers, Local 1199 of the hospital workers, Machinists union, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and Transit Workers unions. Representatives of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the Hispanic Labor Council also participated.

It was reported that a gathering of 300 members of District 65 in New Jersey recently heard Rev. Paul Mayer speak on the danger of nuclear weapons.

The unionists have formed a Trade Union Task Force of the New York June 12 Disarmament Campaign. Among its activities will be to support and build a speak-out on disarmament to be held at Town Hall in May. Other sponsors of the Town Hall meeting are Physicians for

Social Responsibility, Religious Task Force, and the New York June 12 Disarmament Campaign.

The next meeting of the Trade Union Task Force will take place April 12 at 6 p.m. at La Tertulia Restaurant, 113 East Twelfth Street.



Militant/Duncan Williams

Roman Bedor, speaking for Nuclear Free Pacific Movement.

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.

Behind upsurge against Israeli government



Arabs demonstrating in Sakhnin during March 30 general strike. Unfurling of Palestinian flag is illegal under Israeli law.

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Confronted with the most widespread protests and strikes in the West Bank since it was occupied by Israel in 1967, the Zionist government has responded with bullets, clubs, and tear gas.

The Israeli provocation that set off the upsurge in the West Bank came on March 18. On that day, about 100 Israeli troops raided the municipal offices of Al Bira, the fourth-largest Arab town in the territory. The mayor, Ibrahim Tawil, was ousted from office and the town council was dissolved. An Israeli army colonel was installed as the new mayor.

The reason given for Tawil's ouster was the council's refusal to collaborate with the "civilian administration" headed by reserve Col. Menachem Milson, which was installed in late 1981. Tawil and most other prominent Palestinians have publicly condemned the administration as a cover for a "creeping annexation" of the West Bank.

The Palestinian response to the dismissal of the Al Bira council came quickly. The mayors of Nablus, Hebron, Ramallah, Tulkarm, and Kalkilya called a three-day general strike — which was later extended — to protest against the dismissal and to express opposition to Milson's occupation administration.

The strike began on March 19. In most major towns in the West Bank, workers downed their tools and merchants closed their shops.

The next day, about 100 women staged a sit-in outside the Al Bira town hall. They were joined by youths and other residents. When some of the Palestinians responded to provocations from Israeli troops by throwing stones, the troops fired tear gas into the crowd and then opened fire. A seventeen-year-old youth was shot in the chest and died immediately. Several others were wounded.

Palestinians defy occupiers

Palestinian youths took to the streets throughout the occupied territory. "From Jenin, the West Bank's northernmost town, to Hebron in the south, angry crowds of Arab youths pelted Israeli Army patrols with rocks and threw gasoline-filled bottles as the Army rushed in reinforcements in an attempt to quell the disturbances," *Washington Post* correspondent William Claiborne reported from Jerusalem March 22.

David Shipler of the *New York Times* reported the same day that "Arab stu-

dents confronted soldiers in cities and refugee camps, hurling stones, waving Palestinian flags, chanting slogans, blocking streets with burning tires and defying orders to disperse."

Barricades went up across main thoroughfares. Clashes between demonstrators and the army and police erupted in predominantly Arab East Jerusalem, as merchants continued their strike in defiance of orders from military officials to open their shops.

The demonstrations spilled over into the occupied Gaza Strip as well. On March 24, a thirteen-year-old Palestinian student was shot and killed in the Gaza Strip village of Abasan when Israeli troops fired into a crowd of protesters.

Meanwhile, a five-week strike continued in the Golan Heights, which was formally annexed by Israel in December. The 13,000 Arab inhabitants of the Golan Heights, who are Syrian citizens, have been protesting against the annexation and against attempts by the authorities to issue them Israeli identity cards.

Brutal crackdown

On March 21, Prime Minister Menachem Begin praised the "restraint" of the Israeli troops. That was after they had already killed one demonstrator, and were unleashing a reign of terror throughout the territory.

On March 20, Israeli troops and settlers from the township of Qiryat Arba broke into an Arab school in Hebron and beat students with clubs. Seven were injured.

Two days later in Nablus, troops burst into the King Talal secondary school, herded about fifty students into classrooms, and then exploded tear gas canisters while preventing the students from leaving.

Troops have also rounded up striking municipal workers and taken them forcibly to their jobs. The workers, however, simply sat behind their desks and did nothing. In Ramallah, shopkeepers were driven in police cars to their stores, and soldiers broke locks to force them to open.

On March 24, police shot to death a twenty-one-year-old Palestinian in the Jenin marketplace after he urged merchants to close their shops in protest.

Encouraged by the police and military crackdown, Israeli settlers in the West Bank have escalated their own terror campaign against the Palestinians as well.

One week after the dismissal of the Al Bira town council, the authorities also ousted the mayors of Nablus and Ramallah, Bassam al-Shaka and Karim Khalaf. Both had been maimed in 1980 by car bombs placed by Zionist terrorists.

In a radio interview, Maj. Gen. Uri Orr claimed that the Palestinian protests had been incited by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Although the PLO enjoys massive support among the Palestinians in the occupied territories, Orr's argument was not very convincing, even to *Ha'aretz*, the most prestigious Israeli daily. It wrote that "the Government has decided to continue with Israeli rule in the territories as though they have already been annexed." It added, "In these circumstances it does not require P.L.O. directives in order to inflame the Arab population."

Settlers terrorize West Bank

In opposition to the elected Palestinian mayors, many of whom support the PLO, the authorities have set up the so-called Village Leagues. Members of the League, who openly collaborate with Milson's occupation administration, have been given licenses to carry arms.

By setting up these puppet organizations and dissolving elected municipal governments, the Zionist authorities have acknowledged the failure of their attempts to give a more "democratic" image to the occupation of the West Bank. To their consternation, the municipal elections they allowed in 1976 were swept by supporters of the PLO.

Despite the enormous pressure of the Israeli authorities, many of these elected figures — backed by the Palestinian population as a whole — have remained defiant. This has become intolerable to the Israeli regime, and it is now moving to oust the most outspoken officials.

One step toward this goal was the March 11 outlawing of the Committee of National Guidance, a united front of Palestinian leaders in the occupied territories, to which a number of the mayors belonged.

Parallel to these official government moves, the Zionist settlers have also carried out frequent attacks against the Palestinian population.

On March 2, for example, a group of settlers broke into the area of the Al Aqsa mosque in the Old City of Jerusalem and stabbed an Arab youth, prompting a strike in East Jerusalem and protests throughout the West Bank.

Settlers have also kidnapped and beaten a number of Palestinian youths. One, eighteen-year-old Mohammed Abdullah Youssef Suhweil, was seized, beaten, and shot in the head. His body was found March 20 near the Zionist

settlement of Shiloh.

Like the Labor Party government before it, the Begin regime has been openly encouraging Jewish settlers to move into the West Bank. Despite an enormous budget deficit, the government has provided about \$200 million for the construction of settlements in the West Bank.

The provocative placement of settlements near Arab towns and the frequent attacks against Palestinians are designed to spread fear and insecurity among the population.

One Palestinian in the village of Turmos Ayya commented to *New York Times* correspondent Shipler, "The settlements are not like they say, created for coexistence and peace, but rather to threaten the citizens."

A settler in nearby Shiloh, referring to an Arab-owned valley by his house, told Shipler, "The valley doesn't belong to us — yet."

Green light from Washington

The stepped-up Israeli attacks against the Palestinians of the West Bank are part of a broader campaign of aggression throughout the region, one that has brought the Middle East to the brink of a new war.

The Israeli regime would like to strike a major blow against the PLO forces and the Palestinian population in Lebanon.

Citing Palestinian guerrilla attacks as a justification, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon again implicitly threatened an invasion of Lebanon in mid-March, warning that Israel "might be forced to take action."

Although the Israeli regime's war moves and its crackdown on the Palestinian population have come under fire within Israel and throughout the region, they have nevertheless been given a green light by Washington.

After several days of expressing mild "concern" over the situation in the West Bank, the Reagan administration on March 24 announced that it deplored "the loss of life." But it pointedly refused to lay the blame on the Israeli authorities. Instead, it urged "utmost restraint" on "all parties."

Deputy White House Press Secretary Larry Speakes declared March 23, "We are confident that the democratic process in Israel will work it out."

But to the Palestinian people, who daily face the clubs and bullets of the Israeli authorities, this "democratic process" is a joke.

As Mayor Hana al-Atrach of the West Bank village of Beit Sahur commented, "Israel claims to be the only oasis of democracy in the Middle East, so if this is democracy, then what is dictatorship?"

From *Intercontinental Press*

Arabs stage general strike

Continued from Page 1

and "Begin, Sharon, get out of Hebron."

Although most demonstrators were Jewish, a significant Arab contingent also participated, chanting slogans in Arabic.

Israel's severe economic crisis — which has brought sharp cuts in social services, an inflation rate of 130 percent, and growing unemployment — has led to new ferment among Jewish workers, and widespread questioning of and opposition to the government's policies.

The Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit University, which has been mobilizing opposition to the closing down of the university in Ramallah, organized a contingent of between 2,000 and 3,000 demonstrators. Although committee supporters had previously been prevented by the authorities from selling stickers and buttons with the colors of the Palestinian flag, they were able to do so at the demonstration.

It is important to understand that

what is going on in Israel is a very broad opposition to what Israel is doing in the West Bank. The government is saying that it is going after the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization], that it wants to crush it in the West Bank. And there were 50,000 people in the streets saying, "No!"

These actions come at a time of rising concern over the danger of a new war in the Middle East, and particularly over the threat of an Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

The March 26 issue of the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* voiced some of this concern: "The war might explode tomorrow, or in a year. But in any case, it is inevitable. . . . Since Israel does not want the PLO as a partner for dialogue in the West Bank, those who want a confrontation with the PLO think that the logical source of the opposition in the occupied territories is in Lebanon."

But more than ever before, these war moves by the Zionist government are meeting with resistance among Israeli workers.

'Liberation Day' marks three years of Grenada revolution

'We have no alternative but to fight imperialism'

BY PAT KANE

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — It all started along the Carenage, St. George's inner harbor. The steel bands were assembled for their "jam down." Thousands of youth were ready for a "jump up" dance session. At 12:01 a.m. it was March 13, and Grenada was celebrating the third anniversary of its revolution.

All over the island, Grenadians were on the streets in their thousands, and the dancing lasted all night. "Liberation Day" is something to get excited about. But the highlight of the morning was the Workers' March through St. George's. At Tanteen playing field, thousands of the island's workers assembled behind their union banners. Each workplace had its own banner. There were agricultural workers and bank clerks, postal workers and hotel waiters, dockers and health workers, all in their contingents.

Just three short years ago, such a demonstration of working-class solidarity and strength would have been illegal and subject to attack by thugs of the deposed dictator Eric Gairy.

Gairy now lives in San Diego, California, and, unlike hundreds of other Grenadians living abroad, he did not return for the celebrations. In Grenada Gairy is a wanted man.

'Reagan's got a boat'

For the last year the leadership of the New Jewel Movement (NJM), Grenada's revolutionary party, has been stressing the need to extend democratic mass organization, and in particular to increase the awareness and organization of the island's workers. The demonstration was a real manifestation of the NJM's hard work.

I marched between dockers and hotel workers. To a rhythmic calypso chant, they sang "Reagan's got a boat . . . Reagan's got a boat in Barbados." This was their answer to the attempts of the U.S. government to intimidate tiny Grenada with naval maneuvers throughout the region. These workers support "the revolution."

As the Workers' March reached Queen's Park, the military on parade stood to attention, the party leadership led the applause, and the thousands of Grenadians already there saluted the marchers.

Where, except in a country like Grenada where the workers and farmers have taken over the government, would you see the army welcoming a workers' march with friendship and not bullets?

'We'll send photographs'

The rally was chaired by Bernard Coard, deputy prime minister in the People's Revolutionary Government and minister of finance, trade and planning.

Coard is also a member of the Political Bureau of the NJM. "There are those in the world who would like to isolate the Grenada revolution," said Coard. "But how can you isolate a revolution that has the overwhelming majority of the people as part of the revolution, that has the support of the masses of the Caribbean, and the support of progressive and democratic forces throughout the world?"

"That is the challenge facing imperialism, and I hope that their spy satellites are able to get very good photographs of Grenada today. And in case their technology is not up to scratch, we'll send them a few photographs."

Over 500 delegates from all over the world were in attendance, and hundreds of telegrams giving support to Grenada arrived in the week before the rally.

The Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions were represented at the highest level, and thirty-three governments in all sent delegations. From Europe, East and West; from North Korea, Africa, and Latin America; from Central and North America, they had traveled to celebrate three years of the revolution with the Grenadian people.

Ovation for Cubans

The crowd erupted when Coard announced "representatives from the struggling and fighting and revolutionary people of El Salvador." The applause lasted five minutes.

When Coard introduced the head of the Cuban delegation, Jorge Risquet Valdés, a member of the Political Bureau of the Cuban Communist Party, he received a huge ovation, and the Grenadian people chanted, "Cuba, Grenada, will never be defeated."

Prime Minister Maurice Bishop inspected the military parade on his arrival.

When Governor-general Sir Paul Scoon arrived, the crowd was unusually quiet. It was strange to see this representative of the British crown, whose government would not even send its parliamentary representative to Grenada — let alone give aid to overcome hundreds of years of British exploitation — waving to the revolutionary people of free Grenada.

Before the prime minister delivered the feature address, there was a huge gymnastic display. Hundreds of youth took part, along with different local dance groups. Since the revolution, the talents of Grenadians have found expression in a huge upsurge in poetry, dance, and cultural groups.

'Take back the truth'

In addition to talking about the gains of the revolution and the challenges still facing it in the realm of economic construction, Bishop stressed, "Our people understand today that the struggle for peace and development is one and the same struggle. . . .

"Comrades, as a revolutionary people, Grenadians are realists. We don't bury our heads in the sand on the pretense that the imperialist threat to world peace will vanish on its own. We know that we have no other alternative but to fight against this threat and resolutely mobilize ourselves in preparation for a confrontation with imperialism."

Taking up Reagan's support for the Salvadoran junta and his attacks on Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, Bishop declared that "Reagan attacks us out of desperation, out of the recognition that the people of the region now understand very clearly that there is an alternative to fascism, an alternative to nineteenth-century capitalism, an alternative to dictatorship. And that alternative was started in the glorious Cuban revolution, and continued in the Grenada and Nicaraguan revolutions."

Finally, in addressing the guests from around the world who had come to join in the celebration of the third anniversary of the Grenada revolution, Bishop said:

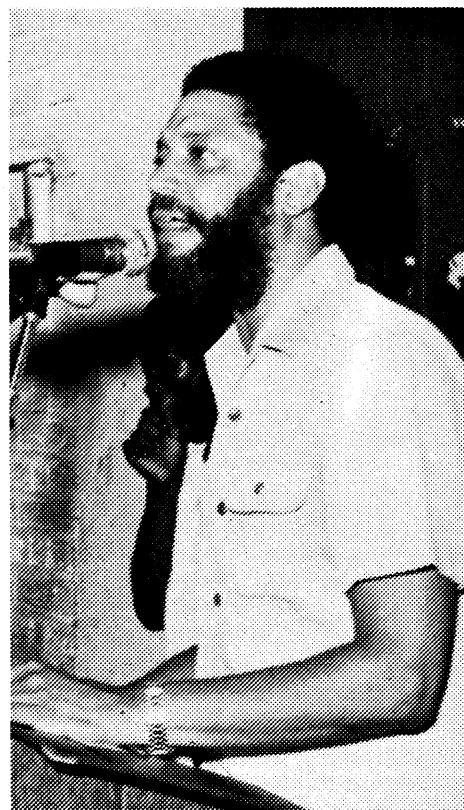
"We also ask you to take back to your country the truth of our revolution, because the truth is revolutionary and we are not afraid of it."

"To the people of the world we hold out our free education, our free health care, our national bus service, our international airport, our clinics, our fishing fleets, our agroindustries, our house repair program, our Center for Popular Education. These are the great truths of the Grenada revolution!"

After the prime minister's speech, the most outstanding Grenadian and internationalist workers were honored. When the speeches ended, the steel bands started, and another night of celebrations began.

'A beacon of hope'

At the International Solidarity Conference held last November, Maurice Bishop explained the international importance of the Grenada revolution. "This revolution is increasingly a light, a beacon of hope to the poor and exploited masses of the Caribbean. The aims, objectives, and achievements of this revolution are a crystallization of the most profound human aspirations of Caribbean people toward a better life."



Direct Action/Jim Percy

Prime Minister Maurice Bishop of Grenada

lution are a crystallization of the most profound human aspirations of Caribbean people toward a better life.

"For 400 years the exploited masses of the region have struggled with dignity for bread, jobs, justice, and peace. Today in Grenada, today in free and revolutionary Grenada, this struggle at last is beginning to bear fruit. And this fruit is not for us alone."

"It is not the property of ourselves alone. Just as our struggle has been a part of the broader struggle of the working people of the Caribbean and the world, so now our revolution is an integral part of the forward movement of working people regionally and internationally!"

Many critics of the Grenada revolution had predicted that there would never be a third anniversary celebration. The confidence, enthusiasm, and courage of the Grenadian people proved these cynics wrong. And the cynics will be proved wrong every year to come.

From Intercontinental Press

Black lynched in downtown Atlanta

BY MACEO DIXON

ATLANTA — The lynching of a Black man in downtown Atlanta has aroused shock and anger.

The body of Frederick York was found February 10 hanging from a tree at Piedmont Avenue and Renaissance Drive. York was thirty-eight.

An audience of 300, mostly Black, turned out March 20 at the Wheat Street Baptist Church, where state Representative Tyrone Brooks detailed the lynching. Also speaking were Angela Davis, representing the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, and Joseph Lowery, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

On March 23, Brooks spoke before 150 Black students from the Atlanta University complex who had gathered to organize for passage of the Voting Rights Act. They were outraged that Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young's administration is ruling that York killed himself.

Because York was a resident of the Union Mission, a home for the unemployed and dispossessed, and apparently had no relatives in Atlanta, officials are trying to sweep this case under the rug.

This is the second recent lynching of a Black in the Atlanta area. On December 8, the body of Lynn Jackson, a Black GI, was found near Social Circle in nearby Walton County.

Democratic Party officials have ruled that Jackson's death, like that of York, was a suicide. More than 2,000 people, mostly Blacks, protested that ruling on February 20.

A second protest of the Social Circle lynching is scheduled for April 2 at 7 p.m. at the First African Baptist Church

in Monroe. For further information call (404) 524-5531.

ATLANTA — Two Black youths have been reported as missing by the media here.

The two are Michael Phillips, twenty-one, and Chester Gaston, twenty-two. Phillips has been missing since March 2, Gaston since March 12.

Both are reported to be "mentally disturbed." Gaston is of slight build. These are characteristics of some of the twenty-eight Black youths murdered here over the last three years.

New York City antiwar demonstration April 3

There will be a demonstration against U.S. involvement in El Salvador and all of Central America on Saturday, April 3 in New York City.

The action assembles at the United Nations, 42nd Street and First Avenue at noon. There will be a march to the Military Recruiting Center at Times Square.

Speakers at the rally will include a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, a speaker from Nicaragua, and representatives of the Hispanic Labor Committee and the African National Congress.

The action is sponsored by the Emergency Campaign against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean and endorsed by; Casa Nicaragua, U.S. Peace Council, Antonio Maceo Brigade, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Casa de las Americas, and others.

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Ala. anti-Reagan protest



Montgomery, Alabama, March 15. Some 200 protesters turned out when Reagan came to address state legislature.

3,000 rout Nazis in Ann Arbor

BY ALAN WALD

ANN ARBOR, Mich. — Fifteen members of the S.S. Action Group, a Detroit-based neo-Nazi organization, attempted to hold a demonstration in Ann Arbor March 20 for the purpose of denouncing "communist" influence in the city. They were met

by a countermobilization of more than 3,000 people, including students from the University of Michigan and local high schools, townspeople, and members of religious, labor, and radical organizations.

Wearing swastikas and carrying signs that read "Smash Communism" and "We are back," the small group of Nazis tried to out-manuever the counterdemonstrators by arriving early and changing the location of their rally.

But when word spread of their arrival, they were soon besieged by a sea of demonstrators chanting "Go Home!" A short time later several squads of police arrived and escorted the Nazis to a bus that drove them out of the city.

Utah socialists host meeting on nuclear power

PRICE, Utah — The first public socialist meeting here in decades was held March 7. "The Fight Against Nuclear Power," was the topic of the forum, sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.

Speaking were Paul Gooris of the New Mexico chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility, and Cecelia Moriarity, a local coal miner and member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Gooris presented a slide show detailing the destructive effects of uranium mining on the Navajo Indian population of northern New Mexico. He explained that since uranium mining began on the reservation, with heavy discharges of radon gas into the atmosphere, Navajos have developed a rate of lung cancer higher than the national average.

Moriarity described the longstanding collaboration between the government and the nuclear power industry.

"It was the United States government that spurred the early development of nuclear power in order to encourage private industry to cash in on the nuclear technology developed in the course of building atomic bombs. It is the current priority of industry to protect the \$150 billion investment it has made and the potentially enormous profits that nuclear-power development offers," she said.

She went on to explain that nuclear power can be stopped by a massive movement of working people. She pointed to the example of the Australian labor movement in the fight against uranium mining.

Unionists march for jobs, justice in Oregon

PORTLAND, Ore. — Some 1,500 people marched in a "Jobs and Justice: Solidarity '82" demonstration through downtown Portland on March 18. The rally that followed the march swelled to 3,000.

The protest was organized by the Oregon AFL-CIO and drew participants from cities as much as 350 miles away.

Unionists in the march were angered by the high unemployment level in Oregon, which is now officially over 11 percent. "Jobs, not war; U.S. out of El

Salvador!" was a popular chant.

Emphasis on electing Democrats in 1982 — which is the focus of the AFL-CIO's "Solidarity Day II" nationally — was a major theme of the rally. Irv Fletcher, president of the Oregon AFL-CIO, explained that the challenge for labor was "to continue political activity through November 1982 and November 1984 to change the balance of political power in the nation."

Paul Freeman, Socialist Workers candidate for Portland City Council, distributed a statement that pointed to an alternative to electing more Democrats.

He explained, "We can't get any of our demands by relying on the Democratic-Republican government of the rich, one that is opposed to the interests of workers and farmers here and throughout the world. Instead we need a government that represents our interests — a workers and farmers government."

"Indeed, the government's war drive in Central America, and the union movement's growing opposition to it, is a powerful example of how the unions need to break with the policies of the bosses — and their two parties. To fight for a workers and farmers government, we need a political party that is independent of the employers — a labor party based on the unions."

Hawaii's sugar workers face layoffs

The following article is reprinted from *Ang Katipunan*, national newspaper of the Union of Democratic Filipinos, published in Oakland, California.

BY DAVIANNA MCGREGOR ALEGADO and HELEN TORIBIO

HAWAII — Hawaii's sugar industry is threatening to shut down its operations due to severe profit losses. Hawaii's sugar work force, predominantly Filipinos, is understandably worried.

Organized into the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), these sugar workers are faced with the serious challenge of defending their jobs, hard-won wages, benefits and rights during this new crisis.

The dumping of sugar on the world market in 1981 pushed its price to the lowest point in recent years, creating a crisis in profits for U.S. sugar growers. Various companies owned by Hawaii's big-Five (AMFAC, Castle and Cooke, Theo H. Davis, C. Brewer, Alexander and Baldwin) announced cutbacks and shutdowns of plantations late in 1981.

Last October the Oahu-based Waialua Sugar Company, owned by Castle and Cooke, announced a two-week shutdown to save on labor costs.

In November, AMFAC's Oahu Sugar Company in Waipahu, announced a possible shutdown if cheaper methods to cut down production costs and prevent profit losses are not found. Already, Oahu Sugar Co. is planning a power plant run on rubbish and bagasse (a sugar by-product) as an alternative source of energy.

To top off these announcements AMFAC announced that its Puna plantation on the island of Hawaii may shut down in 1984.

When this happens, 500 workers will join the swelling ranks of the unem-

ployed. Most of the workers are heads of households, therefore more than just the 500 people will be affected by the layoffs.

Industry blames competition

Hawaii sugar producers blame their sugar losses on foreign competition and the rise of cane sugar alternatives such as beet sugar and high fructose corn syrup, a corn by-product.

In addition, producers are protesting the lack of Federal sugar subsidies. Their foreign competitors are subsidized by their respective governments and are allowed to sell their sugar in the U.S.

Observers say that the Reagan administration supports sugar growth in politically unstable third world countries, such as the Philippines, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, as a form of indirect aid to foreign regimes.

The plight of the sugar industry is similar to that faced by the auto, steel and rubber industries which have scaled down their operations. This merely signifies the recessionary trend in U.S. capitalism from which no industry or sector is immune.

AMFAC: example of sugar decline

The sugar producers are also feeling a lot of pressure from powerful stockholders who want them to unload the unprofitable business.

AMFAC, Hawaii's biggest sugar producer, is a good example. This major corporation is being pushed by new stockholders to phase out its longest established operation.

Producing about 33 percent of Hawaii's total sugar output, AMFAC's profits dropped drastically from \$130 million in 1974 to an average \$30 million loss from 1976 through 1979.

Temporary relief came in 1980 with a \$60 million profit. However, projected losses for 1981 will be between \$35 to \$40 million. Henry Walker, Jr., AMFAC president and chairman of the board, says his company is currently losing \$5 million in sugar. Walker says the losses are sustainable for the time being, by AMFAC's more profitable operations, which include retail stores, re-

sorts and financial institutions. AMFAC's diversified operations, most of which are on the mainland, total \$2 billion in profit. Although a \$35 million loss is a small percentage of \$2 billion, it is enough to invite pressure from stockholders such as Gulf Western Industries, which owns one-quarter of AMFAC.

Workers to bear brunt of losses

Since market prices are uncontrollable, producers look to cutting production altogether as AMFAC plans to do in Puna.

Major production costs marked for axing are the wages and benefits of workers. These are costs which are not fixed, but based on the bargaining strength of the workers' union.

While AMFAC and other sugar producers have other profitable operations to fall back on, Hawaii's sugar workers

have only their organized strength, in the ILWU.

Thus far, the union's position has been to cooperate, but not to the extent of conceding to all of the industry demands. Recently, sugar companies sought the deferment of already-negotiated wage increases, and asked for a 150 percent rent increase for plantation tenants' homes.

The ILWU agreed to defer only half of the 10 percent increase for a period of only six months, provided the industry makes a lump-sum adjustment to sugar workers in August, when sugar price increases are anticipated. The union agreed to only a \$5 increase in rent.

Sugar has been the basis of Hawaii's economy for over a hundred years. The outcome of this crisis will seriously affect the rural communities of Oahu and neighboring islands.



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How can democracy be won in Eastern Europe & the USSR?

The following are major excerpts from an article, "Proposed Roads to Soviet Democracy," by Joseph Hansen, that appeared in the Spring 1958 *International Socialist Review*. Hansen, who died in 1979, was a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International.

The article was written in the wake of major events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe following the death of Stalin in early 1953. Beginning with the workers' uprising in East Germany in June 1953 and the rebellion of political prisoners at the Russian labor camp of Vorkuta in July 1953, pressures mounted on the Soviet bureaucracy to lift the repressive rule imposed by Stalin.

In February 1956 at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev openly repudiated the Stalin cult and revealed some of its crimes. This was followed the same year by a massive workers' revolt in Poland and by the Hungarian revolution.

These developments spurred a gigantic discussion and reevaluation among many members and supporters of the Communist Party in the United States. A common hope among many who defended the Soviet Union from imperialism, but wanted to see workers democracy there, was that the bureaucracy might reform itself.

Hansen's article, addressed to this layer, explained that the Bolshevik-Leninist opposition led by Leon Trotsky had fought for this perspective from 1923 until 1935. But when the Stalinist regime viewed its usurpation of power as fixed and final, Trotsky drew the conclusion that the masses had no alternative but direct action to throw out the Stalinist bureaucrats and put in a new regime of their own choice.

There is much in Hansen's article that remains relevant today in assessing the meaning of the events in Poland.

Can the bureaucracy be reformed?

BY JOSEPH HANSEN

The desire to democratize the Soviet Union through reform of the bureaucracy is reasonable and has much to commend it. Of that there can be no doubt. First of all, it would be the smoothest and most economical road, for it would entail the least disruption. Secondly, it would be the safest road, offering the least opportunity for intervention by the imperialist powers. One can whole-heartedly concur with these sentiments as the preferable way of restoring workers democracy to the Soviet Union.

Another possibility, under exceptionally favorable internal and international circumstances, is that the Soviet masses could mobilize such overwhelming forces and mount so powerful an offensive against a demoralized and divided absolutism that it could overcome the resistance of the bureaucracy as rapidly and easily as Czarism was overthrown. Such a consummation is "devoutly to be wished." It could be facilitated by the fact that, apart from distant America, no foreign army could intervene to crush the popular upsurge, as Soviet troops did in Hungary.

But where such great issues are at stake, and such immense social forces are locked in combat, it would be reckless, it seems to me, for those on the side of the people to count solely upon the realization of the easiest and most pleasant road of struggle. The better course is to carefully consider just how much realism there is, from our present vantage point, in the prospect of transforming the bureaucracy or ousting it from power by way of reform.

We have just witnessed how obstinately the hand-

ful of Fosterite¹ representatives of the Soviet bureaucracy here resist reforming themselves or liquidating their holdings, slim as they are. We have seen how murderously the Kadar's reacted to the Hungarian insurgents. How much more powerful must be the inclination of the million-membered caste in the Soviet Union, especially its top brackets, to cling to the enormous special privileges they enjoy!

In *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky estimated "that 15 per cent, or, say 20 per cent, of the population enjoys not much less of the wealth than is enjoyed by the remaining 80 to 85 per cent." The Kremlin publishes no statistics on such disparities in the USSR, but the evidence is that the inequalities have not diminished since Trotsky's estimate in 1936. The bureaucracy acts like a ruling class, although it is only a parasitic formation, in the persistency with which it advances its own standard of living at the expense of the country as a whole.

These very real material interests are the most formidable block to the surrender of the autocrats and a gradual growth of democracy in the USSR. In fact it was to protect and increase these economic advantages that the bureaucracy crushed Soviet democracy in the first place. Trotsky accurately indicated the root of the totalitarian trend when he observed: "In its conditions of life, the ruling stratum comprises all gradations, from the petty bourgeoisie of the backwoods to the big bourgeoisie of the capitals. To these material conditions correspond habits, interests and circles of ideas." (*The Revolution Betrayed*, p. 140.) Can it reasonably be supposed that narrow-minded, selfish bureaucrats, Russian replicas of the Beck-Myer-Reuther type, long in the habit of allocating the national surplus without any democratic checks, will gradually cut down on what they have been diverting to themselves and their cronies, or gradually hand over to the workers the political power that has assured this lucrative control?

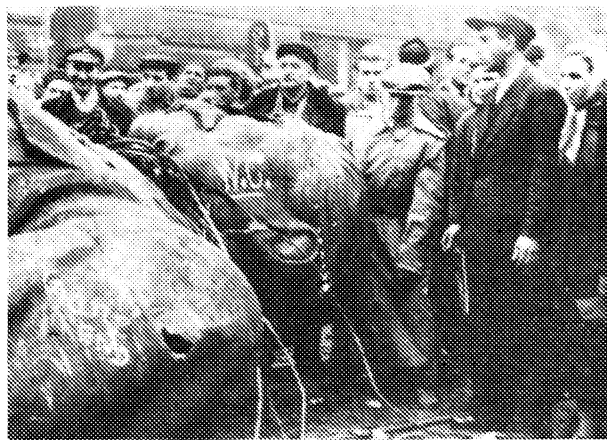
Is bureaucracy inevitable?

Isaac Deutscher has argued that the growth of material wealth in the Soviet Union now makes it feasible for the bureaucracy to introduce more and more democracy. If I follow his argument correctly, the greater the wealth, the greater the feasibility of democracy and therefore the greater the chances for its gradual emergence. This is the counterpart of Deutscher's view that the crushing of democracy in the Soviet Union, regrettable as it may have been, was historically inevitable and even, in a certain sense, progressive, for it allegedly made possible the accumulation of capital on which depended the increase in material wealth seen today. Poverty fostered totalitarianism; totalitarianism fostered wealth; wealth should now foster democracy.

At first sight this line of argument is highly attractive. The trouble is, however, that it views the rise and decline of Stalinism as an automatic economic process, directly and wholly linked to the development of Soviet industrial capacity. In this evolutionary process the inner conflicts of social and political forces and the intervention and influence of conscious socialist leadership are reduced to minor importance. Out of moral or humanist considerations the Deutscherite historian can sympathize with those who opposed Stalinism — but actually wasn't their opposition utopian and weren't those who backed Stalinism objectively playing a progressive and even revolutionary role?

A second look at this hypothesis induces even greater caution in accepting it. Isn't it an illegitimate application to quite different forces and circumstances

Continued on next page



Top: Hungary, 1956. Workers topple statue of Stalin. Bottom: Gdansk, Poland, 1980. Said Hansen in 1958: "They would begin pressing for acknowledgment of their elementary democratic right to organize in unions of their choice, and would probably begin organizing committees in the plants even before the right was officially conceded."

1. After William Z. Foster, a member of the U.S. Communist Party since 1921 and its presidential candidate in 1924, 1928, and 1932. A post-World War II purge elevated Foster to the post of CP chairman, and he remained a top leader until his death in 1961.

Continued from previous page

ces of the Marxist theory about the withering away of the state?

Marxist theory holds that *once socialism is achieved*, the state will begin to lose its function as a repressive instrument. With the loss of its original function, the workers state will decline as an institution. Its growing role in the administration of planned economy will convert it eventually into a simple administrative apparatus in which, we may now suppose, electronic computers will play a considerable role.

The material basis for the withering away of the state will be the increase in wealth, an increase of such enormous proportions as to wipe out all poverty. This theory holds, it must be noted well, only under the achievement of *socialism*. That means an integrated, planned economy on a world-wide scale, or at least among the major countries, a planned economy based on the achievements of capitalism and carrying them forward at an accelerated rate.

Can this concept about the evolution of the state under the socialist plenty of the future be applied to the evolution of the parasitic bureaucracy yesterday and today in the poverty-stricken Soviet Union? There, for all its advances, the country's economic task is still to catch up to the capitalist levels, especially in the living standards of the people.

Bureaucracy imposes hardship . . .

The role of the Stalinist bureaucracy is not analogous to the role of the state in the first phases of socialism. That state will give truly prodigious impetus to production. The role of the Stalinist bureaucracy has been to retard and mismanage production, to slow down the accumulation of capital, to divert and waste the wealth produced by the workers. True enough, the bureaucrats have been in charge of the planned economy, but it is a considerable error, as I see it, to credit the bureaucrats with the achievements inherent in planning itself.

In the first place, democracy is absolutely essential to the efficient operation of planned economy; a bureaucracy that is inimical to democracy is by that very reason inimical to the flourishing of planned economy. The diversion of the surplus product into plush living for the bureaucracy is also a diversion of that surplus from the expansion of the means of production.

The extra hardships imposed on the workers in the form of miserable housing, poor food, bad working conditions and a drab existence lower the productivity of labor power, the country's greatest resource. Moreover, the general politics of the bureaucracy has profound economic consequences. It should be sufficient to cite the disruptive effect of the pervading atmosphere of fear that is only now beginning to dissipate. In addition, the foreign policy of the bureaucracy has had unfavorable economic consequences; this was demonstrated in catastrophic fashion in the case of the Stalinist policy that paved the way for the German imperialist invasion of the Soviet Union. It was shown again by the explosion in Hungary.

. . . and growing inequality

Granting all this, one may reply, there has still been an observable increase in Soviet wealth and this must have some effect on the bureaucracy, mellowing it, making it more inclined to take the road to democracy. The bureaucracy, as it gains in culture due to increased wealth, is, so to speak, affected qualitatively for the better.

One elemental fact uproots this assumption. Soviet productivity has long been great enough to provide immense boons for a privileged minority but not a high income for the whole population. The increase in Soviet productivity has been far from sufficient to provide abundance for all. At best the increase has been sufficient to provide for a quantitative increase in the bureaucracy or for a quantitative increase in the privileges already enjoyed by the ruling minority. Even at the present rates of expansion, this disparity will hold for a long time to come.

Meanwhile what are the masses going to do? Accept the inequalities passively? Apparently the ruling clique has a fairly realistic appreciation of what the masses are capable of doing, given the right combination of circumstances. *That is why they have not yet granted one single deep-going democratic concession. That is why they strive to retain the entire totalitarian apparatus. That is why they are following the policy of maneuvering, promising, delaying, granting*



Polish supermarket in 1981. "The role of the Stalinist bureaucracy has been to retard and mismanage production, to slow down the accumulation of capital, to divert and waste the wealth produced by the workers."

concessions, then again mobilizing their repressive agencies and cracking down.

The fact is that as Soviet productivity has grown, inequalities have intensified and become more intolerable rather than softening and becoming easier to bear. The increased flow of goods has whetted the appetites of the workers and peasants as it has increased the greed of the bureaucrats. Consequently what we can expect under these conditions is still fiercer strife over the division of the national income between the bureaucracy and the industrial and agricultural producers. Naturally it is to be expected that the bureaucracy can and will throw the workers something in hope of appeasing their most urgent demands, but they cannot give them enough to satisfy their growing material and cultural needs; the bureaucrats will not erase their own privileges nor relinquish the economic and political supports of their own parasitism.

Economic struggle becomes political struggle

The means of pressure and protest available to the workers are extremely limited under the totalitarian setup. They are denied real participation in collective contracts, setting of work norms, the right to strike. When the avenues of peaceful negotiation are closed, the settlement of differences tends to become arbitrated by means of direct action, the display and exercise of power by both contending parties.

This likewise holds true in regard to political policies. Any lowering of international tension, like the increase in Soviet productivity, tends not to lessen but to sharpen internal frictions. The masses feel freer to put the heat on for concessions. Up to a point they can extort reforms through indirect pressure. But then issues of the most elementary democratic kind arise — the right to organize in the plant, the right to criticism or opposition in the governing party, the right to assemble freely, publish a newspaper, form a party, and so on. How are these questions to be settled? So far, all the concessions have been made within the established totalitarian framework. What happens when the most aggressive sections of the masses start going by direct action beyond these limits? This would signify the beginning of a revolutionary situation heading toward a showdown between the opposing social forces.

Because of the peculiar role of the state in Soviet life, the economic struggle against material inequalities tends to merge with the political struggle for democracy. The government is not only the upholder of the totalitarian political structure but also the direct employer, the regulator of planning, production and distribution. This imparts extraordinary explosive force to large-scale economic struggles, since a fight over distribution of the national income can quickly become transformed into a political fight over who shall wield state power, the bureaucrats or the workers.

The revolutionary challenge emerges so sharply because the workers cannot achieve economic equality without winning political democracy — and this means deposing the bureaucracy, stripping it of all its arbitrary powers and privileges.

The increased flexibility of Kremlin policy since the death of Stalin has been interpreted by many as a favorable omen indicating the readiness of Stalin's heirs to turn to the rule of law and reason. The secret police have been curbed, the concentration camps re-

duced, political prisoners rehabilitated, legal abuses corrected and the artists told to breathe easier.

All of this is undeniable. They are welcome changes. But the limits of the increased flexibility appear to have been rigidly determined. Not even the disputes in the top circles are conducted or concluded democratically. Rule by personal dictatorship has not been ended. The measure of freedom granted the artists was withdrawn by Khrushchev, evidently in fear that the mildest centers of intellectual freedom might become rallying points for popular resistance. The aim of the increased flexibility seems clear — it is not to prepare for the introduction of more democratic reforms but to strengthen bureaucratic resistance against them.

The limits of bureaucratic elasticity stand out even more clearly when we turn to the problem of those nationalities who yearn to throw off Moscow's domination. How explosive these national feelings and stirrings are can be judged from what has already happened in East Germany, Poland and Hungary. The revolutionary potential extends to the USSR itself, especially the Ukraine and the Baltic countries. But will the Great Russian bureaucracy grant freedom to the Ukrainians and the other national minorities any more than it did to the Hungarians? The exploitation of the subject republics, including the East European satellites, constitutes a big source of income for the bureaucracy. If it will not voluntarily relinquish what it wrings from the Russian workers, how can it be expected to act more generously with those less powerfully situated?

The national minorities have already demonstrated that they do not care to wait, hands folded, for that distant day when the bureaucratic satraps reform themselves. Not even new bloodlettings such as the Kremlin visited on the Hungarian people can save the bureaucracy from an eventual accounting. When it comes, we may envisage that nothing will be able to stop the national minorities from gaining their freedom, but it is not likely to come as a gift thoughtfully packaged by the bureaucracy.

Concessions and repression

In the preceding analysis it may seem that I have treated the Stalinist bureaucracy too much like a true ruling class. This analogy, it may be argued, has strict limits — limits which are, in fact, determined by the pressures exerted upon the bureaucracy. What we are really dealing with, it may be said in refutation, is a caste structure and a *workers* bureaucracy. As such, whether under attack from the side of capitalism, or, in an opposite way, from the Russian workers, with enough pressure the bureaucracy may be obliged to take a proletarian, even revolutionary, orientation.

There is an element of truth in this contention. However, it is necessary, one must think, to separate out the *aims* of the bureaucracy from the *consequences* of its actions. These do not necessarily coincide.

For example, the bureaucracy may grant a concession, hoping to allay the dissatisfaction of the workers; this may well have the consequence of encouraging the workers to demand more, as it did in East Germany in 1953.² On the other hand, the bureaucracy may undertake a repressive action in hope of clubbing down the dissatisfaction; and this may have the effect of infuriating the workers to such an extent as to touch off an uprising as happened in Hungary in 1956.

A concession does not indicate that the bureaucracy has become more democratic. A repressive action does not indicate that the bureaucracy has become more reactionary. In both cases its fundamental character and role remain the same.

The essentially reactionary character of the bureaucracy does not change even when, as in the case of Eastern Europe, it finds itself forced to overturn capitalist property relations, nationalize the economy and institute planning. This was fully demonstrated when the bureaucracy followed up the overturns in Eastern Europe, which were progressive, with a bloody purge and a series of frameup trials of native Communist leaders modeled on the infamous Moscow trials of the thirties. It was demonstrated again by

2. In June 1953, workers in East Berlin went on strike demanding lower prices, free elections, evacuation of Russian troops, and unification of Germany. The strike spilled over into street battles with police and quickly spread throughout East Germany, resulting in a general strike of some 2 million workers. The revolt was suppressed within several weeks by Soviet troops.

Stalin's heirs when the "thaw" was followed by the repression of the Hungarian revolution.

The truth is that the distribution of the national income in the Soviet Union occurs, not in accordance with socialist or working-class norms, but in accordance with bourgeois norms. Moreover, it proceeds under the totalitarian political rule of a social stratum differentiated out of Soviet society *in correspondence with these bourgeois norms*. Insofar as distribution of the national income is concerned, it serves a bourgeois function. The fact that this social formation has not succeeded in extending its bourgeois function to production and property ownership, thereby achieving the status of a true class, does not mean that its personal consumption is any the less *bourgeois* in character. It is the planter, and the promoter, and the protector of inequality in all domains of Soviet life.

Plundering the planned economy

The bureaucracy also manages the planned economy and in this function serves, in the final analysis, as a "workers" bureaucracy. But it is a basic error to think that the character of the bureaucracy as a ruling caste is derived from its managerial function. If such were the case, it would have to be called a class in the scientific sense of the term and we would have to add that the nationalized and planned economy of socialism itself will inevitably generate a ruling class — the administrators or managers.

In their thoroughly bourgeois function of siphoning off the surplus for their own personal benefit, the bureaucrats act in complete contradiction to their managerial function. As between plundering and managing, their primary interest is plundering. Since this side is uppermost, Trotsky used the term "parasitism" to describe the contradictory relation of the bureaucracy to the planned economy. The term is exact enough. The utterly reactionary character of this layer of Soviet society does not come from the planned economy, nor from managing the planned economy, as Hayek would have us believe. On the contrary. It is the democratizing efforts of the Soviet masses that derive from the organic necessities of planned economy. The bureaucracy is simply defending its parasitism and that is the source of the tenacity with which this caste defends its totalitarian political rule.

The same conclusion also underscores the uselessness of the bureaucratic caste. The planned economy can be managed better under workers democracy.

However, even if it were true that the Soviet bureaucracy is like a trade-union bureaucracy in every respect, it does not follow that as a whole it is amenable to reform like *some sections* of the trade-union bureaucracy. To base a policy on that perspective seems to me not only illogical but unwise. Political experience advises against counting on the easiest way out of so profound a conflict. It is wiser, if we are to draw any lessons from the past, to prepare for the more difficult alternative. However things turn out, the stronger the workers are, the better organized, the more resolute, the easier the job will finally be. That is also the experience, isn't it, of struggles for democracy in trade unions where a reactionary bureaucracy has become entrenched?

The program of political revolution

Let me begin by indicating where I can agree with those who prefer to confine themselves to a program of reforming the regime.

The struggle for reforms is surely progressive and worthy of energetic support. There is nothing wrong with peaceful reform; in fact, as I have already tried to indicate, ideally it would be the best way. Moreover, from the Marxist point of view, any partial gains are completely acceptable, and wholly to the good. Above all, it seems to me, one must favor the effort and the struggle.

The reservation which I feel must be made in regard to the reformist position is simply that the struggle, in the course of action, will tend to pass beyond the limits of mere reforms and that such a climactic development should not be rejected if it turns out to be the reality. By peaceful means and measures, if possible; revolutionary resistance, if necessary — this alternative holds true for all struggles of the masses against reactionary forces.

To stand by a program of political revolution does not exclude either fighting for reforms or winning reforms. In fact, it presupposes such a struggle. These can be considered as by-products of revolutionary struggle insofar as they are actually achieved. Such reforms under capitalism as the shorter work day, the



"The increased flexibility of Kremlin policy since the death of Stalin has been interpreted by many as a favorable omen. But the limits of the increased flexibility appear to have been rigidly determined. Not even the disputes in the top circles are conducted or concluded democratically."

right to organize, higher wages, and so on, resulted from truly titanic struggles when they first became working-class goals.

Reforms are partial successes on the road to more definitive solutions of pressing problems: they can stimulate the working class and help prepare the stage for bigger struggles for more decisive goals. Looked at in this way, for instance, the great achievement in winning industrial unionism in the United States in the thirties laid a powerful basis for independent political action at the next stage. The rise of the CIO, I am convinced, will eventually be regarded as an indispensable preliminary stage in the rise of a labor party in the United States, which in turn will prove but a prelude to the victory of socialism.

What is the political revolution?

At the most advanced stage, reforms, however won, prove inadequate in meeting the needs of the masses, and so the struggle passes beyond the limits of reforms. This has been the experience in every great revolutionary transition. At a certain point the masses are driven to intervene directly and forcefully to set up new institutions of their own choice. We saw this in Hungary where the masses considered the reforms finally granted in response to their pressure to be too little and too late. They set about revolutionizing the entire political structure to bring it into conformity with what they felt were the needs of planned economy. From this experience it seems safe to make the generalization that in the Soviet bloc not even the biggest bounty from the bureaucrats will in the long run satisfy the masses. They want to get rid of the privileged and brutal Stalinist bureaucracy itself and they will not hesitate at direct intervention and open struggle to achieve it.

The program of political revolution in the Soviet Union has been badly misunderstood — and sadly misinterpreted — in the radical movement. It has been pictured as "revolutionary romanticism," a smoking-hot kind of sectarianism that rejects the struggle for reforms in principle, a remote-from-this-world attitude like that of the De Leonists, who haughtily scorn "mere" reforms and who will settle for nothing less than the whole hog delivered at the kitchen door. A more generous visualization sees something like a TV Western where the victimized cow hands organize a posse to shoot up the outlaws who have taken over the sheriff's office.

It is much closer to reality to view the program of political revolution as *the total series of reforms, gained through militant struggle, culminating in the transfer of power to the workers*.

No revolution comes in a single oversize dose like a horse pill. It develops in interlinked stages affecting interlinked fields. If any of the demands of any of the stages be viewed in isolation, or fixed as an end in itself rather than a means to a higher goal, it appears as a reform. If its connections to the demands of other

stages be kept in mind, it appears as a transitional step. It is only when the process is viewed as a whole — in its origin, its fundamental aims and final results — that it appears for what it really is, a revolution: an organic qualitative change in whatever structure is involved.

This way of considering the program will become clearer if we simply project a few successes in what the Soviet people are seeking right now.

Where democratic demands lead

Let us suppose that sufficient mass pressure develops to force the bureaucracy to grant the elementary democratic right of freedom of thought in the arts and sciences. What happens next? Intellectuals capable of expressing independent ideas *in these fields* will at once become centers of attraction, especially for the student youth. Their homes, their classrooms, the forums at which they appear will begin to change into incipient clubs for the exchange of opinion. This happened in Poland and Hungary. There is not the slightest doubt that this exchange of opinion will rapidly extend to related problems *in other fields*. The preparation of a cadre of young independent leaders will have already begun.

It takes little imagination to picture the effect of such a success on the Soviet workers. They would begin pressing for acknowledgement of their own elementary democratic right to organize in unions of their choice; and, as in the United States in the thirties, would probably begin organizing committees in the plants even before the right was officially conceded. New incipient centers of organization, paralleling those in the intellectual fields, would thus appear with extraordinary speed. We may be sure that close ties would rapidly be forged between the workers and the intellectuals. Thus would begin the preparation of a cadre of militant union and factory committee leaders.

The preliminary actions of the new union movement will involve the settlement of grievances over working conditions, production norms, hours and wages. A few successes, however, and the struggle would widen to include housing, shortages of basic necessities and the prices of commodities. The logic of this is the organization of consumers committees where housewives play a dynamic leading role.

The agricultural workers, who have a long list of grievances of their own, would soon begin pressing their own demands and organizing committees in their own way.

Challenge to the bureaucracy

Long before this, the bureaucracy, we might expect, would have begun considering to what uses the armed forces might be put in stemming the tide. But the Russian workers have had experience along these lines, too. Very likely the rank-and-file soldiers and sailors tied up with the masses would already be pressing their own democratic demands, especially a return to the practice under Lenin and Trotsky of organizing their own committees and subjecting the officers to their democratic control.

Stiff resistance by the bureaucracy would now pose the question of political democracy in all its force. Do dissident members of the Communist party have a right to organize factions, to publish bulletins? Do insurgent workers have a right to organize their own political parties, the right to run slates of their own choice against officially hand-picked nominees? Shouldn't the one-party system in the Soviet Union — as Trotsky proposed more than twenty years ago — give way to democratic freedom for all Soviet parties?

All these developments point to a great new stage — the revival of soviets, the councils where all tendencies and parties meet to discuss and act on policies and problems of government. With the appearance of soviets, dual power would exist in the USSR and the developing revolution would enter its crucial stage.

At every turn in these events, the crisis in the bureaucracy deepens. A section of the officialdom, the section that is capable of responding sensitively to the demands of the people, comes over to the workers at various speeds and in varying degrees, providing fresh sources of encouragement.

The final result is the complete elimination of the bureaucratic caste and the democratization of Soviet life from top to bottom. Industrial management is exercised through factory committees, democratically elected and holding control over the specialists. Government is run once again through the soviets where

Continued on ISR/8

The debate over the character & goals of the Russian revolution

BY ERNEST MANDEL

The November 1981 issue of *International Socialist Review* carried an article by Doug Jenness centered around the idea that in the 1905-1917 period, there had been two different concepts of the Russian revolution among Russian socialists. In the present article we defend the traditional analysis by Leon Trotsky and the Fourth International, according to which there were three — and not two — basically different strategies proposed by Russian socialists in that period.

Russian society entered a deep political and social crisis in the 1870s. The populists of *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will) were organizing to overthrow tsarism. In 1882, they killed Tsar Alexander II who, twenty years earlier, had freed Russian peasants from serfdom, but burdened them in exchange with a terrible economic taxation.

The international workers movement, which was beginning to include some Russian emigré activists, took an interest in Russia and tried to obtain more information on the social conditions and political struggles of this far-away country. As a result, the movement was drawn into the debates on the nature of the coming Russian revolution — which revolutionaries considered inevitable — and the perspectives it would open up for Europe and the world.

The positions of Marx and Engels

Vera Zasulich, one of the main figures of Russian populism, invited Marx to take a stand on Russia's future. After some hesitation,¹ he arrived at an unambiguous position: Russia could "leap over the stage of capitalism."

In a March 8, 1881, letter to the Russian revolutionary, and again in the preface to the second Russian edition of *The Communist Manifesto*, published in 1882, Marx stated:

(a) That his thesis on the inevitable emergence of capitalism only applied to Western societies;

(b) That Russia had the possibility of avoiding "the terrible evils of capitalism" if its revolution could triumph in time;²

(c) That the starting point of the collectivist, non-capitalist evolution of Russian industrialization could be the collective property of the village community (the *obshchina*);

(d) That this contingency would only be realized if the advance of private property and capitalism, which was under way since the abolition of serfdom in 1861, had not yet reached the stage of decisively dissolving the village community;

(e) That a second condition for the realization of this noncapitalist development in Russia was the victory of the revolution in the West, and the aid which the Western proletariat could thereby extend to the Russian masses in modernizing and industrializing Russia.

Through this analysis, Marx provided support to the revolutionaries of *Narodnaya Volya*. He believed that Plekhanov's group in Geneva, which originated in a split from the populists, had committed a mistake in attacking them. Engels maintained this position several years after Marx's death. He kept up a lively correspondence with populists like Nikolai Danielson and Lavrov, and showed a great deal of sympathy for them.³

Nevertheless, toward the end of the 1880s, and into the early 1890s, Engels changed his position; or, more accurately, he noted that history had now answered Marx's question and had done so in the negative. The delay of the revolution had opened the way to a pro-



Leon Trotsky and V.I. Lenin

cess of capitalist development in Russia, which was ruthlessly destroying the basis for the survival of the village community:

"Remember that our author [Marx] had said in his letter on Zhukovsky [the letter to the editorial board of *Otshchestvennie Zapiski* mentioned in footnote 2] that the peasant *obshchina* was doomed if the evolution begun in 1861 continued. To my mind, this is exactly what is happening" (letter to N. Danielson, March 15, 1892).

Engels therefore believed that capitalist development had become inevitable in Russia and would lead to the emergence of a modern proletariat as the only fully revolutionary class, and the only class capable of introducing socialism in Russia. By the same token, he now gave his full support to the first nucleus of Russian Marxists around Plekhanov. All these positions were spelled out in his postscript to *Soziales aus Russland* (January 1894).

The polemic between the Russian populists and Marxists

Narodnaya Volya had given birth to several populist organizations, and then to the Social Revolutionary Party (SRP), which was clearly derived from populism. The SRP was to remain the largest and most influential organization in Russia until 1917.⁴ It dif-

fered from the newly formed Russian social democracy, which was officially established as a party in 1898, on a series of analytical and political points.

The SRP believed capitalism could not develop extensively in Russia due to the narrowness of the domestic market. Consequently, it did not believe the proletariat would play a leading role in the coming Russian revolution, and instead attributed this role to the peasantry. It rejected the idea that the peasantry, which was now involved in petty commodity production and aspired to individual ownership of the land, could not form a social force fighting for a socialist society. Its platform therefore advocated the socialization of land and an immediate transition to an agrarian socialism (communism). However, under the pressure of its own peasant base, it gradually abandoned the last point and adopted a program for dividing up the land.

The Russian Marxists, backed up by the Western Marxists, launched a sustained polemic against these populist theses. They stated that capitalist development had become irreversible and prevalent in Russia. Along with capitalist development would come the development of the proletariat and its party, Russian social democracy, which was a part of international social democracy. Like its counterparts, Russian social democracy should struggle for the overthrow of capitalism through the dictatorship of the proletariat and collective ownership of the means of production.

With this goal in mind, the proletariat had to be organized completely independently of all other classes. Flowing from this analysis, the Russian Marxists viewed the populists, the SRP, as objectively bourgeois-democratic and nonproletarian because they lumped together working-class, peasant, semiproletarian plebeian, and urban petty-bourgeois forces.

Moreover, the populists opposed political support for the bourgeois liberal opposition movement, which they characterized as an internal quarrel within the ruling classes. By contrast, the Marxists favored critical support and even temporary agreements with bourgeois liberal opposition movements, while maintaining the political independence of the proletariat and warning the working masses that the liberal bourgeoisie was incapable of waging a consistent, radical, and thorough struggle against absolutism.

The Marxists drew this position from an estimate that can be seen in the following quote from the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) program adopted at the Second Congress (1903) and drafted by Plekhanov and Lenin:

"On the way to achieving their common ultimate aim, which is conditioned by the dominance of the capitalist mode of production throughout the civilized world, the Social Democrats of the different countries are obliged to undertake different immediate tasks, both because this mode of production has not developed everywhere to the same degree and because its development in the different countries is coming to fruition under a variety of socio-political circumstances.

"In Russia, where capitalism has already become the dominant mode of production, there are still very many survivals from the old pre-capitalist order, which was based on the enslavement of the working masses by the landlords, the state or the sovereign. Hindering economic progress to a very considerable extent, these survivals inhibit an all-round development of the class struggle of the proletariat, and contribute to the maintenance and consolidation of the most barbarous forms of exploitation of the many millions of peasants by the state and the property-owning classes, and to keeping the entire people in ignorance and deprived of rights.

"The most important of all these survivals and the mightiest bulwark of all this barbarism is the Tsarist autocracy. By its very nature it is inimical to all social progress and cannot but be the most malevolent enemy of all the proletariat's strivings for freedom.

SRP still received an absolute majority of votes and seats. It is true that in the cities it was beaten by the Bolshevik Party, and its overall majority reflected mainly the overwhelming weight of the peasantry in Russia. It is also true that it had already split two ways: the right SRs ferociously opposing the seizure of power by the soviets, and the left SRs supporting and even joining, temporarily, a coalition government with the Bolsheviks. The coalition was broken by the left SRs when the Brest Litovsk peace treaty was signed.

1. There are several successive drafts of the letter to Vera Zasulich in the *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*.

2. Earlier, in 1877, Marx had already written Mikailovsky, at that time the editor of the review *Otshchestvennie Zapiski* (Annals of the Fatherland), that Russia had the "greatest opportunity ever presented by history to any nation" to avoid the evils of capitalism.

3. See Marx's letter to Jenny Longuet of April 11, 1881. See also Engels's letter to Vera Zasulich of April 23, 1885.

4. We shouldn't forget that even after the October revolution, during the elections to the Constituent Assembly, the

"Therefore, the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party takes as its most immediate political task the overthrow of the Tsarist autocracy and its replacement by a democratic republic."

In other words, the program of the RSDLP, the Russian Marxists, distinguished *two stages of the Russian revolution*:

- An immediate stage, which was the democratic (or bourgeois-democratic) revolution, whose goal was the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy and not of capitalism. In fact, the goal of the democratic revolution was to be *the unfettered development of capitalism*, and simultaneously the maximum development of the proletariat, the proletarian class struggle, and the proletarian party.

- A subsequent stage, that of the social revolution leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the overthrow of capitalism, and the construction of a socialist society.

The tasks of the first stage were democratic tasks — the bourgeois-democratic republic and the agrarian revolution. The tasks of the second stage were socialist tasks.

The great majority of Russian Marxists — especially Plekhanov, Lenin, Martov, Axelrod, and Trotsky — agreed on that distinction until 1904, despite their differences on the organizational question, which had divided them at the Second Congress of the RSDLP in 1903. This was clearly reflected in the political debates at the Second Congress, especially those on the agrarian question. Here are a few particularly telling interventions:

- *Lenin*: "We are pursuing in the countryside two aims which are different in kind: first, we want to secure freedom for bourgeois relations; secondly, we want to wage the proletarian struggle."

- *Trotsky*: "Our general minimum programme represents the maximum that we can demand of the capitalist order. Our agrarian programme calls for clearing feudal hindrances from the path of this capitalist order as a whole. . . . We approach the Polish peasants with the general-democratic part of our programme, we approach the rural poor with our propaganda for socialism."

- *Lenin*: "Comrade Lieber has forgotten the difference between the democratic and the socialist parts of the programme. What he has taken for 'meagreness' is the absence of anything socialistic in the democratic programme. . . . Only the Socialist-Revolutionaries, with their characteristic lack of principle, are capable of confusing, and constantly do confuse, democratic and socialist demands. The Party of the proletariat, however, is in duty bound to separate and distinguish between them in the strictest fashion."

- *Plekhanov*: "Such a movement in favour of redistribution would certainly be a movement in the bourgeoisie's favour. We are, of course, not obliged actively to set forth a programme for the bourgeoisie, but if, in the struggle against survivals of serfdom relations, the peasantry should take that path, then it would not be for us to hold back this progressive movement."⁵

The same clarity prevailed concerning the need to support the political struggle of the liberal bourgeoisie against the absolutist autocracy. The Second Congress of the RSDLP adopted two resolutions on this issue; the one submitted by Starover and endorsed by Trotsky stated:

"The party does not refuse to enter, and should the need arise will enter, through its central institutions, into temporary agreements with liberal or liberal-democratic trends."

The other, submitted by Plekhanov and endorsed by Lenin, stated:

"Social Democracy must support the bourgeoisie insofar as it is revolutionary or even merely oppositional in its struggle against tsardom."

Both resolutions stressed the limited and inadequate character of the bourgeois opposition.⁶ The party program also included similar formulations.

5. See the official record of the *Second Congress of the RSDLP*, translated from the Russian by Brian Pearce, English edition, London: New Park Publications, 1978, pp. 273, 254-255, 256-257, 267.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.



George Plekhanov

At first, the differences between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks seemed limited to organizational problems; at the Second Congress of the RSDLP some Mensheviks even adopted a more "extremist" (in reality a half-economist, half-workerist) position toward the liberal bourgeoisie than the Bolsheviks.

The differences between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks after 1905

But it rapidly emerged that deep differences on *what tactic was appropriate for the Russian revolution* also divided Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. The Russian revolution of 1905, its aftermath, and the Unity Congress of the RSDLP in Stockholm, clarified the matter.

Both the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks agreed on *the bourgeois nature of the coming Russian revolution* in a twofold sense:

- The immediate tasks of the revolution would be the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy and the elimination of semifeudal survivals in the countryside. These were obviously historical tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and not of the socialist revolution;

- The victory of the Russian revolution would lead to an accelerated and unfettered development of capitalism in Russia, and not to the socialization of the economy.

But from these premises, the Mensheviks drew the conclusion that the revolution could succeed only under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. On the one hand, the party of the proletariat would have to drive the bourgeoisie forward with a sword to its back and force it to carry out the revolutionary work it hesitated to perform. In addition, the party of the proletariat would have to fight for the broadest political and economic reforms on behalf of the proletariat (the eight-hour day, compulsory education for all children with free lunches served in the schools, etc.). But this oppositional work would have to keep within the bounds of reason and moderation, lest the bourgeoisie prematurely desert the revolutionary camp and go over to the counterrevolution, which would doom the revolution to failure.

Lenin advocated a position diametrically counterposed to that of the Mensheviks. He reminded them that even the French revolution of 1789 had only been able to accomplish its historical tasks because the Jacobin petty bourgeoisie had successively driven out of power the various fractions of the bourgeoisie which, fearful of the people, had been prepared to capitulate to the counterrevolution or avoid the necessary radical measures. He recalled the revolution of 1848 in which the German bourgeoisie had behaved in an even more counterrevolutionary fashion, leading the revolution to defeat, which led Marx to note that the further east one went, the more cowardly the bourgeoisie became.

All this led to the conclusion that in Russia, where capitalism was far more developed in 1905 than in Germany in 1848, not to mention France in 1789, the bourgeoisie would be absolutely incapable of leading a radical democratic and agrarian revolution and moreover did not aspire to do so. This meant that under bourgeois leadership, the Russian revolution was doomed to fail. It could triumph only with the equivalent of a Jacobin leadership and a Jacobin dictatorship.

In the context of Russian society in 1905, given the social classes existing in the country at that time, this could only mean an alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry: the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants.

Two key questions — the one strategic, the other tactical — crystallized the differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks on the nature and perspectives of the Russian revolution. The Mensheviks tended more and more to reduce the content of the democratic (bourgeois-democratic) revolution to strictly political questions: free elections, parliamentary representation, democratic freedoms, etc. By contrast, Lenin believed *the agrarian question* was the key question of the democratic revolution. Because the bourgeoisie feared a radical agrarian revolution — a generalized uprising of the peasantry, a revolutionary takeover of the land by the peasants — it refused to take up a determined struggle against the autocracy, the army, and the state apparatus, which in the last analysis were the guardians of *all* private property. Any conciliationist approach toward the liberal bourgeoisie necessarily involved *both* the rejection of a radical and persistent struggle for land *and* the rejection of a radical and persistent struggle for freedom.

Given their reductionist conception of the democratic revolution, the Mensheviks, after a few hesitations, began leaning more and more toward *a political bloc with the bourgeois parties*. Lenin rejected such a bloc with all his might, because he considered it would constitute an insurmountable obstacle to launching a successful agrarian revolution.

But Lenin and the Bolsheviks did not change their position on the perspective opened by a victory of the Russian revolution. For them, what was always involved was opening the way to the unfettered development of capitalism in Russia, and not initiating a socialized and collectivized economy (these days, we would say: not establishing a transitional society between capitalism and socialism). This appears clearly in Lenin's speech to the Fifth Congress (London) of the RSDLP on May 12, 1907:

"Speaking objectively, from the point of view not of our desires, but of the present economic development of Russia, the basic question of our revolution is whether it will secure the development of capitalism through the peasants' complete victory over the landowners or through the landowners' victory over the peasants. A bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia's economy is absolutely inevitable. No power on earth can hinder it. But this revolution is possible in either of two ways: in the Prussian, if one might say so, or in the American way. This means the following: the landlords may win, may foist compensation payments or other petty concessions on the peasants, may unite with a handful of the wealthy, pauperise the masses, and convert their own farms into Junker-type, capitalist, farms. Such a revolution will be bourgeois-democratic but it will be to the least advantage of the peasants — to their least advantage from the angle of the rapidity of capitalist development. Or, on the contrary, the complete victory of the peasant uprising, the confiscation of all landed estates and their equal division will signify the most rapid development of capitalism, the form of bourgeois-democratic revolution most advantageous to the peasants" (*Collected Works* [C.W.], Vol. 12, p. 465).

The resolution is unambiguous: development of capitalism in the American way; the most rapid development of capitalism; it is clear and obvious. Many such quotations can be found in Lenin's writings between 1905 and 1916, especially in *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* (1905):

"It means that the democratic reforms in the political system, and the social and economic reforms that have become a necessity for Russia, do not in themselves imply the undermining of capitalism, the un-

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dermining of bourgeois rule; on the contrary, they will, for the first time, really clear the ground for a wide and rapid, European, and not Asiatic, development of capitalism; they will, for the first time, make it possible for the bourgeoisie to rule as a class" (C.W., Vol. 19, p. 48).

And in his January 3, 1911, letter to Gorky, he wrote:

"There is capitalism and capitalism. There is Black-Hundred-Octobrist capitalism and Narodnik ('realistic, democratic,' full of 'activity') capitalism. The more we expose capitalism before the workers for its 'greed and cruelty,' the more difficult is it for capitalism of the first order to persist, the more surely is it bound to pass into capitalism of the second order. And this just suits us, this just suits the proletariat."

"There is practically no Octobrist capitalism left in Western Europe; practically all capitalism is democratic. Octobrist capitalism has gone from Britain and France to Russia and Asia. *The Russian revolution and the revolutions in Asia [are] the struggle for ousting Octobrist capitalism and replacing it by democratic capitalism.* And democratic capitalism [is] the last of its kind. It has no next stage to go on to. The next stage is its death" (C.W., Vol. 34, pp. 438-439, emphasis added, E.M.).

The insurrection, the government, the state

Social democracy and revolutionary-bourgeois (i.e., peasant) democracy together must carry to the end the bourgeois revolution against the bourgeoisie, in order to allow the unfettered development of capitalism in Russia. That, in a few words, was the position of Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the 1905 Russian revolution and from then until after the February 1917 revolution, i.e., until the April Theses were formulated.

Unlike the Mensheviks, Lenin, in line with his own position, called for Social Democratic participation in a revolutionary insurrectional government, and even for an insurrectional process culminating in a revolutionary government under Social Democratic leadership:

"(1) that in order to complete the revolution, the urgent task now confronting the proletariat is, jointly with the revolutionary democrats, to help to unite the insurrection, and to set up an organ that will unite it, in the shape of a provisional revolutionary government . . ." (C.W., Vol. 10, p. 155).

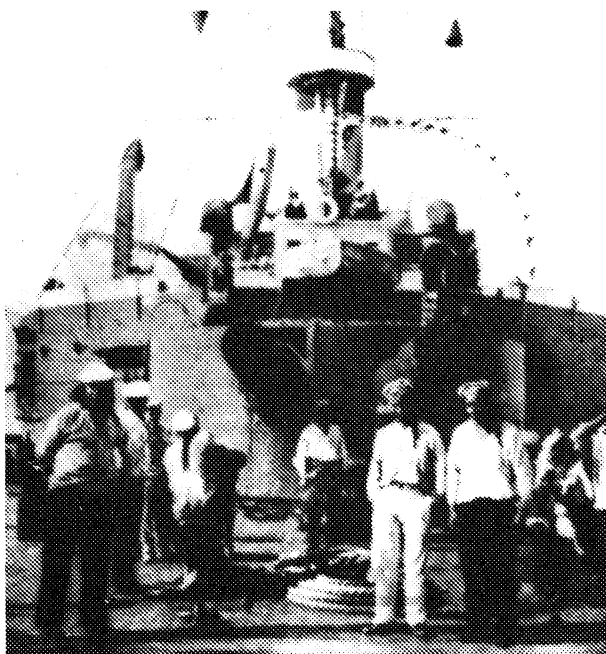
Did the idea of the seizure of power by a revolutionary government dominated by social democracy contradict the position on the bourgeois nature of the revolution and its tasks? Did it contradict Lenin's obstinate and frequent refusal to confuse, i.e., to *combine*, the democratic tasks and the socialist tasks, the minimum program and the maximum program?

In our opinion, there was no such contradiction in Lenin's mind, i.e., subjectively. This is why *all* these positions of Lenin are often stated *at the same time* in the same writing, the same article, the same report, the same brochure. Nor does the contradiction exist from the point of view of formal logic. One can be for the seizure of power by a *provisional* government and at the same time stress the fact that this government will be precisely . . . provisional, i.e. that it will have to give up or lose power later on, given the bourgeois character of the revolution.

This emerges from Lenin's analogy with the *Jacobins'* rule during the French revolution. In the Marxist tradition, the function of Danton, Marat, and Robespierre was to push the revolution forward to its ultimate, to push it to a point where the bourgeoisie neither wanted to nor could go. But after successfully carrying out this task, the *Jacobins* were condemned to lose power. What was the historical agenda in France was the development of capitalism, not the development of an egalitarian society based on small private property, the utopia desired by the *Jacobins*, much less the construction of a socialist society.

This emerges even more clearly from the very formulas Lenin used in relation to the "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants," in which he stressed the transitional, provisional character of this dictatorship, of this government:

"In plain and simple Russian, an organ of power of the people which temporarily assumes the duties of a government that has collapsed is called a provisional revolutionary government. *Such a government is bound to be provisional, for its authority expires with the convocation of a constituent assembly representing*



Crew of battleship *Potemkin* revolted during 1905 revolution. Bolsheviks later called that revolution a "dress rehearsal" for successful revolution of 1917. Attempt to draw lessons of 1905 experience deepened discussion between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks over perspectives for Russian revolution.

the whole people" (C.W., Vol. 10, p. 67, emphasis added).

This is obvious from Lenin's stress on the fact that the *political* counterrevolution, the "political restoration," would be inevitable unless the socialist revolution triumphs in the West. This is also obvious from Lenin's stress on the *bourgeois character* of the state that would emerge from the victory of the Russian revolution:

"A bourgeois revolution is a revolution which does not depart from the framework of the bourgeois, i.e. capitalist, socio-economic system. A bourgeois revolution expresses the needs of capitalist development, and, far from destroying the foundations of capitalism, it effects the contrary — it broadens and deepens them. . . . Since the rule of the bourgeoisie over the working class is inevitable under capitalism, it can well be said that a bourgeois revolution expresses the interests not so much of the proletariat as of the bourgeoisie."

"But it is quite absurd to think that a bourgeois revolution does not at all express proletarian interests. This absurd idea boils down either to the hoary Narodnik theory that . . . we do not need bourgeois political liberty; or to anarchism, which denies any participation of the proletariat in bourgeois politics, in a bourgeois revolution and in bourgeois parliamentarism" ("Two Tactics," C.W., Vol. 9, p. 49).

Lenin insisted so strongly on this point that not only did he radically reject any notion of "revolutionary communes," any notion of a state (in contrast to an insurrection) based on soviets, but he went so far as to state:

"The real task the Commune had to perform was primarily the achievement of the democratic and not the socialist dictatorship, the implementation of our 'minimum programme'" (C.W., Vol. 9, p. 141).

All these positions therefore were *logically* consistent. But were they consistent from the point of view of the *dialectic of social classes engaged in struggle*?

That is another question altogether, one which Trotsky (and history) basically answered in the negative.

Nevertheless, as we stress the contradictory aspect of Lenin's position, we must at the same time stress its contradictory effects, which were not all negative.

By educating his faction, and then his party, in the spirit of a clear-cut distinction between "minimum program" and "maximum program," in the spirit of limiting the "first stage" of the revolution to purely democratic tasks, in the spirit of Social Democratic participation in a provisional revolutionary government, Lenin facilitated the confusion in the first weeks of the February revolution, when *all* the Bolshevik leaders and *all* the Bolshevik cadres favored "critical" support to and even collaboration with the provisional coalition government and rejected as "utopian," "semi-anarchist," etc., any notion of a seizure of power by the working class, of a "workers government," let alone the dictatorship of the proletariat based on the soviets.

But, by educating his faction, and then his party, in the spirit of a *necessary seizure of power*, Lenin facilitated the "turn" towards a Soviet regime that was first made spontaneously by the vanguard working-class cadres, and later by the adoption by the party of

the same turn to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The education in the spirit of strict class independence did the rest. The correct education given on these two points outweighed the erroneous dogma of the "two stages," of the separation between the "minimum program" and the "maximum program," of the counterposition of the "democratic dictatorship" to the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the soviets as "non-party" insurrectional organs in which the Social Democrats could be active but which could not be "substituted" for the "provisional" revolutionary government or the state emerging from the revolution. The soviets became organs of power, neither provisional nor bourgeois: organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the foundation of a new state, a non-bourgeois state, a workers state.

Trotsky's original position

Beginning in 1904, Trotsky developed an entirely new and original position on character and perspectives of the Russian revolution. He and his supporters alone defended that position against both the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. The argument was presented in a small brochure published on the eve of the events of January 1905; then in *Results and Prospects*, published in 1906; in a less well-known article in the Polish social-democratic review *Przegląd Socjal-Demokratyczny* in 1908; and in his book *1905*, published in 1909. His position flowed from his discovery of the law of *uneven and combined development*, undoubtedly his fundamental contribution to Marxism.

Starting from the position shared by all Marxists that the Russian revolution had to solve the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, above all the conquest of political democracy and the conquest of the land, Trotsky immediately posed a question that Plekhanov and Lenin had either not, or only insufficiently, formulated: *In what concrete national and international social and economic context would this revolution unfold?* What would its main driving forces be? What would be the relationship of forces between the social classes involved in the revolution?

Trotsky answered: The particularities of uneven and combined development in Russia have caused the growth of the proletariat to considerably outdistance that of the Russian bourgeoisie because the proletariat is the product not only of the "organic" development of Russian capitalism, but also of the intervention of foreign capital and above all of the role of the state in stimulating industrialization. Paradoxically, because of its high degree of concentration in large industries, the Russian proletariat, which emerged in a "backward" country, was more militant and more advanced in many ways than the proletariat of far more-developed countries.

In the first place, this meant that insofar as the proletariat already had its own independent organizations and already acted as an independent force on the political scene, the bourgeoisie as a whole would go over to the counterrevolution, even more because of its fear of the proletariat than of peasant uprisings. Therefore no alliance with the bourgeoisie or with bourgeois parties could lead to the victory of the revolution. There were no differences between Lenin and Trotsky on this point.⁷ Together, both opposed the Mensheviks.

Another consequence of Trotsky's analysis was the recognition that a revolutionary victory won under the leadership of the proletariat, at the head of all the oppressed classes of the nation, could not be confined to winning the goals of the bourgeois-democratic revolution alone. It was inconceivable a proletariat as centralized, as united, as conscious, as militant as the Russian proletariat, would accept being exploited by capitalist bosses *after having armed itself and taken power at the head of an insurrection* (there was of course no difference between Lenin and Trotsky on the necessity of such an insurrection).

The proletariat, having insured the victory of the agrarian revolution (the conquest of the land by the peasants), would move on to initiate the collectivization and confiscation of large capitalist property too, without interruption, without demobilization and without discontinuity.

In this sense, the revolution would be permanent, the conquest of the historical objectives of the bourgeois-democratic revolution *would, in real life, combine* with the conquest of the historical objectives of

7. "It must be agreed that Trotsky's amendment is not Menshevik, that it expresses the 'very same,' that is, Bolshevik, idea. But Trotsky has expressed this idea in a way that is scarcely better" ("Objections to Trotsky's Amendments to the Bolshevik Resolution on the Attitude Towards Bourgeois Parties," at the Fifth Congress of the RSDLP) (C.W., Vol. 12, p. 479).

the socialist revolution without an intermediate period of capitalist development.

Would the Russian proletariat, being a small minority in a sea of peasant petty commodity producers, be able to keep power after having taken it? Trotsky answered no. It could remain in power only if the Russian revolution triggered a socialist revolution in the West. On this issue, and contrary to a longstanding myth, Trotsky's position was not original but was shared by Kautsky, Rosa Luxemburg, and Lenin. What is even more surprising, Lenin and the other leaders of the Marxist left stated that *even the bourgeois-democratic revolution was doomed to retreat* (that is, doomed to a political victory of reaction) if there were no socialist victory in the West:

"The only complete guarantee against restoration in Russia (after a victorious revolution in Russia) is a socialist revolution in the West. There is and can be no other guarantee. Thus, from this aspect, the question is: how can the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia facilitate, or accelerate, the socialist revolution in the West? The only conceivable answer to this is: if the miserable Manifesto of October 17 gave a powerful impetus to the working-class movement in Europe, then the complete victory of the bourgeois revolutions in Russia will almost inevitably (or at all events, in all probability) arouse a number of such political upheavals in Europe as will give a very powerful impetus to the socialist revolution" (C.W., Vol. 10, p. 334).

What political forms would the proletariat, at the head of the entire nation, have to use to accomplish the historical tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia? Since the bourgeoisie was doomed to go over to the camp of the counterrevolution, there were only two possibilities: either the alliance between a peasant political force (or political forces) and the party of the proletariat, or the conquest of power by the proletariat (led by its party) supported by the peasantry.

The first possibility was rejected by Trotsky because of the peasantry's inability to constitute an autonomous political force in the course of a revolution. Only the second variant remained: the Russian revolution could only succeed through the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat leading the peasantry. The law of uneven and combined development implied that the proletariat could take power in a backward country before it did so in the most advanced countries. Trotsky formulated this prediction as early as 1906. Subsequent events are well known.

The differences between Lenin and Trotsky

The differences between Lenin and Trotsky on the perspectives of the Russian revolution therefore basically concerned four points:

1. The impossibility for Russia, given the existing social and economic context, to undergo modernization and industrialization through a "rapid development of capitalism," and especially through "American-style" development of agriculture. To believe such an outcome possible, as Lenin persistently did until 1916, was to underestimate the weight of imperialism, of the world market (which left no room for a second America!), and of the agrarian crisis in Russia itself, which could no longer be solved in a capitalist framework.

We should draw attention to the fact that the only Marxist who took a few timid steps in the same direction and startled all the Russian Marxists, beginning with Lenin himself, was Kautsky.⁸ In his balance sheet of the Russian revolution, Kautsky argued that, in order to resolve the agrarian question, the large industrial monopolies would have to be confiscated along with the large landed estates. But Lenin did not follow him on this road,⁹ and Kautsky himself quickly took fright at his own boldness and from 1910 onward retreated to more traditional centrist positions.

2. The impossibility for the peasantry to constitute

8. Under the influence of the Russian revolution Kautsky adopted the most advanced positions of his career between 1906 and 1909, especially in his commentaries on the Russian revolution and in his work *Der Weg zur Macht*.

9. Kautsky, "The Motor Forces and Perspectives of the Russian Revolution," *Die Neue Zeit*, 1906. Lenin himself noted that this article went much further than even the most extreme Bolsheviks (C.W., Vol. 11, p. 369). Kautsky excluded, however, any realization of the socialist program by the Russian revolution.



Role of peasantry — the overwhelming majority in Russia — and question of agrarian reform were central to discussion between Bolshevik and Menshevik factions of Russian Social Democratic Party.

a political party or force that would be independent both of the bourgeoisie and the working class. Trotsky was certain that this was impossible. By contrast, Lenin was certain that the revolutionary peasantry had to take political power:

"But how can a peasant revolution win if the revolutionary peasantry does not seize power? Plekhanov has reduced his own arguments to absurdity. Having stepped on to a slope, he irresistibly rolls down. First he denied that it was possible for the proletariat to seize power in the present revolution. Now he denies that it is possible for the revolutionary peasantry to seize power in the present revolution. But if neither the proletariat nor the revolutionary peasantry can seize power, then, logically, that power must remain in the hands of the tsar and of Dubasov. Or should the Cadets take power? But the Cadets do not want to seize power themselves, for they are in favour of retaining the monarchy, the standing army, the Upper Chamber and all the other delights" (C.W., Vol. 10, p. 340-341).

To those who claimed there were no "revolutionary bourgeois democrats" in Russia to lead the revolution with the representatives of the proletariat, Lenin answered no less clearly:

"Unless the activities of the worker democrats and bourgeois democrats are co-ordinated, the bourgeois-democratic revolution cannot be successful. This is gospel truth. . . .

"It seems to you that there are no revolutionary bourgeois democrats in Russia, that the Cadets are the only, or at all events, the main force of bourgeois democracy in Russia. But it seems so to you only because you are short-sighted. . . . There are revolutionary bourgeois democrats in Russia, and there must be, so long as there is a revolutionary peasantry, which by thousands of millions of threads is also bound up with the poorer classes in the towns" (C.W., Vol. 10, p. 260 and 263).

Moreover, Lenin tended to give concrete content to the algebraic formula "revolutionary bourgeois democrats" leading the peasantry; it meant the *Trudoviks* (Kerensky's party) and SRs. See the May 11, 1906, article "The Peasant, or 'Trudovik,' Group and the RSDLP":

"Today there is nothing more important for the success of the revolution than this organisation, education and political training of the revolutionary bourgeois democrats. The socialist proletariat, while ruthlessly exposing the instability of the Cadets, will do everything it can to promote this great work" (C.W., Vol. 10, p. 413).

3. The capacity of the Russian proletariat to begin to resolve the socialist tasks of the revolution. For Trotsky, that capacity was obvious. It appeared in all the great workers' struggles (especially the mass strikes, the 1905 general strike, and the formation of soviets). For Lenin, that capacity did not exist:

"Finally, we will note that the resolution, by making implementation of the minimum programme the provisional revolutionary government's task, eliminates the absurd and semi-anarchist ideas of giving

immediate effect to the maximum programme, and the conquest of power for a socialist revolution. The degree of Russia's economic development (an objective condition), and the degree of class-consciousness and organisation of the broad masses of the proletariat (a subjective condition inseparably bound up with the objective condition) make the immediate and complete emancipation of the working class impossible. Only the most ignorant people can close their eyes to the bourgeois nature of the democratic revolution which is now taking place; only the most naive optimists can forget how little as yet the masses of the workers are informed about the aims of socialism and the methods of achieving it" (C.W., Vol. 9, p. 28-29).

For Lenin, therefore, the "self-limitation of the proletariat," that is the refusal to move beyond the realization of the most radical bourgeois-democratic demands, even while the Social Democrats might participate in a revolutionary insurrectional government, correspond to an objective necessity. Only through prolonged experience with political democracy, through prolonged mass educational and organizational work that would coincide precisely with the "unfettered development of capitalism," could the proletariat acquire the capacity to accomplish the tasks of the socialist revolution.

4. Logically, Lenin's position led to counterposing the formula "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" to the formula "dictatorship of the proletariat." The two formulas were not mere slogans but encapsulated the strategic perspectives of the revolution: the character of the state and society that would emerge from the revolutionary victory:

"Without a dictatorship it is impossible to break down that resistance and repel counter-revolutionary attempts. But of course it will be democratic, not a socialist dictatorship. It will be unable (without a series of intermediary stages of revolutionary development) to affect the foundations of capitalism. At best, it may bring about a radical redistribution of landed property in favour of the peasantry, establish consistent and full democracy, including the formation of a republic, eradicate all the oppressive features of Asiatic bondage, not only in rural but also in factory life, lay the foundation for a thorough improvement in the conditions of the workers and for a rise in their standard of living, and — last but not least — carry the revolutionary conflagration into Europe. Such a victory will not yet by any means transform our bourgeois revolution into a socialist revolution; the democratic revolution will not immediately overstep the bounds of bourgeois social and economic relationships; nevertheless, the significance of such a victory for the future development of Russia and of the whole world will be immense" (C.W., Vol. 9, p. 56-57).

And even more sharply and precisely:

"This means: not the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat, but the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" (C.W., Vol. 11, p. 374).

Clearly then the Russian Marxists were divided between three, not two, conceptions of the Russian revolution, its perspectives, and the strategic tasks it implied.¹⁰

The verdict of the 1917 revolution

Lenin explicitly changed his position on three of these four issues in his April Thesis of 1917; and now in fact stood for the same positions Trotsky had defended since 1904-1906:

1. Contrary to what he previously contended, he now argued that the experience of all modern revolutions had demonstrated the peasantry's inability to form a political force independent of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. All illusions about an independent role of the *Trudoviks* (Kerensky!) or the SRs disappeared. These parties emerged as tail-enders of the bourgeoisie, just as incapable of carrying out a radical agrarian revolution as the bourgeois liberals. Insofar as one wing of the SRs participated in the revolutionary victory, it did so under the leadership of the Bolsheviks and the proletariat, not as a force wielding equal power alongside the proletariat, and even less as the major force involved:

"We know from our own experience — and revolutions all over the world confirm it if we take the modern epoch of, say, a hundred and fifty years — that the result has always been the same everywhere: the petty bourgeoisie in general, and the peasants in particular, have failed in all their attempts to realise their strength, and to direct economics and politics

Continued on next page

10. Comrade Trotsky admirably summarized his position on the existence of three, not two, conceptions of the Russian revolution in his document, "Three Conceptions of the Russian Revolution," appended to his book, *Stalin*.

Winning democracy in E. Europe and USSR

Continued from ISR/3

representatives are subject to instant recall and serve at the same rate of pay as a factory worker. The whole hideous apparatus of secret political police, political



Militant/Walter Lippmann
Joseph Hansen at 1971 convention of Socialist Workers Party.

prisons and concentration camps, which served the totalitarian bureaucracy so well, disappears with the bureaucracy itself.

This type of change is best called a "political revolution" although any one of its stages centers upon this or that demand for workers democracy, which, in isolation, might appear simply as a reform.

Political revolution: a strategy and goal

To remove any further misunderstanding, I want to emphasize that political revolution is not proposed as a slogan for immediate action. Nor is it proposed as a slogan for agitation. It is a *strategic line* to be used as a guide for understanding and helping to shape coming events in the whole next historical period of Soviet development.

At present, in the period of preparation, it can be presented solely as a goal, a method, a program around which only the most advanced and socialist-enlightened elements can be rallied. Even in the Soviet bloc it is not suitable for agitation or action, for the masses appear ready to demand and fight for only partial, limited, or if you prefer to call them that, "reformist" demands. But it does seem to me that a general formulation of the underlying aims and the inescapable outcome of the process is an essential part of the struggle and that it should be included in the program of any socialist leadership concerned with the fate of the Soviet workers and their planned economy.

In politics the road to the goal is no less important than the choice of the goal itself. It cannot be a matter of indifference which road is recommended to the Soviet peoples by their authentic spokesmen and supporters in their drive toward democratization. The results attained, and the achievement of the objective itself, can depend in the last analysis upon which course is taken.

The program of reform, it appears to me, moves along the line of least resistance; it relies over-much upon the prospect of a change of attitude and policy within the ruling group and to reliance upon suppli-

cation rather than the methods of mass action. The program of political revolution, as I understand it, urges not the slightest confidence in any benevolence of the bureaucrats, hard or soft, but only the independent organization and activity of the workers, peasants and intellectuals themselves. It is the line of utmost opposition, aimed at mobilizing the masses to chase out their oppressors in the shortest order.

Finally, I would like to make clear that dissidence and opposition in the ranks of the Stalinist parties and regimes are extremely important, both as symptoms of the mass pressure and as possible points of support for increasing the pressure. We should offer critical support to any tendency, no matter how partially developed it may be, or what illusions it may have, so long as it seriously struggles for democratic reforms.

That includes heads of states like Tito and Gomulka as well as prominent officials or rank-and-file members of the Communist party or those who have left it. Such leaders do not merit political confidence from the workers so long as they have not broken clearly and completely with Stalinism, and adopted in practice a consistent and comprehensive socialist course, but it is surely correct to favor collaboration in organizing and conducting their opposition. As in Hungary, we can expect that many of them, when the showdown comes, will be found fighting in the workers camp against the bureaucracy.

To those fellow socialists who have reached the conclusion that Stalinism must go but are undecided whether or not the bureaucracy can be reformed out of existence in one way or another, I am quite willing to let the test of further events prove which program and perspective best fits the needs of the workers struggle amidst the new conditions of Soviet life. Let's continue the discussion and the exchange of ideas on this process as we join in combatting capitalism and in supporting every effort of the Soviet masses to win back and extend the democratic rights that are indispensable to the development of a socialist society.

Debate over character and goals of the Russian revolution

Continued from previous page

their own way. They have had to follow the leadership either of the proletariat, or the capitalists — there is no middle way open to them. Anyone who thinks of a middle way is an empty dreamer" ("Speech to the Congress of Transport Workers," March 27, 1921. C.W., Vol. 32, p. 277-278).

2. Contrary to what he previously contended, the socialist revolution was fully on the agenda even before the agrarian revolution was accomplished. Let us not forget that Lenin began his speech to the Second Congress of the soviets, the very congress which took power, with these words: "We will now proceed to the construction of socialism." The fact that in the beginning, the revolutionary government was content to establish workers control over industry rather than nationalize it, no longer had anything to do with any belief in the "socialist immaturity" of the proletariat. It had to do only with scheduling the socialist tasks of the revolution in a chronologically and economically rational way.

Many more quotations could be produced. It is enough to note that in a March 7, 1918, document (C.W., Vol. 27, p. 89-90), Lenin explicitly characterized the October revolution as a socialist revolution.

3. Contrary to what he previously contended, the state that issued from the revolution was now clearly presented as a workers state, as the dictatorship of the proletariat, and not as a bourgeois state. This is why all Lenin's writings after the polemics around the April Theses and, understandably, all references to the October revolution after its victory, never mention the "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants" but always speak of "the dictatorship of the proletariat." The same applies to the documents of the Communist International on the Russian revolution.

In his report on the Russian revolution of 1905, delivered in January 1917, Lenin still stated that this revolution: "was a *bourgeois-democratic* revolution in its social content, but a *proletarian* revolution in its methods of struggle. It was a bourgeois-democratic revolution since its immediate aim, which it could achieve directly and with its own forces, was a demo-

cratic republic, the eight-hour day and confiscation of the immense estates of the nobility" (C.W., Vol. 23, p. 238-239).

But a few weeks later, in his "Letters from Afar," he already saw in the soviets the "embryo of a *workers government*," and proclaimed the necessity for a state like that of the Paris Commune, that is for a workers state (C.W., Vol. 23, 295-342). While he still maintained in that text that this would not yet be the dictatorship of the proletariat but the "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants," he abandoned the formula in the April Theses and "codified" the dictatorship of the proletariat in *State and Revolution*.

It is clear that in Lenin's mind, as well as Trotsky's, "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants" and "dictatorship of the proletariat" were antithetical formulas and mutually exclusive. The one

implied a bourgeois state, the other a workers state. By April 1917, Lenin had decided in favor of the workers state.

On March 8, 1918, Lenin characterized the Russian state as issuing from a revolution in the course of which "the workers created their own state" (C.W., Vol. 27, p. 126). On March 9 of the same year, he formulated his position even more clearly:

"The Revolution of October 25 (November 7), 1917 in Russia brought about the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has been supported by the poor peasants or semi-proletarians" (C.W., Vol. 27, p. 153).

The only issue on which Lenin did not take a stand after April 1917 was the objective impossibility of a long period of capitalist economic growth in Russia "on the European and not the Asiatic model." But here too, everything he had written about imperialism, about the First World War, about its objective consequences, and especially *The Imminent Catastrophe and the Means to Conjure It*, clearly indicate the direction in which he was heading. At any rate, the "unfettered development" of capitalism occurred neither between 1906 and 1914, nor between February and October 1917, much less after October 1917.

It was the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry that made it possible to carry out the agrarian revolution, the main task of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia. This was the verdict of history. Only if one reduces, in Menshevik fashion, the tasks of that revolution solely to the overthrow of absolutism (and not even to the complete conquest of freedom since the standing army still stood and there was no Constituent Assembly and no emancipation of the oppressed nationalities) can one claim that the "democratic stage" was realized in February 1917.

In reality, the tasks of the democratic revolution were accomplished only after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, *after* the conquest of power by the soviets, *after* the creation of a workers state. And they were accomplished in the closest combination with a whole series of tasks (not all, of course) that were already socialist in nature.

January 1, 1982

Further reading

By Leon Trotsky

The Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects

281 pp., \$5.95

The History of the Russian Revolution

3 vols. in 1, 1336 pp., \$14.95

By V. I. Lenin

Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution

132 pp., \$1.25

What Is To Be Done?

199 pp., \$2.25

Alliance of the Working Class and Peasantry

391 pp., \$2.45

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U.S. government orders socialist deported

Continued from Page 1

claimed the four were leaders of a guerrilla group responsible for the death of a university librarian.

Although innocent, Marroquín immediately went into hiding. A lawyer advised him that people accused of such crimes often did not get a chance to prove their innocence in court: the cops either murdered them, claiming they were killed in gun battles, or simply "disappeared" them.

In April 1974 Marroquín entered the United States. Shortly thereafter he read in the newspapers of new police fabrications against him — involvement in shoot-outs with cops and armed robbery. He felt he could not speak out against these frame-ups because he was living in the United States under an assumed identity.

In 1977 INS cops caught up with Marroquín, dumping him in jail for three months for illegally entering the country.

While a prisoner, Marroquín found out for the first time that he could apply for political asylum in the United States. The initial application was turned down by an INS district director because Marroquín was wanted in Mexico for "serious nonpolitical crimes."

Massive campaign to win asylum

Marroquín's supporters waged a massive, nationwide campaign demanding that the U.S. government grant him political asylum. This demand won the support of a broad array of public figures and organizations, including union officials, members of congress, writers, artists, and political activists. Support was especially strong among Chicanos and other Latinos.

At Marroquín's April 1979 deportation hearing, the INS prosecutor was unable to challenge the evidence showing this was a politically motivated frame-up. Instead, the prosecutor tried to make the hearing a McCarthyite witch-hunt against Marroquín for his socialist ideas. Prosecutor Daniel Kahn told reporters, "He [Marroquín] has admitted from his own mouth he is a Marxist. The United States does not grant asylum to communists."

The INS judge agreed with the INS prosecutor, ignoring the evidence that Marroquín would be persecuted in Mexico and suggesting he seek asylum in "Castro's Cuba" instead. Racism was also a big factor in the decision. Judge James Smith told reporters Marroquín was an "average wetback."

Ruling full of contradictions

Embarrassed by some of these statements, the INS appeals board claims its decision has nothing to do with Marroquín's ideas, only the supposed lack of

evidence that he would be persecuted in Mexico. But the board falls into countless contradictions.

For example, a part of the ruling argues that Marroquín should go back to Mexico to face the charges, saying he would get a fair trial because "the judicial system of Mexico is generally regarded as among the most advanced and enlightened of all countries in Central and South America."

But in another place, arguing that Marroquín isn't being persecuted at all, the board says that this is proved by the fact that members of Marroquín's family living in Mexico haven't been hounded by the cops, admitting that in Mexico there have been "numerous, even routine, instances where the immediate families of accused political dissidents or terrorists are subjected to police harassment, surveillance, ransacking of their homes, and even arrest, beatings, and torture."

One of the most cynical parts of the ruling concerns the fate of the three other students branded as terrorists together with Marroquín in 1974. The board claims that "as of April 1979, there were no longer any CER members still in custody" and therefore Marroquín has no reason to fear repression if he returns to

Mexico. (The CER is the alleged guerrilla group Marroquín was supposedly a leader of.)

The board ignores what actually happened to the three students accused with Marroquín. Two were killed by police during alleged gunfights. The third, Jesús Piedra Ibarra, was kidnapped by police in April 1975 and his whereabouts remain unknown to this day.

U.S. complicity with persecution

One aspect of the Marroquín case not mentioned by the board at all is the overwhelming evidence of U.S. government complicity with the persecution of political dissidents in Mexico.

A few days after the appeals board ruling, the *New York Times* reported that Miguel Nassar Haro, until January of this year head of Mexico's Directorate of Federal Security, was being investigated by the U.S. attorney in San Diego for his role in a stolen car ring.

The *Times* reported that the U.S. Justice Department intervened from Washington to block an indictment of Nassar Haro because he is the CIA's "most important source in Mexico and Central America." The security agency run by Nassar Haro regularly passed on information to the CIA, including on the ac-

tivity of Salvadoran and Guatemalan activists living in Mexico.

Nassar Haro's name comes up repeatedly in the documents and testimony submitted by Marroquín to substantiate his plea for asylum. He is repeatedly identified as a torturer and as head of the White Brigades, an extraofficial arm of the Mexican cops responsible for numerous still unresolved "disappearances" of political activists.

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee (HMDC) will continue to fight U.S. government attempts to deport him. It will redouble its efforts to raise the funds necessary to appeal the latest ruling all the way to the Supreme Court if necessary.

The committee is urging that telegrams protesting the ruling and demanding Marroquín be given asylum be sent to Alan Nelson, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536. Copies should be sent to the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, c/o Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Copies of *My Story*, Héctor Marroquín's own account of his fight for political asylum, are available in both English and Spanish from the HMDC for fifty cents.

Rights activists convicted in Ga. frame-up

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Two civil rights activists were convicted March 26 in Gainesville, Georgia, on trumped-up charges of "public drunkenness" and "obstructing an officer."

Charlene Mitchell and her husband, Michael Welch, were fined a total of \$305 each and given suspended sentences of eleven months in jail. Mitchell is the executive secretary of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR).

On February 1, Mitchell, who is Black, and Welch, who is white, were dragged off an AMTRAK train en route to New York City. They were with a group of activists returning from a NAARPR conference in New Orleans and had been harassed the whole time by a train attendant.

At Gainesville, Mitchell and Welch were ordered off the train by two white cops. When they protested, the cops physically assaulted them and forced them off the train.

They were quickly released from jail after many people phoned the Gainesville authorities and AMTRAK.

Among those speaking out was Rev. Ben Chavis, who declared, "I am outraged that the physical brutality against progressive forces in the U.S. continues to escalate."

The trial began on March 22. The local media called for a conviction. One paper claimed the two got themselves arrested on purpose.

The jury was composed of eleven whites and one Black. Cops harassed the defendants' supporters on their way

to and inside of the courtroom. Three Blacks were hauled out of court for making "eye contact with" the federal prosecutor.

Local residents charged that the judge met secretly with nine Black ministers warning them to tell Blacks not to attend the trial. But the courtroom was packed, and there was a picket line outside.

A rally of 300 to demand their charges be dropped was held in Atlanta on the day the trial opened. Speakers included Angela Davis; Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Georgia State Representative Tyrone Brooks.

Mitchell and Welch are appealing the ruling. They were freed on \$1000 bail each.

The prosecutor made clear the political nature of the case. He justified the conviction saying Mitchell and Welch "are used to civilian disobedience."

Maceo Dixon, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia, blasted the ruling.

"The working people of this state have suffered yet another attack on our rights at the hands of the cops and the government. This racist conviction is clearly aimed at intimidating all working people from exercising their right to oppose this government's policies. The charges should be dropped."

Minn. socialist bookstore attacked

VIRGINIA, Minn. — On the evening of March 27, chunks of concrete were thrown through two plate glass windows at the Solidarity Bookstore here. A car was seen pulling away from the building.

Just two weeks ago a similar piece of concrete was tossed through one of the bookstore's windows. The Socialist Workers Party, which has its headquarters at the bookstore, is demanding that the police arrest and prosecute those responsible and guarantee the right of the Solidarity Bookstore and the party to function free of such harassment.

SWP spokeswoman Elizabeth Kilanski noted the attacks came in the context of stepped-up government assaults against democratic rights. "These assaults are being carried out in order to pave the way for the government's militarization and war drive, which is accompanied by attacks on the rights of opponents of war," she said.

In the last year members of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance have been fired from jobs in the war industry, she added. "But we will not be intimidated. We will not be silenced."

"Next week we will be announcing from this office a candidate for statewide office from the SWP. Our campaign will oppose the war moves in Central America by our government and will seek to reach Minnesotans with the socialist solution to the growing attacks on workers, farmers, women, and oppressed nationalities."

"And this bookstore will continue to function and carry on its regularly

scheduled activities and Friday night forums."

Also in response to the latest attacks, the SWP is beginning a campaign to increase the readership of the *Militant*, the weekly socialist newspaper.

A news conference to protest the attacks was held. Among those releasing statements against the vandalism was U.S. congressman James Oberstar, recently returned from El Salvador.

Thousands demonstrate against war

Continued from Page 3

peace and negotiations, and against CISPES. "No negotiations with butcher Duarte" demanded one of their picket signs.

For much of the morning assembly, the Spartacist League stood across the street from the demonstration and harassed people for joining it.

At a certain point, police, including some on horseback, led the Spartacist contingent into the demonstration. The cops then drew back.

Then a group of Spartacist goons physically attacked several demonstration marshals. The cops and horses quickly moved back in.

The Spartacist attack was quite provocative because people were packed into a relatively small, walled area and the cops could have taken this opportunity to launch an assault on the entire demonstration.

But the demonstrators — who were quite disciplined — refused to be pro-

voked and the Spartacists retreated. They later left the park to hold their counterdemonstration.

Antiwar, political groups


Among the many antiwar organizations who participated in the March 27 action were War Resisters League, Mobilization for Survival, People's Anti-War Mobilization, Progressive Student Network, and Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

Political organizations carrying banners included the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Democratic Socialists of America (a merger of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and the New American Movement), Young Workers Liberation League, Youth Against War and Fascism, and supporters of the *Guardian* newspaper.

People came from as far away as Nebraska, New Hampshire, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Florida.

MY STORY

By Héctor Marroquín



The Struggle for Political Asylum in the U.S.

16 pages, \$50. \$35 each on orders of ten or more. Order from PRDF, P.O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Unionists join campaign to stop government spying on the job

BY JOHN STUDER

On January 29, 1982, the Statewide Executive Board of the 47,000-member New York Public Employees Federation voted PEF's support to fifteen Atlanta machinists fired for their union activities and political views.

The resolution begins, "Whereas, in December 1980 and January 1981, Lockheed-Georgia Company fired fifteen members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) Local Lodge 709;

"Whereas, the fight against these firings has uncovered an elaborate network of company spies and political surveillance aimed at the union and at all unionists who hold ideas the company disagrees with."

It concludes, "Therefore be it resolved, that the New York State Public Employees Federation AFL-CIO (PEF) deplores the firing of our brothers and sisters of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers who

by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). The campaign is aimed at countering a developing drive by the employers and the Reagan administration to interfere with the internal life of the union movement and with the political rights of its members.

Sharpening competition from capitalists in Japan, Germany, and other imperialist countries and spreading revolution from Central America to the Middle East pose a growing threat to the American rulers' worldwide economic domination. To push up their profit rates, they are forcing through brutal cutbacks here at home against labor, farmers, Blacks, Latinos, and women.

The bosses are bringing into use every weapon at their disposal to strangle opposition to the growing threat of war abroad and depression at home.

The annual report of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) for 1981 records over 10,000 workers illegally fired

ment would cut into the ability of the labor movement as a whole to meet the employers' deepening attacks.

In October 1952 the National Industrial Conference Board issued a document which made it crystal clear that the aim of "security" investigations is to "help you rid your plant of agitators who create labor unrest." It explained that "any and all who . . . destroy our peacetime source of wealth . . . must be looked upon as bad security risks." Defense of corporate profits is their definition of "national interest."

How this attack on unions works

Spying on union meetings is used to finger militants for special scrutiny. A poison pen letter to DIS launches a full-scale national investigation. DIS, the FBI, other government spy agencies, and even private detective agencies are pressed into service. Everything from your past work, medical, and educational record, to your political views and affiliations, is open for inspection.

This information is then used by the government to declare you a "risk to national security." You are denied a clearance by the Pentagon, can't work on jobs under military contract, and the company is free to fire you.

Or their snooping can turn up something from your past the company can use as a pretext to fire you. A job that you were fired from years ago, some minor skirmish with the law, or something you forgot to mention on your employment application miraculously comes to light. Suddenly you no longer have a job. And there is no way for you to know that the real reason you were fired is a comment you made on the union floor a few months ago.

You should know what your rights are if a DIS investigator approaches you.

It is a violation of the federal regulations that govern DIS for their interrogators to ask anyone about their political party affiliations, their opinions on legislative or religious beliefs, or their views concerning civil rights. They can't grill anyone about the views of their co-workers on these questions either.

It is an illegal violation of your civil rights under the U.S. Constitution for the government and the company's labor relations agents to collaborate to pry into your political and social views, affiliations, or activities.

Right to union representation

Workers have the absolute right to union representation before answering any questions from either DIS or the boss. Workers with any hesitations about the legality of DIS questions have the right to demand them in writing and to confer about them with their union representatives and with an attorney.

DIS agents may appear to begin their questioning innocently enough. They say they only want to help you or your buddy get a clearance and a better job. Just a few questions, they say, no need for you to call your grievor or shop steward over.

But the whole thirty-five-year history of this Pentagon program demonstrates that it has nothing to do with protecting anyone's "security" or job. Their game is to ferret out information they can use to blackmail or victimize unionists to weaken the workers movement as a whole.

The military brass can't yank your clearance, and the boss can't fire you, for engaging in protected union activity, or because they don't like the ideas you advocate in union meetings. If they try, they are breaking the law.

And it is illegal for them to use an excuse to fire you. This is what they are trying to get away with today in the firings of the Machinists union activists at

Lockheed in Atlanta and McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis.

There are clear and precedent-setting rulings by the NLRB, upheld in the courts, reversing such victimizations.

In *NLRB v. American Motors*, the courts enforced a labor board ruling that two auto workers who were fired "because they falsified their employment application forms by omitting references to attendance to the University of Wisconsin and to the prior employment at Briggs and Stratton" must be reinstated.

The board found the firings "stemmed directly from Respondent's [American Motors] concern over the alleged 'political type' nature of" leaflets the two unionists had distributed. After seeing the leaflets, the company had launched an investigation to find an excuse to victimize the two.

The labor board ruled against such phony firings and ordered American Motors to offer each of the unionists "full and immediate reinstatement to his former job."

This and other similar rulings are important legal tools to defend unionists under attack today.

Meeting the new government drive

Unionists are using these legal precedents to fight back against this drive by DIS and the employers. Along with their unions, they are pursuing grievances, taking their cases to the NLRB, and, where necessary, to the courts. Most important, they are turning to the entire labor movement and all supporters of political rights to help stop these victimizations.

The machinists fired by Lockheed in Atlanta are preparing a lawsuit against that company and the government. They charge Lockheed with illegally having used a pretext to get around their union contract and the protection of the National Labor Act to fire them. In addition, Lockheed, DIS, the FBI, and the local Cobb County sheriff violated their constitutional right to free speech and association by conspiring to spy on and victimize them.

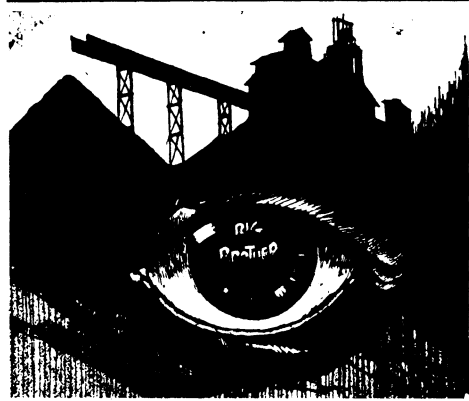
Barry David and Harris Freeman, two of the machinists fired by McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis, are being actively defended by Lodge 837B of the Machinists union. The lodge argues that they were singled out because of their union-related activity. Lodge officers testified in unemployment hearings this month where David and Freeman are fighting with the company over their right to immediate benefits because they were improperly fired.

The union is grieving their firing as a violation of its contract. In addition the lodge has filed grievances against the company for harassment of the fired workers and Jody Curran, who remains on the job.

Steelworkers union backs members

Local 8888 of the Steelworkers union is pursuing a grievance against the firing of David Keil by Tenneco Shipyard in Newport News, Virginia. Like the machinists, Keil was fired because of his union activity and his political opinions. Local 8888 has also filed a grievance on behalf of Eli Green, a Black shipyard worker and socialist who currently is being investigated and harassed by the company and DIS.

In Southern California Paul Vanotti filed a \$1.5 million suit against the government and Hughes Aircraft for denying him a clearance and a promised job in 1978. He claims they barred his right to a job after obtaining FBI files which refer to his brief membership in the El Camino College chapter of Students for a Democratic Society ten years earlier.



ASSAULT ON LABOR'S POLITICAL RIGHTS-III

were terminated because of their political beliefs and union activities;

"Be it further resolved that PEF joins with such forces as Georgia State Senator Julian Bond and Joseph Lowery, National President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the demand that the fired unionists are reinstated by Lockheed-Georgia."

In the fall of 1981, local officers of the air controllers union (PATCO) were among the first to protest a campaign of harassment begun by McDonnell Douglas against members of IAM Lodge 837B for their union activities and membership in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. The Defense Investigative Service (DIS) collaborated with the company to spy on these machinists and find a way to victimize them. Lodge members Barry David, Harris Freeman, and probationary employee Jim Garrison were fired. Jody Curran was spied on and harassed.

The controllers' own experience with the FBI had sharpened their concern about government spying and union busting.

Dan Maloney, president, and Vincent Micciche, vice-president, of PATCO Local 352 protested to Company Chairman Sanford McDonnell that the harassment by his company was colored by "tones of McCarthyism."

They concluded, "We strongly urge that you do all that is necessary to abort this witch-hunt within your corporation."

'Police-state tactics'

On February 2, 1982, Peter Teel wrote from Massachusetts to McDonnell, "I am the Business Agent of IUE [International Union of Electrical Workers] Local 201 AFL-CIO CLC, representing over 8,000 General Electric employees in the Lynn area.

"I find that police-state tactics such as this that result in the termination of employment due to one's political beliefs is abhorrent and disgraceful and would be to any trade unionist and good American citizen."

These statements are among the first in a national protest campaign launched

last year for engaging in union activities.

And now the Pentagon's Industrial Personnel Security Program, armed with its antilabor Defense Investigative Service spy apparatus, is being brought into play.

This program was initiated by the government in 1947 and rapidly extended into the tens of thousands of plants with military contracts. Its aim was to investigate millions of workers and to judge if it was in accord with "national security" for them to have their jobs. In reality it was used to launch a witch-hunt against union militants.

Similar programs to spy on unionists, pry into their "loyalty," and fire them, were copied by private employers and their in-plant "security" cops.

This federal program, DIS, and these private antilabor spies are being reactivated today. Over the last year, from one end of the country to the other, dozens of unionists have been singled out for investigation by DIS and their employer, spied on, harassed and fired.

This new side of the rulers' antilabor drive has opened with the victimization of union activists who speak out against government policy, including members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

What is at stake?

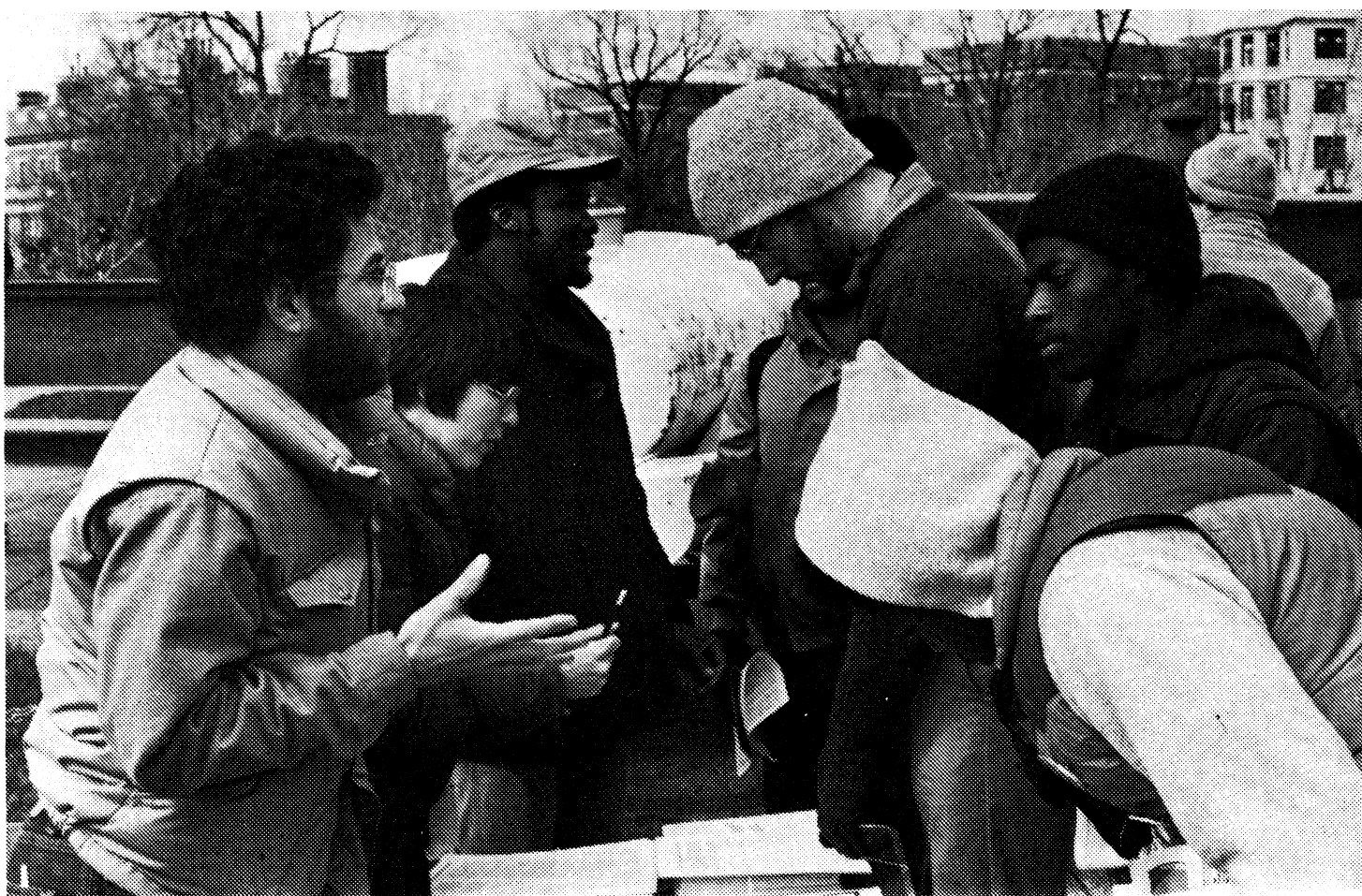
Through selective firings of union militants the employers aim to eliminate any viewpoint they oppose from consideration by the union movement.

Starting by victimizing socialists and politically active unionists, they hope to divide the labor movement and make it more difficult to defend these workers. Once they have established a beachhead for spying on any unionist, they will push relentlessly to extend it to all.

Their goal is to intimidate the unions from challenging Reagan's political and social offensive.

When the company can establish any precedent that places workers outside the protection of their contract or the Bill of Rights, the union as a whole is weakened.

Success in this drive by the govern-



Victimized unionists at left, Harris Freeman, Jean Savage, and Eli Green, explain their cases to demonstrators at March 27 antiwar action in Washington. More than 500 signed petitions in their defense.

Militant/Holbrook Mahn

To be successful in rolling back the overall drive of the government, these steps must be complemented by a national education and protest campaign.

The grievance procedure, the labor board, and the courts cannot be relied upon to serve the interests of the labor movement.

Only when unionists from one end of the country to the other, along with all those concerned with political rights, are alerted to this growing pattern of attacks on the labor movement can the spotlight be turned on this government and corporate witch-hunting. Only then can the necessary coordinated effort be mounted to stop the Pentagon and the employers from achieving their goal.

In January PRDF began circulating a petition nationwide protesting the firings at Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas as the first examples of the overall government drive. The petition affirms that "these workers have a right to their jobs, their ideas, and their union activities. The union movement must be free from government and company spying and interference."

It demands, "End the harassment! Stop this national campaign of government and company witch-hunting! Rehire all the victimized Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas workers!"

This petition has been widely circulated already. In Atlanta, initial signers include Paul Morris, president of Machinists District 46; Walter Cleveland, vice-president of Communications Workers Local 3263; Truitt Crunkleton, president of Local 96B, Graphic Arts International Union; Leamon Hood, Southeastern regional director of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Eugene Roberts, financial and recording secretary of Amalgamated Transit Workers Local 732; and Johnny Flournoy, business agent of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 442.

Further signers include James Sala, business representative of International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Robert Montgomery, vice-president of United Rubber Workers Local 887; Rosa McGhee, recording secretary of Steelworkers Local 1970; Lucy Willis, president of Amalgamated Clothing Workers Local 365; and June Deams, president of American Federation of Government Employees Local 3841.

Sixty members of Steelworkers Local 2401 at Atlantic Steel signed the petition over two shift changes. Forty members of Steelworkers Local 1014 in Gary, Indiana, have added their names. Over 150 members of IUE Local 201 in Lynn have signed.

This campaign — complementing the local defense efforts — is the best way to reverse the firings that have taken place. It will make the government and employers think twice before initiating further investigations and frame-ups. And it can lay the groundwork to challenge the constitutionality of the entire "Security Program" witch-hunt setup.

There is a big difference between the economic and political backdrop to the rulers' attacks on workers rights today and that of the post-World War II witch-hunt. The 1980s are not the 1950s.

Reagan and Haig are threatening

U.S. intervention against the peoples of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Cuba, and Grenada. Newspaper headlines documenting the brutality of the Salvadoran junta make it clear that this war has nothing to do with the "national security" of American workers. The U.S. government is backing the wrong side.

Opposition to the war threat is great and growing. Thousands have marched against intervention in Central America. Hundreds of thousands are refusing to register for Reagan's draft.

Opposition to the growing economic misery in this country is widespread. Half a million unionists marched on

Pennsylvania mine local condemns firings

BY WALTER JACKSON

PITTSBURGH — At its March 13 membership meeting, United Mine Workers Local 6132 added its name to the growing list of individuals and organizations backing the efforts of four socialist workers at McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis and fifteen at Lockheed-Georgia, who are fighting company and government firings and harassment.

In a letter addressed to the heads of both companies, the miners local deplored "the arbitrary harassment and firings" and urged "both Lockheed-Georgia and McDonnell Douglas to immediately end the harassment of these union brothers and sisters and rehire the victimized machinists now."

John Hawkins, a member of Local 6132 and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party here, told the *Militant*, "Miners know what it's like to confront company-government harassment. During the 1977-78 strike against the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, Carter invoked the Taft-Hartley Act against the union and sent federal marshals into the coal fields to hound unionists."

"Our local has had, until recently, a suit hanging over its head from that strike. A federal judge has just ordered this local and three others to pay \$1.4 million to C&K Coal — a nonunion outfit owned by Gulf Oil — for alleged damages to company property. So, it wasn't hard for folks to see that the Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas firings are really part of the same antilabor drive."

A number of workers at the mine, Hawkins said, were familiar with the case before the local meeting. Brochures and fact sheets had been distributed to some along with copies of the letter sent to McDonnell Douglas by the St. Louis local of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization.

"From what I could gather from discussions with co-workers who got the material," Hawkins said, "just about everybody read it and took it pretty seriously. It's a shock to lots of people that you can get fired on some bogus pretext because of your union activity and your political ideas."

A smaller number of workers, said Hawkins, had been following the progress of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against FBI and government spying through discussions and coverage in the *Militant*.

In addition Hawkins and eight co-workers had sent protest letters against the firings to both companies.

"A lot of people who were at the meeting heard about the case and discussed

Washington on September 19, 1981, Solidarity Day, to protest the government's antilabor offensive.

These actions show that the rulers will not be able to carry through their plans for war abroad and austerity at home without a fight. And they will not be able to succeed in victimizing unionists and weakening the labor movement without a battle, either.

Initial victories

Unionists have won some of the initial skirmishes with the Pentagon brass and the bosses. Five shipyard workers who were fingered as supporters of the SWP at the Brooklyn Navy Yard were fired in 1980 as "security risks." Protests from their co-workers and supporters of political rights won their jobs back within twenty-four hours.

Peter Fisher, a labor activist and an opponent of nuclear weapons, had his clearance revoked by DIS and his job threatened by his employer, General Dynamics in Groton, Connecticut, which builds Trident nuclear submarines. He fought this witch-hunt. After a bitter two-year battle, he won his clearance and his right to his job.

These initial victories show that a determined battle can beat back the antilabor offensive of the Reagan administration and the employers.

You can make a difference in stopping this antilabor "security risk" offensive. Join with a growing number of union activists and the Political Rights Defense Fund to expose the government's drive. Help to mobilize the protest necessary to defeat it.

it with us," said Hawkins. But, he added, that was a minority. The meeting was much larger than usual due to a scheduled discussion on the fire that had shut down the mine for nearly four weeks.

"So for most people there, it was the first time they had heard about the firings. After the case was explained to the meeting, there was a brief discussion and we voted to lend the local's support to the Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas workers. I don't remember anyone voting against it. I think it just shows how jealously working people guard their political and trade union rights — especially today when everyone senses, to one or another degree, that we need those rights to defend our class interests on a number of fronts."

The Political Rights Defense Fund

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) was formed to publicize the issues in and raise money for a lawsuit filed in 1973 by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying. The lawsuit went to trial in spring of 1981; the judge has not yet ruled.

The lawsuit challenges the government's claim that so-called national security justifies spying on the legal political activities of organizations and individuals. Among other things, it challenges as unconstitutional Executive Order 10450, which authorizes the ongoing Federal Employees Loyalty Program. This program authorized FBI "full field" investigations of civil service workers, just as the Industrial Personnel Security Program turns the Defense Investigative Service (DIS) loose on unionists in private industry. A ruling against this order would be a powerful precedent for throwing out the Industri-

al Personnel Security Program and DIS spy setup.

The government has filed papers in this lawsuit contending that it has the right to pass "true information to any employer" on their employees' lawful political activities even when that leads to their being fired. A court decision that such acts are illegal would provide the legal basis to challenge the collaboration between DIS and the employers to finger and fire militants.

Labor supporters of the lawsuit include Douglas Fraser, president of United Auto Workers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; California and Michigan Federations of Teachers; César Chávez; and Olga Madar, president emerita of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

To find out more about the socialist lawsuit and to help defend union militants from harassment and firing, contact PRDF at Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Just run like crazy — “Some have criticized evacuation as an infeasible method in an age



Harry Ring

when missiles reach their targets in minutes. This overlooks the fact that the Soviets plan to evacuate their people before the shooting starts. The

United States, with its transportation advantage, could then get its people evacuated before the Russians would be prepared to attack.” — T. K. Jones, deputy undersecretary of defense for strategic nuclear forces.

Dishes and dresses for Nancy? — A presidential study group recommended Americans give 5 percent of their income to charity.

Charity begins at home? — The presidential study group also favors corporations giving 2 percent of their take to charity.

They currently give 1 percent — according to their own estimate and definition. For instance, Exxon lists as charity its duly credited sponsorship of public TV programs.

Giving their all — “We have the terrible image that we play all the time. I went to three balls last week and all of them were for charity.” — A resident of Florida’s plush Palm Beach.

An informed public is dangerous — Gen. Westmoreland, who commanded the U.S. intervention in Vietnam, says the

armed forces can’t win wars without public support and therefore should control the media in wartime. He seemed to be saying that as people learned what was happening in the war their support for it evaporated.

Our rational society — “New technologies will produce a lot of solutions for which profitable consumer problems will have to be found.” — Marketing consultant Fred Lemont.

Primal therapy — Blind employees of the Cincinnati Association for the Blind won the

right to union organization after court rejection of association arguments that the workers were clients engaged in therapeutic activity. The workshop, which makes a profit from its product, pays the blind workers \$1.49 an hour.

The silver lining — “Americans eat about two billion pounds of packaged cereal a year, and in hard times like these, with a bowl of Corn Flakes and milk costing only about seventeen cents, Kellogg can expect its sales to thrive.” — News item.

—CALENDAR—

NEW YORK New York City

No Vietnams in Central America. Speakers: Bill Means, executive director, International Indian Treaty Council, recently returned from Nicaragua; Norma Becker, New York Disarmament Campaign; Mary-Alice Waters, national co-chair, Socialist Workers Party. Habrá traducción al español. Sat., April 3, 7:30 p.m. Marc Ballrom, 27 Union Square W. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum; Foro Perspectiva Mundial; Casa Nicaragua; American Indian Movement; Mobilization for Survival; Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Stop U.S. War in Central America: Eyewitness Report on March 27 Antiwar March in Washington, D.C. Speaker: Martin Boyers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Alabama. Sat., April 3, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum and Alabama Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

How to Stop Nuclear Power and Nuclear Weapons. Speakers: Andy English, Young Socialist Alliance; Gustavo Gutierrez, Laborers International Union Local 383. Sat., April 10, 7:30 p.m. 613 East Indian School Rd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 274-7399.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

An Evening in Solidarity with the Peoples of Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and the Freedom Fighters of Central America and the Caribbean. Speakers: Victor Rubio, El Salvador Revolutionary Democratic Front; Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; representative, Grenada Revolutionary League; representative, Palestine Liberation Organization; Larry Seigle, national committee, Socialist Workers Party; others. Ballads by Walter Urroz, Comité de Reconstrucción Ayuda al Pueblo de Nicaragua. Sat., May 1, 7:30 p.m., social hour 6:30. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Chicago-Gary Young Socialist Alliance. For more information and transportation call Midwest SWP branches and YSA chapters listed on page 21.

INDIANA

Gary

Vietnam: What We Can Learn from the War and the Fight Against It. Speakers to be announced. Fri., April 2, 7:30 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

Indianapolis

Socialist Educational Series. Classes on: Gains of the Cuban Revolution: Eyewitness Report, 1 p.m.; and Children of the Revolution, 3 p.m. Sat., April 3. IUPUI, Cavanaugh Hall, 241, 925 W. Michigan St. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Grand Opening of Militant Bookstore.

Open house, Sat., April 17, 12 noon to 4 p.m. 809 E Broadway (near Shelby). For more information call (502) 637-7581.

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speaker: Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for 3rd Congressional District. Sat., April 17, 7 p.m. reception, 8 p.m. rally. 809 E Broadway (near Shelby). Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (502) 637-7581.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

Socialist Educational Weekend: Revolution in Central America: Who Is Leading It; How It Affects American Workers; Why We Should Support It. Fri., April 16–Sat., April 17. Forum: Revolution in Central America. Speaker: Jack Barnes, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party (Fri., 8 p.m.). Classes: Lenin’s Contribution to Marxist Theory and Its Significance for the American Revolution (Sat., 1 p.m. and 4 p.m.). 3207 Dublin St. Donation: \$1.50 forum, \$5 classes. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada eyewitness accounts and slide show. Sun., April 4, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave, Kenmore Square T. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA

Iron Range

Film on El Salvador: Seeds of Liberty. Speaker: Mike Zukowski, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 2, 7 p.m. 1012 Second Ave. S, Virginia. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

Twin Cities

American Farmers: Their Right to Survive. Speakers: Roy Johnson, farmer near Dawson, Minnesota, since 1947, member of American Agricultural Movement; John Gaige, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sun., April 4, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Socialist Workers Campaign Dinner and Rally. Speaker: Kathleen Fitzgerald, Socialist Workers Party candidate for 5th Congressional District. Sat., April 3, Reception 6 p.m., dinner 7 p.m., rally 8 p.m. El Tapatio Restaurant, 23rd and Summit. Donation: \$7 dinner and rally, \$3 rally only. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Campaign Rally: Money for Jobs Not for

CALIFORNIA Seaside

An Evening with Mel Mason. Speakers: Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California, and others. Sat., April 10, 7 p.m. Seaside Multi-Use Center, 986 Hilby. Ausp: Mason for Governor Campaign Committee. For more information call (408) 373-8347.

War. Speakers: Laura Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Newark; Claire Moriarty, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Habrá traducción al español. Sat., April 17, 6 p.m. reception, 7:30 rally, 9:30 party. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Cuba and the Caribbean: Focus of U.S. Attacks Today. Speakers: Tom Leonard, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from Cuba; Ellen Haywood, Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Grenada; others. Fri., April 9, 8 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922

Missing — From Chile to El Salvador. Panel on the film *Missing*. Speakers: Isabel Letelier, widow of Chilean Ambassador Orlando Letelier; Lorraine Sullivan, mother of John Sullivan, reporter missing in El Salvador; Ernesto Jofre, Chilean trade union leader; Nelson González, staff writer for the *Militant* and Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., April 16, 7:30 p.m. Call for location. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant and Perspectiva Mundial Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7923.

Schenectady

Mayberry for Congress '82 Campaign Committee Meeting. Wed., April 7, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

NORTH CAROLINA

Winston-Salem

The Voting Rights Act: How It Was Won; Defending Our Rights Today. Speakers: Clifton Graves, National Black Independent Political Party; Greg McCartan, Young Socialist Alliance; representatives from Brothers and Sisters in Blackness, Guilford College; NAACP; Neo-Black Society, University of North Carolina in Greensboro; and A&T University student government. Thur., April 8, 8 p.m. Borne Lounge, Founders Hall, Guilford College, Greensboro. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Brothers and Sisters in Blackness. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial/Young Socialist Tours invites you to visit

CUBA NICARAGUA GRENADA

Cuba

Workers Democracy/May Day Tour — April 18-May 2, 1982 — fifteen days, \$960
May Day Tour — April 25-May 2, 1982 — eight days, \$640
Youth Economy Tour — August 8-15, 1982 — eight days, \$450
Solidarity Tour — November 21-28, 1982 — eight days, \$650

Nicaragua

Nicaragua and Cuba Tour — July 17-31, 1982 — fifteen days, \$1150
Fall Economy Tour — December 4-11, 1982 — eight days, \$650

Grenada

Fall Economy Tour — October 29-November 5, 1982 — eight days, \$725
(from New York)

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

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

OREGON

Portland

The Nuclear Buildup: How Can We End It? Speakers: Jim Miller, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., April 18, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Stop U.S. War in Central America. Film: El Salvador: Another Vietnam. Speakers: Don Mackle, Young Socialist Alliance; Greg Rosenberg, high school student and antiwar activist. Sat., April 3, 7 p.m. 5811 N. Broad. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

El Salvador: Another Vietnam. Speaker: Andrew Walden, national leader of Young Socialist Alliance who hasn't registered for draft. Sat., April 3, 7 p.m. 1584-A Washington St. E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

The War on Women's Rights. Film: A Simple Matter of Justice. Speaker: Louise Armstrong, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 10, 8 p.m. 1584-A Washington St. E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

A Gospel Tribute in Honor of Ernest Lacy. Speaker: Howard Fuller. Gospel choirs, poetry, and drama. Sat., April 3, 7 p.m. St. Matthew Church, 2944 N 9th St. Ausp: Coalition for Justice for Ernest Lacy.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Danger of U.S. War Grows in Central America. Slide show. Speaker: Lee Artz, Socialist Workers Party, visited Nicaragua in 1980; others. Sat., April 3, 7 p.m. 677 S. 700 E. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

'Sandino's Daughters' in Nicaragua's struggle

***Sandino's Daughters: Testimonies of Nicaraguan Women in Struggle*, by Margaret Randall, New Star Books, 220 pages, \$6.95 paperback. Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.**

BY MONICA JONES

Sandino's Daughters is the story of Nicaraguan women, in their own words, from interviews conducted shortly after the revolution of July 19, 1979. Author Margaret Randall dedicates the book to "the women and men who with their lives defeated the old Nicaragua . . . and all those who with their lives are creating the new one."

The "old Nicaragua" was that of U.S.-supported

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dictator Anastasio Somoza. The tyrannical rule of the Somoza family dated back to 1933. Nicaragua's long tradition of resistance goes back to 1855, however, when U.S. domination began.

Today the country's national hero is General Augusto Cesar Sandino who in 1927 began a drive against the U.S. marines. In 1934 Somoza's henchmen murdered Sandino and hundreds of other Nicaraguans.

The women "creating the new Nicaragua" are proud to be "Sandino's Daughters," and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), which led the revolution and heads it today, bears his name.

Testimonies from participants

"I have nine children. Or should I say, had nine children, one died in the war. I had two sons and seven daughters. Monica was the first to get involved. By the third year of high school she was already partici-

pating in school activities for grievances, for the political prisoners, in the teachers strike, the milk strike, and others. She was only thirteen then. . . ."

* * *

"My mom died when I was thirteen. She had sixteen children . . . my dad married another woman and abandoned us completely. So I had to go out to work right away. . . . I'll tell you, I never set foot in a school because I had to work. . . . I only began to read and write after I got involved in the struggle."

* * *

"That's the way [the National Guard] treated all the peasant women they picked up; they raped them and tortured them and committed atrocities. It was just three days, but those three days were like three years to me — three years of being raped by those animals."

* * *

Three women with three different stories. Taken alone, any one of them tells enough about why Nicaraguans fought so long to free themselves of Somoza.

Women played an unprecedented role in the struggle. Randall writes: "Women fought in the front lines as FSLN militants, participated in support tasks, worked undercover in government offices and were involved in every facet of the anti-Somoza opposition movement. . . . By the final offensive, women made up 30 percent of the Sandinista army and held important leadership positions, commanding everything from small units to full battalions." Today they shoulder heavy responsibilities in building the new Nicaragua.

Women from all ages and backgrounds worked to defeat the dictatorship. But young women played a

particularly impressive role. Ana Julia Guido joined the FSLN when she was fourteen. "My involvement grew out of the poverty so many of us suffered."

Carmen Azucena Rodriguez Prado joined the National Guard to help support her family. Other jobs required high school, the Guard only junior high education. Carmen ultimately joined the FSLN, taking on the dangerous task of working for the revolution within the Guard.

Luisa Amanda Espinosa was the first FSLN woman militant to die in battle in 1970. She was 21.

Today Nicaraguan women are organized in the Luisa Amanda Espinosa Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE), named in memory of their fallen sister.

Gloria Carrion is AMNLAE's general coordinator. She is responsible for integrating women into the long-range process of reconstruction and change. "Today," Carrion explains, "the tasks of women and of the Revolution are one and the same. I don't believe, as some do, that women have no special demands of their own. They always had and they do now too. . . . We want our association to be an instrument for women, a guarantee to their fulfilling their life possibilities."

'The FSLN supports us'

Lea Guido, Minister of Public Health in the National Reconstruction government, adds: "The FSLN supports us. The revolutionary government has decreed laws on women's equality. We must make sure these laws become real and vital instruments through our own organization and militancy."

Women are becoming highly visible in all areas of work and life — in the military, in unions, in the FSLN. Female "brigadistas" participated actively in the successful literacy campaign in 1980.

Melania Davila expresses the promise of the future. She took a job as a waitress before the revolution. Her employers really wanted a prostitute. Like many other women in the old Nicaragua, that was the only way she could support her children. "[Today] there are new possibilities for everyone. I had to learn to read and write on my own but now I can go to school. Now even women will be able to study."

Nora Astorga is special attorney general in Nicaragua, responsible for bringing to justice ex-National Guardsmen and other repressive agents of Somoza. She sums up where Nicaraguan women are headed: "We won't ever again let ourselves be isolated from society. We see this in our women's association — those women are tremendous fighters. Women were of crucial importance in the insurrectional struggle and we know that we — who are 51 percent of the population — are vital to our country's — and our own — development today."

Randall's book is an outstanding contribution to the defense of Nicaragua's revolution, especially at this time of U.S. war threats against Central America. Particularly noteworthy are Randall's marvelous photographs, which capture the strength of the women — almost all smiling — and their confidence in their revolution and their people.

This review appeared in the February 8 *Socialist Voice*, the Canadian newspaper reflecting the views of the Revolutionary Workers League.



Margaret Randall

DIRECTORY

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

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Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

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On to June 12 disarmament march

The Reagan administration and other supporters of U.S. intervention in El Salvador have argued vehemently that El Salvador is not another Vietnam. But growing numbers of people recognize they are lying through their teeth when they deny that they are pushing this country toward a bloody, Vietnam-type intervention in Central America.

Yet there is a difference between El Salvador and Vietnam, although it's definitely not the one Reagan is talking about.

The difference is that the American people have the Vietnam experience burned deep into their consciousness. That was apparent among the thousands who marched in Washington and other cities March 27 to register their determination that El Salvador will not become another Vietnam.

Opponents of intervention in El Salvador stand on the shoulders of those who helped force an end to the aggression in Vietnam. There is more knowledge and understanding than there was then, and far fewer illusions.

John F. Kennedy began inching this country into Vietnam in 1961. But it wasn't until 1965, when the GI coffins were already being shipped back, that serious demonstrations against the war began.

Today, with the government officially claiming but fifty "advisers" in El Salvador, people are already marching by the tens of thousands, and every poll confirms that the big majority of the American people are resolved: No, not again!

There is something more that is different between now and the Vietnam era. The present drive toward war comes at a time of deepening economic and social crisis in this country. The Vietnam War occurred during the period of greatest post-World War II prosperity.

Nor is the problem limited to unemployment. Inflation is worse. And there are drastic cuts in education, public housing, transportation, medical care, Social Security, and safeguards against environmental pollution. Attacks are being leveled against gains won by Blacks and women in the 1960s and 1970s. All of this is spurring anger among millions of workers.

And, almost instinctively, people recognize that the war drive intensifies these problems and that the fight against them cannot be isolated from the fight against war.

This was vividly expressed at the March 27 antiwar demonstrations. The two most popular chants were "No draft, no war — U.S. out of El Salvador," and "Money for jobs, not war — U.S. out of El Salvador."

That second demand contrasts sharply to the 1960s when more than one person, even among those who opposed the Vietnam War, gave credence to the argument that the war meant jobs.

Today it is starkly apparent that the money so desperately needed to provide jobs and to meet the host of other urgent social needs is being swallowed up by the mammoth war budget.

Moreover, the administration's intensified preparations for war are helping to generate the broadest and most profound concern over the threat of nuclear war that has ever existed in this country. This well-founded concern is reflected in the wave of meetings, rallies, and demonstrations that have been held on this issue throughout the country.

It has also been shown by the big antinuclear majorities piled up in scores of Vermont and New Hampshire townships where referenda were held.

Indeed, this sentiment is of such scope that vote-conscious capitalist politicians, particularly the Democratic "outs," are already trying to exploit and co-opt the issue and its activists. Republicans and Democrats alike fear an antiwar movement that takes to the streets to achieve its objectives. They hope to derail the movement into campaigning for them as alleged proponents of peace. They are trying to divert the movement from aiming its fire at Washington by getting it to place blame on the Soviet Union too for the military buildup.

The employers and their government are preparing for war because they are driven to defend their sources of raw materials, markets, and investments in the semicolonial countries. The development of a massive antiwar movement is an obstacle to their objectives, and they fear it. Moreover, in the context of the present economic crisis and the changing moods of millions of workers, the development of a movement that opposes both U.S. intervention in other countries and the nuclear buildup would be very explosive. That's why the rulers have so far not intervened more substantially in Central America and the Caribbean. That's why they are forced to pose as spokespersons for freezing nuclear arms.

The new antiwar movement can most effectively win broader support and build a genuinely massive movement by charting a course independent of the electoral ambitions of capitalist politicians and by

clearly making its target Washington.

The movement has an excellent opportunity to take a step forward along such a course on June 12. This is the date set for a March for Nuclear Disarmament and Human Needs in New York.

The march will proceed to the United Nations, where that body's Second Session on Disarmament will be meeting.

But the marchers will, in reality, be directing their message not to the United Nations but to Washington.

People are ready to come into the streets in massive numbers because they recognize that the administration in Washington is driving in a direction that increases the war danger. They will be marching because they recognize that it will take that kind of powerful mass pressure to stay the hand of the war-makers.

The June 12 disarmament demonstration can and must be built on a giant scale. Already, in the initial stage of organizing, substantial forces are involved and, clearly, many more can be brought in.

The influential American Friends Service Committee and New York's prestigious Riverside Church are among a range of church forces helping to build the action. The principal pacifist groupings have joined in, along with such antinuclear and antiwar forces as the National Mobilization for Survival.

Of decisive importance, some of the most conscious forces in the Black community are working to build June 12 and to focus it on U.S. nuclear disarmament, an end to the threats against the people of Central America and the Caribbean, and opposition to the U.S. role in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Pressing these demands are such Black groups as the National Black United Front, the New York chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party, Harlem Fightback, and others.

This points to the bright prospect of substantial Black participation in the June 12 action, a factor that will obviously give it substantially greater political clout.

And, particularly because of the immediate threat to the people of Central America and the Caribbean, there is every prospect for major participation by the various Latino communities.

The realizability of this was pointed up in Washington on March 27, where thousands of Latinos participated.

And, of course, there is every possibility of involving still other forces. Women increasingly recognize the tie-in between the antirights stand of the administration and its war drive. Students and other draft-age youths have already registered where they stand by their massive declination to sign up for the draft.

But, above all, a top priority must be involvement of maximum union forces.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland may not be ready to march in the streets against the nuclear threat. But a lot of rank-and-file unionists are. Many union officials recognize this. Already, more union officials and union bodies have registered their opposition to El Salvador intervention than was the case throughout the Vietnam War. Such officials and union bodies have to be persuaded that their words are indeed welcome, but that more is needed. They have to bring out their members June 12.

A vast outpouring will deal a substantial blow to the nuclear buildup. Equally important, it will be one more big roadblock in the way of today's most immediate and grave war threat — Washington's hostile acts against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, El Salvador, and Guatemala.



Militant/Lou Howort

March 27 demonstration in Washington, D.C.

In defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism

Since November 7, 1917, the question of the Russian revolution and what attitude to take toward the Soviet Union has been the decisive criterion separating genuine revolutionary tendencies from waverers, backsliders, and capitulators to the pressure of the bourgeois world.

During the Second World War, bourgeois pressure caused some self-professed socialists to retreat from defense of the Soviet Union against world imperialism.

A debate arose in the Socialist Workers Party dealing with the characterization of the Soviet Union and the best method to defend it. Leon Trotsky, a central leader of the Russian revolution, participated in the discussion. A collection of his writings from the time were published as a book, *In Defense of Marxism*. Below are excerpts from two of the early chapters. *In Defense of Marxism* is available for \$4.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York, 10014.

The USSR in war

The defense of the USSR coincides for us with the preparation of world revolution. Only those methods are permissible which do not conflict with the interests of the revolution. The defense of the USSR is related to the world socialist revolution as a tactical

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task is related to a strategic one. A tactic is subordinated to a strategic goal and in no case can be in contradiction to the latter.

We must formulate our slogans in such a way that the workers see clearly just what we are defending in the USSR (state property and planned economy), and against whom we are conducting a ruthless struggle (the parasitic bureaucracy and its Comintern). We must not lose sight for a single moment of the fact that the question of overthrowing the Soviet bureaucracy is for us subordinate to the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR; that the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR is subordinate for us to the question of the world proletarian revolution.

On the nature of the USSR

What does "unconditional" defense of the USSR mean? It means that we do not lay any conditions upon the bureaucracy. It means that independently of the motive and causes of the war we defend the social basis of the USSR, if it is menaced by danger on the part of imperialism.

Some comrades say: "And if the Red Army tomorrow invades India and begins to put down a revolutionary movement there shall we in this case support it?" Such a way of posing a question is not at all consistent. It is not clear above all why India is implicated. Is it not simpler to ask: If the Red Army menaces workers' strikes or peasant protests against the bureaucracy in the USSR shall we support it or not? Foreign policy is the continuation of the internal. We have never promised to support *all* the actions of the Red Army which is an instrument in the hands of the Bonapartist bureaucracy. We have promised to defend only the USSR as a workers' state and solely those things within it which belong to a workers' state.

An adroit casuist can say: If the Red Army, independently of the character of the "work" fulfilled by it, is beaten by the insurgent masses in India, this will weaken the USSR. To this we will answer: The crushing of a revolutionary movement in India, with the cooperation of the Red Army, would signify an incomparably greater danger to the social basis of the USSR than an episodic defeat of counter-revolutionary detachments of the Red Army in India. In every case the Fourth International will know how to distinguish where and when the Red Army is acting solely as an instrument of the Bonapartist reaction and where it defends the social basis of the USSR.

A trade union led by reactionary fakers organizes a strike against the admission of Negro workers into a certain branch of industry. Shall we support such a shameful strike? Of course not. But let us imagine that the bosses, utilizing the given strike, make an attempt to crush the trade union and to make impossible in general the organized self-defense of the workers. In this case we will defend the trade union as a matter of course in spite of its reactionary leadership. Why is not this same policy applicable to the USSR?

Reagan's civil defense: is nuclear war winnable?

BY WILLIAM GOTTlieb

Is nuclear war winnable?

The question seems absurd, yet the Reagan administration is pushing a so-called civil defense program it claims can save 80 percent of the U.S. population in the event of an all-out nuclear war with the Soviet Union. Initial projects in the program include plans for evacuating cities and construction of fallout shelters in rural areas.

Reagan personally overruled objections to the program from the Office of Management and Budget

AS I SEE IT

staff (which complained it could cost \$10 billion over the next five years) and from Air Force Gen. David Jones, who said the money should be used for other military projects.

The administration has launched a propaganda campaign to answer scientists who point out nuclear war would result in catastrophe. Among those taking on the antinuclear scientists is Richard Pipes, a member of Reagan's National Security Council. Pipes once wrote that atomic scientists who oppose nuclear war are just on a guilt trip. They "held strong pacifist convictions and felt deep guilt at having participated in the creation of a weapon of such destructive power," he explained.

Similar views are held by the Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Strategic and Nuclear Forces, T.K.

Jones (not to be confused with Gen. David Jones). T.K. Jones says that the United States could recover from an all-out nuclear war within two to four years. The key, according to Jones, is to "dig a hole, cover it with a couple of doors and then throw three feet of dirt on top. It's the dirt that does it."

Another official who takes a cheerful view of the prospects for nuclear war is William Chipman, chief of the Federal Emergency Management Agency's civil defense division. Chipman derided critics who expressed concern that one of the aftereffects of nuclear war might well be mass outbreaks of deadly diseases.

Chipman indicated that he for one will not be stopped by mere bubonic plague. "It was horrifying at the time," Chipman said, referring to the mid-fourteenth century bubonic plague outbreak, "yet six or eight years later, not only had English society rebounded but, by god, those people went out on an expeditionary force to France."

What would actually happen if an all-out nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union happened?

According to the Union of Concerned Scientists, more than 200 million Russians and Americans would be killed outright. At least 100 million additional people in both countries would die of their injuries. Agriculture, communications and industry would be destroyed. In other words virtually the entire economy would be wiped out. Civilization would collapse.

If any people managed to survive all this, they would have to deal with the effects of contamination

of the air, water, and land by deadly radioactive fallout.

What's really behind the Reagan campaign for civil defense and the talk about nuclear war being winnable?

Washington is trying to get the American people ready to go to war. There is a deep reaction against this — reflected in opposition to intervention in Central America, protests against U.S. nuclear weapons, and the refusal of youth to sign up for the draft. Reagan has no intention of backing off from his war drive, so he needs to somehow convince the U.S. population that the Pentagon's military buildup is in our interests.

To justify the militarization drive — while chopping away at funds for human needs — Reagan has to portray the Soviet Union as a threat to the United States. The civil defense program is necessary for when the Russians attack, we are told. The whole point is to deflect attention from the real threat to world peace — the U.S. ruling class and its real wars, like the one it's waging today in Central America.

Reagan's argument that a nuclear war is winnable should serve as a reminder that the U.S. capitalists are indeed capable of dropping the bomb. They hold that threat over all humanity.

Karl Marx once observed that the class struggle will end either with the victory of the working class, which is capable of bringing civilization to a new, higher level, or with the mutual ruin of all classes. The latest civil defense drive underscores the relevancy of Marx's observation for today.

LETTERS

Which side?

Several interesting conversations took place at the railroad yard office in Lincoln, Nebraska, March 14, which I thought you might be interested in.

An older worker early in the day was explaining to several other young workers that it was the rich people in this country who were killing innocent women and children in El Salvador and that we had no business being in El Salvador.

Later in the day the subject of the draft came up. One clerk said that if he ever had children and they didn't want to be drafted he would do anything to keep them out of the army. When another clerk asked him if he would register for the draft if he were eighteen now, he said yes, but they would never find him to induct him into the army. He then went on to say that he had no objection to shooting people and that if the poor in this country rose up he would gladly shoot some rich people. At this point another clerk said, "well, we should arm ourselves," to which the others agreed. One worker pointed out that they were talking about revolution, which none of the group disputed.

Cheryl Porch
Lincoln, Nebraska

Utah is hopping

Salt Lake socialists learned a great deal about the level of interest in Utah for keeping the U.S. out of El Salvador during the last week. We learned the lesson primarily through sales of the *Militant*.

February 11, three showings of the film *El Salvador: Another Vietnam* were scheduled at the Salt Lake Media Center.

Close to one thousand students showed up at a theater that holds 150 people. Another showing was added.

We sold subscriptions to the *Militant* through these engagements. The day before, General Westmoreland spoke at Brigham Young University. He was greeted by Mormon students protesting in front of the affair, and a couple inside who

dropped a banner reading, "Turn weapons into ploughshares."

It's also worth mentioning that 1,500 people turned out at the University of Utah for a debate on creationism vs. evolution. Sales went briskly there, too, till the forces of law and order intervened.

And by the way, the same week the largest labor action in the state since 6,000 construction workers rallied at the capitol to save the prevailing wage law took place. The United Mine Workers shut down three of the largest mines in the West to protest harassment by a black-belt foreman.

Next time someone tells you Utah is a right-wing state, you know what to come back with — the facts.

Sara Smith
Salt Lake City, Utah

'Heat or Eat'

About 600 people, shouting "Roll 'em back, way back," marched through downtown Kansas City, Missouri, March 8 to protest a doubling of natural gas rates in the last year. The crowd, a mixture of old, young, Black and white; from community centers, churches, and unions carried such signs as "Do I heat or eat?" "Halt deregulation," "3 rooms for \$300: ridiculous," "Heat for people, not for profit," "We are sick of it," "Roll back to '78 now," "Take my bill and shove it!"

The march was sponsored by Kansas City neighborhood groups, the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, and area ministers. At the rally point the march was addressed by speakers who pointed out the need to keep marching and protesting. One speaker said, "I hope this march has a ripple effect across the country. We want others to say: 'We won't take this lying down!'"

In addition to several area politicians, speakers included the president of Kansas City NAACP, the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, representatives from the Grey Panthers and the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, Carl Johnson from International

Association of Machinists Local 1650, and a representative of the International Committee Against Racism.

Marty Pettit
Kansas City, Missouri

Reds

As with many commercial films, the actors in *Reds* are now appearing in cameo interviews to discuss their lives, and hence, political perspectives. Wealthy novelist Jerzy Kosinski who played Gregory Zinoviev in the film has unfortunately right-wing perspectives.

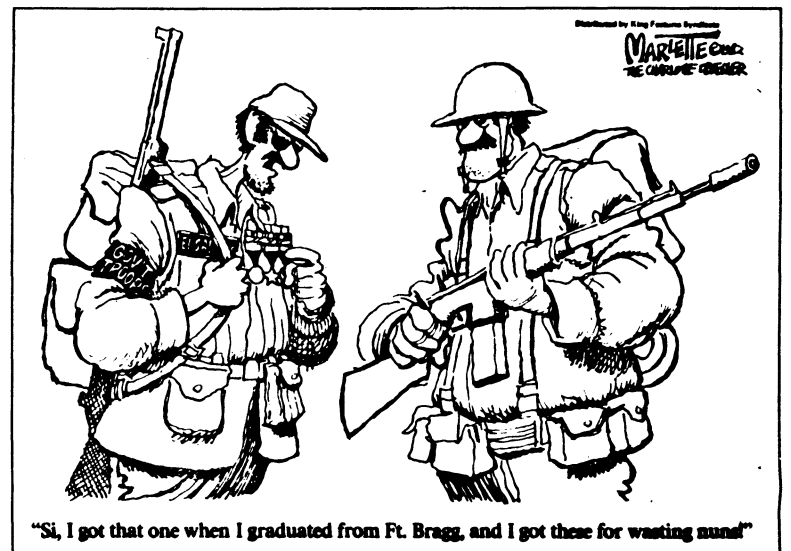
Using his success in *Reds* to obtain a nationally televised interview, Kosinski told the American public to beware of the "totalitarian state" of the USSR and to better appreciate the only "free" country in the world, the United States. He advised workers that they should "change jobs as often as possible" to take advantage of both the "personal growth" and "political freedom" provided by the U.S. economic and political system. The actor believes that the evidence of this freedom is indicated by the unwillingness of other countries to militarily invade American land.

I think that one of the best responses to attitudes like those expressed by actor Kosinski was given by Bolshevik Zinoviev himself during a speech in 1920 to the Congress of the Peoples of the East, in Baku. "We want to ask all the rich, ever so politely, to take their dirty feet off the table, so that there may reign among us not luxury, not charlatanry, not mockery of the people, and not idleness, but that the world may be ruled by the working man with toil-hardened hands."

Janet Post
Toledo, Ohio

Valuable articles

Thanks to the *Militant* and William Gottlieb for the article "Why unemployment will not go away under capitalism." It was a very thoughtful and valuable article that spoke well to the eventual solution of the problem.



"Si, I got that one when I graduated from Ft. Bragg, and I got these for wasting sun!"

However, as valuable and correct as that is, the continual publication of transitional demands like "30 for 40" and an explanation of them would be even more valuable.

In fact there is no area of life that transitional demands cannot speak to in a highly educational manner. Another example is the need for taxation to be exclusively based on the ability to pay. The *Militant* is the only newspaper I know of that can do this and does.

Jim Krahn
Minneapolis, Minnesota

International coverage

Enclosed is my check for another year of the *Militant*. I depend on its analysis and reporting on national and particularly international events. When I hear or read of major developments particularly in Latin America, Poland, or the Middle East, I really look forward to the arrival of the latest *Militant*.

Lisa Rainson
E. Cleveland, Ohio

Crabmeat

I read in the *Progressive* that when the mother of two handicapped sons wrote to Reagan protesting cutbacks in education for the handicapped, the White House sent her two photos of the Reagans, a form letter on voluntarism and a recipe for crabmeat casserole.

Articles like this make me

want to laugh at the insane men in Washington. However, the laughing is short-lived because I realize these men, who send out crabmeat casserole recipes, usually have the same point of view or mentality as the men who are "in charge now."

But I guess I should look at the bright side — at least they sent a recipe and not a picture of the casserole.

T.G.
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Suggestions

Your paper is very informative, and in general I have been very pleased. I have a few suggestions that I would like you to incorporate in your publication.

Political cartoons on a regular basis may help make your publication more 'digestible'.

I would like to see much more coverage on the situation and struggle in South Africa, including more information on the liberation struggles and successes.

More information on how the "semi-committed," developing activist can work to achieve at least some small success in the struggle.

Listings and articles of corporations' and government officials' track record on dealing with social issues. Also a listing of corporations' and their subsidiaries' track record on complying with 'The Sullivan Principles' would be very useful.

Artie Miller
Granville, Ohio

Why I'm running for Calif. governor

Mel Mason presents fighting program for workers, farmers

BY HAYDÉE McCUTCHEON

OAKLAND, Calif. — The Mel Mason for governor campaign started off with a big bang at a rally here March 13.

Nearly 300 campaign supporters attended the rally from all over the state — from Los Angeles, San Diego, Davis, San Jose, San Francisco, and Seaside, where Mason, a socialist, is a city council member. He is running for governor as an independent.

The rally, held at Casa Romano, was a reflection of today's struggles of working people, especially against U.S. intervention in Central America, and of the appeal of the Mason campaign for activists in those struggles.

Speaking at the rally were representatives of Central American solidarity movements. Endorsing the Mason campaign were activists and leaders from the air traffic controllers and government workers unions and fighters for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

Eric Kirk, a seventeen-year-old who is refusing to register for the draft, told the rally, "Young people are not interested in killing and dying for American corporate interests, particularly when they're defending regimes as brutal as the one in El Salvador."

Maria Perera, a leader of the San Jose El Salvador solidarity committee, described that brutality by pointing to recent massacres of workers and peasants by the army.

Rosa Maria Rivera, a founder of ANDES, the National Association of Salvadoran Educators, also called for an end to U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Other speakers represented the Guatemala Solidarity Committee and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

Air controllers speak

Union militants were there to endorse the campaign: Chuck Sheehan, president of PATCO (the air traffic controllers' union) Local 578 in Los Angeles, and Dwayne Thedford, from the Fremont PATCO local.

Thedford explained the hypocrisy of Reagan, who decertified PATCO while claiming to support the right of Polish workers, and of such union misleaders as Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, who gave fake support to the Polish union Solidarity while denying support to PATCO.

Thedford urged people to vote for Mason because "he's showed he's one true candidate who represents the people, who stands for the people. As long as this system exists and as long as you support the Democrats and Republicans, we're going to have more El Salvadors."

Julia Brown, president of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) local in Monterey, explained that she was supporting Mason because he had supported her local in a strike. She said Mason was the only politician who had walked the picket line and spoken out in defense of the striking government workers.

Kay Wiley, an executive board member of the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women, said, "I'm a Democrat for Mel Mason, and I'm sure many more will be lining up behind him."

Also speaking was Tom Tomasko, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of San Jose. A worker at Lockheed, he is being harassed with a "security" investigation by that company.

There were many socialists at the rally. Both the SWP and Young Socialist

Alliance in California had earlier meetings in which they decided to enthusiastically support Mason.

Sam Manuel, a Mason supporter from Seaside who chaired the rally, appealed for funds for the Mason campaign. More than \$12,000 was donated.

Why Mason is running

Mel Mason explained why he was running for governor.

"As hard as things are for working people in this country, if we can get a forum alongside these Democrats and Republicans we're running against, and people get an opportunity to look at our campaign and at what we're saying compared with the almost nothing those other two are saying, then the people are going to choose us. What we're talking about is a workers program, a socialist program, a program designed to get working people to the point where they should be; and that's free.

'No budget cuts'

"We offer a program that says no more budget cuts.

"We demand a reconstitution and reinstatement of all programs like CETA job training, Social Security, education, welfare, and food stamps.

"And we demand an end to racist brutality and attacks by police.

"We have a program to deal with unemployment. Any plant, like GM, Firestone, or Sperry, that closes its doors or talks about throwing workers out of work; we say turn the plants over to the workers and let them run 'em.

"We advocate a shorter workweek, with no cut in pay.

"We advocate a massive public works program. With all the things we need, we could put almost everybody to work with such a program.

"We need mass transit systems. We need hospitals. We need day care centers. We need low-cost housing. We need schools. We obviously need people to build all this.

"And the way we get it is simple — just abolish the military budget. It ain't worth nothing to us no way. We call for the total dismantlement of America's nuclear weapons and devices, including nuclear power plants, to put an end once and for all to nuclear terror.

"And we say we don't want *no draft* because we don't want *no war*, because *our youth need jobs, not coffins.*"

Affirmative action

Mason demanded extension and strengthening of affirmative action programs and preferential hiring for minorities and women. "We call for ratification of the ERA, and we call for the unhampered extension of the Voting Rights Act," he said.

"I don't think I have to go into why we still need the Voting Rights Act when you see in the newspapers that they're throwing people in jail for demanding the right to vote.

"We call for asylum for Haitians who are fleeing the Duvalier-U.S. regime. We call for full rights for undocumented workers and that they not be harassed by the Immigration and Naturalization Service."

Mason called full abortion rights, which he supports, "the very touchstone of the women's movement. If you lose abortion rights, that means the government has control over your body. And Black people know what it's like to have government control your physical self. It's called slavery."



Independent candidate Mel Mason

Militant/Andy Rose

To accomplish this program, Mason advocates a labor party based on the unions, independent of the two capitalist parties and organized to serve the interests of working people.

He pointed to the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) as an example for the labor movement.

"When 2,000 Black people met to found NBIPP, they told us we could only show up in that kind of force at discos. The first statement by NBIPP said it was anticapitalist, antiracist, antisexist, and anti-imperialist. That's the kind of program a labor party would need.

"You mean to tell me that we can't get union activists from the various unions to come together, like in a giant union meeting, and say, 'We're going to form a labor party?'" he asked.

"I believe we can do that — we better do that. Our lives depend on what we do with ourselves politically."

Mason pointed to a labor party as a necessity in the fight for a workers and farmers government, which he calls for to replace the present government of big business.

Peripheral Canal

He described the struggle of working farmers and others against the Peripheral Canal, a costly extension of California's irrigation system that would benefit the giant capitalist-owned factory farms at the expense of workers and working farmers. The canal, he said, would drive small farmers out of business.

Mason is running against Democrat Tom Bradley, the Los Angeles mayor, and Republicans Mike Curb and George Deukmejian.

He explained that he has "no more qualms about taking on Tom Bradley because he's Black than I have qualms about taking on Mike Curb, George Deukmejian, Ronald Reagan, the Rockefellerers or any damn body else that's part of the ruling class of this country."

Mason said that Bradley was being pushed as the "alternative to the policies of Reagan and the others." But

Bradley's policies are no different from those of the other candidates, he said.

"They're all against school desegregation, they're all for the Peripheral Canal, they're all for nuclear power, for prosecuting draft nonregistrants, they're all for everything we're opposed to."

Mike Burkowitz, president of the Berkeley SEIU local and a member of his union's state executive board, said of Mason, "He's a fighter. As working people we need our own independent political party.

"Forget about the Republicrats. We support Mason very strongly. He's from Seaside, he's on our side. Mel Mason for governor."

20,000 protest S. Calif. nukes

BY BETSEY STONE

LOS ANGELES — A demonstration of 20,000 demanding the closing of the San Onofre nuclear plant took place at Doheny State Beach near San Clemente March 28.

The San Onofre plant contains the oldest commercial nuclear reactor operating in California as well as three newer units, two of which are not yet operating.

The plant is built directly over the Christianitos earthquake fault zone, which was supposed to have been "inactive for more than 100,000 years." In November 1981, however, twenty small quakes occurred in the formerly "inactive" zone.

Slogans of the demonstration included opposition to nuclear weapons and to U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The action was organized by the Southern California Alliance for Survival and several Orange County antinuclear groups.

Literature supporting Mel Mason, the only candidate for governor who is opposed to nuclear power and opposed to U.S. intervention in El Salvador, was received with interest.