

Israel's war on Palestinians backed by U.S. media's lies



Besieged Palestinians in Beirut. Their heroic resistance has inspired working people throughout the world.

BY ERNEST HARSCH

As the *Militant* goes to press, the Israeli army has been held at bay outside of West Beirut for seven weeks. A few thousand Palestinian liberation troops, without the planes, without the tanks, without the warships that are at the disposal of the Israeli high command, have fought back valiantly.

Added to the Israeli military pressure against the Palestine Liberation Organization has been intensive political pressure from Washington. The PLO has held fast against that too.

Zionist officials have repeatedly warned that if the negotiations do not achieve Israeli objectives — the disarming of the PLO fighters and their expulsion from Lebanon — they will resort to a largescale offensive against West Beirut. Such an attack would surely take thousands of lives.

The Israelis claim that what is hold-

ing them back is concern for the massive toll in civilian lives that would accompany any attack on West Beirut. But their actions belie their words. While some 30,000 Israeli troops remain dug in around the city, Israeli jets and artillery have been carrying out savage bombardment of Palestinian refugee camps and Lebanese residential areas.

After a period of sporadic fighting around Beirut, the bombings started up again on July 22. Bombs and artillery shells tore into apartment buildings and homes. Israeli officials claimed the attacks were directed against Palestinian military targets in the city. But a July 26 *New York Times* dispatch from Beirut noted, "It is clear, however, that many Israeli shells have hit buildings still occupied by Palestinian civilians, who have nowhere to go and remain in their homes that have now become the frontlines."

As of July 25, more than 200 people had been killed or wounded in four days of these attacks. These casualties come on top of the tens of thousands who have already been killed or wounded since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon began on June 6.

On July 24, Israeli jets also resumed their attacks on Syrian missile positions in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, which is vital to Syria's defense.

The next day, Israeli Cabinet Secretary Dan Meridor warned the Syrian government against introducing new anti-aircraft missiles into the valley. If it did, he threatened, Syria would suffer "very grievous consequences."

These most recent threats highlight the continued danger of a Zionist push toward war with Syria.

The renewed Israeli bombings of West Beirut and the Bekaa Valley come after several weeks of negotiations over the fate of Lebanon and the 600,000 Palestinians living there.

In the midst of this massive Israeli ag-

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Calif. socialist candidate advances program for workers and farmers

On July 16 supporters of the independent campaign of Mel Mason for governor of California filed 214,699 signatures on petitions to place Mason's name on the state ballot.

Mason is a Black city councilman in Seaside, California, and a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

He was interviewed by the *Militant* about what his campaign stands for and the response it has received.

Question. Why are you running for governor of California?

Answer. First and foremost to get out the socialist alternative to working people. We start with one fact: there are basically two classes in the United States — the owners of the big corporations, the bankers, and landlords, in other words the capitalists; and the working class.

In effect what we have in this country is minority rule by those who control the wealth, through their two parties, the Democrats and Republicans. Those who produce that wealth, the workers and farmers, have no say fundamentally.

Until you look at things from this point of view, what's happening to this society — what's happening to the world — seems incomprehensible.

How can there be 12 million unemployed when people want to work and there's plenty of useful work to be done? Why are people going without food when the United States has the most productive farms in the world? Why are we involved in wars from Central America to the Middle East when the American people have said time and again, "No more Vietnams?"

These things can only be understood by recognizing that the capitalists who run this country make their decisions based on what will enrich them and defend their profit system. And today, they face severe competition from capitalists abroad, driving them to squeeze even more out of our labor, to make us

pay for their problems. That's why they're demanding concessions from the unions, gutting social programs, and pouring the money into the war budget.

Their war policy abroad is the other side of their war against us at home. They are determined not to allow the people of El Salvador, or the Middle East, to determine their own affairs because to do so would mean kicking out the U.S. corporations that make billions exploiting their labor and resources.

No individual solutions

Q. What's the solution to this situation?

First of all, because of the depth of the crisis, there aren't any easy answers or quick fixes. There are no individual solutions. You can't solve unemployment on your own. Farmers can't stop bankruptcies by themselves. Blacks can't escape from the racism in this society. And there's nowhere to hide if Reagan's finger gets itchy on the nuclear trigger.

Even militant trade union action alone cannot stop plants from shutting down, or wages from being cut, although union struggles are very important and my campaign supports them. But something more is needed, and everyone I talk to is beginning to sense that.

The situation we face is forcing working people to more and more look at the U.S. government itself, its role, and who it serves.

A government is supposed to represent the people. It's supposed to help provide jobs — yet the U.S. government is cutting back on jobs. It's supposed to protect you from discrimination — yet Washington is gutting civil rights legislation right and left. It's supposed to uphold democracy — yet they send cops out to attack picket lines and spies out to pry into people's political views.

This capitalist government we have does not represent the majority of people — it can't, because it serves a different class, the employers. And their interests

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Mel Mason

Militant/Andy Rose

War in Central America heats up as U.S. sends pilots to Honduras

BY HARRY RING

U.S. transport planes, flown by air force personnel, may be ferrying Honduran troops now being used in Washington's secret war against Nicaragua.

Meanwhile, the Reagan administration prepared its certification to Congress that the murderous Salvadoran dictatorship was improving its "human rights" record. This opens the way for at least \$61 million in military aid to El Salvador in the coming year.

The fact that the war against Nicaragua is intensifying was confirmed by Tomás Borge, a central leader of Nicaragua's revolutionary government. He said July 26 that "a real state of war" exists along the border area with Honduras.

Borge estimated that 6,000 troops have been infiltrating across the border for attacks in Nicaragua. These are mainly former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard, which was used to maintain the Somoza tyranny in power.

These exile mercenaries function from at least 17 camps on the Honduran side of the border, enjoying the cooperation of the Honduran military, and are armed, trained, and financed by the government of the United States.

U.S. officials in Washington confirmed that two C-130 transports have been operating from the Honduran capital, Tegucigalpa, since July 19.

They asserted this was simply part of usual joint training exercises with the Hondurans.

Reporters couldn't get an answer on whether the planes were being used to ferry Honduran troops to the Nicaraguan border. Honduran forces have served as backup for the aggressions by the Nicaraguan exiles.

In a 25-day period in July, 39 Nicaraguan troops were killed in the fighting, while 75 counterrevolutionary invaders died, according to the *Washington Post*.

In one incident on July 24, exile troops from across the border held the

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U.S. war in Central America heats up

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village of San Francisco del Norte for several hours. They killed 14 Nicaraguan militia members.

The toll taken in El Salvador by U.S.-armed, right-wing killers is, of course, much higher.

Figures are now being offered to establish that "only" 400 to 500 civilians — primarily workers and peasants — are being slaughtered monthly by Salvadoran death squads. This is purportedly a 50 percent drop from last year.

These figures, largely drawn from progovernment papers, are disputed by the findings of such independent bodies as the American Civil Liberties Union and the Americas Watch Committee.

On the eve of the certification presentation to Congress, the State Department piously assured it took a very dim view of torture and assassination in El Salvador, and has "strongly" protested such crimes.

We don't know the State Department's definition of a "strong" protest. Perhaps it includes such things as former Secretary of State Haig's response to the murder of four American missionaries by Salvadoran troops. Maybe, Haig speculated, they were running a roadblock.

With certification, and congressional agreement, the Salvadoran regime will have the green light — and materiel — to continue its bloodshed.

This was attested to by Robert White, former ambassador to El Salvador and no friend of the liberation forces there.

White, who favors recertification of El Salvador to ensure a continued flow of arms, argues in a July 27 *New York Times* column that such certification should be made, somehow, in such a way as to exert pressure on the Salvadoran government to clean up its act.

Yet even this "tactical" critic of Reagan provides a devastating indictment.

He writes: "In spite of the many thousands of cases involving torture and murder by the Salvadoran armed forces, no officer or enlisted man has yet faced trial for any of these crimes. Nor will they."

"The military and economic elites of El Salvador . . . insist that the Reagan leadership secretly agrees with their terrorist methods and will continue to send aid because the alternative is to see the revolutionaries victorious."

Along with its assertion that official bloodletting is on the wane, the Reagan administration is also claiming that progress is being registered with the government-sponsored "land reform."

This program was no more than token under the Duarte regime.

Today the "modified" program is directed by members of the Nationalist Republican Alliance Party. The minister of agriculture, the president of the agricultural bank, and the director of land distribution are all party members.

The Nationalist Republican Alliance Party is headed by Roberto d'Aubuisson, the notorious "pathological killer."

D'Aubuisson, who had to be booted out of the Salvadoran army for his readiness to slaughter anyone who even mentioned "land reform," is now president of the country's National Assembly.

This butcher achieved his present high office as the result of the widely

touted "free" elections staged last March.

In addition to the subsequent revelations of ballot-stuffing, phony counting, and general intimidation, there is now new, if terse, illumination on how those elections were run.

In a July 16 interview with CIA Director William Casey, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that "the CIA was active again [again?] in clandestine activities, albeit in post-Watergate style."

Israeli war backed by U.S. media lies

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gression in Lebanon, the *New York Times*, in its July 25 edition, published a lengthy smear against the PLO by correspondent David Shipler. Its obvious purpose was to justify the Israeli invasion.

"Lebanese Tell of Anguish of Living

Attention Subscribers

This is the last issue of the *Militant* before our two-week summer break. We will resume publication with the issue dated August 27.

Under the P.L.O." the front-page headline blared.

Until the Israeli invasion, Shipler claimed, large areas of Lebanon were under virtual PLO rule and were subject to constant "theft, intimidation and violence." He went on, "The major tool of persuasion was the gun, according to those who lived through it."

Shipler cited the testimony of a

"There's a lot of talk about my being trigger-happy," the CIA chief observed. "But lots of the little countries of the world are under pressure."

Casey added:

"For instance, we helped in the El Salvador election."

CIA-sponsored elections. Whitewash of mass murder. A steady flow of arms. U.S. military "advisers" on the scene. Special training at U.S. bases for Salvadoran troops.

number of Lebanese — mostly people of wealth — in support of his contention.

One Lebanese, Dr. Ramsey Shabb, complained that Palestinians had encroached on his 100 acres of orange groves and vineyards. According to Shipler, "He stopped taking his family there for weekends, staying instead in an apartment he kept in the private hospital he owned in Sidon."

Another Lebanese, Shipler wrote, "Ahlam Ghandour, whose husband is a wealthy importer, said she protected her luxurious house in the hills outside Nabatiye by never leaving it empty, by never going away on trips, by staying alert to any sign of P.L.O. encroachment."

Yet another, Dolly Raad, an executive of Middle East Airlines, was constantly worried that her car might be seized. "Miss Raad," Shipler wrote, "never drove her well-kept Mercedes-Benz to work at the airport in west Beirut, which was controlled by the P.L.O. and

With all of this, they have not been able to crush the popularly based guerrilla forces.

And they have not been able to bludgeon the Nicaraguans into retreating an inch.

Nor the Cubans or Grenadians, who remain high on Washington's hit list.

The danger of direct military intervention in Central America is real and growing. That must be recognized and fought every inch of the way.

Syria, taking instead an old, beat-up Mercedes."

Shipler went so far as to quote an Israeli administrator in southern Lebanon, who had the audacity to declare, "These people being pushed around by armed elements is really the worst thing that can happen."

The concrete examples Shipler cited do not describe a PLO reign of terror over the masses of people in Lebanon — as the headline suggests — but instead the concern and hostility of Lebanon's capitalists and landlords toward both the PLO and its alliance with Lebanese workers and farmers.

Shipler himself had to admit that the PLO was popular among working people. In Nabatiye, Shipler reported, the better-off Lebanese had gone to Beirut, "leaving only the poor and the sympathetic leftists."

"There were overtones here of a class struggle," Shipler wrote, "for the poor Palestinians in the camps had provided cheap labor for years in the citrus groves and the factories of the wealthy Lebanese."

"For many Palestinians . . . the P.L.O. was protector and benefactor. Some in the crowded camps recall the pitifully low wages the citrus-pickers once received in the south, and they credit the P.L.O. with forcing employers to improve the pay. The results were reflected in rising living standards."

The PLO obviously had a big impact in Lebanon. But that was not because its "major tool of persuasion was the gun," as Shipler claimed.

It was the determined struggle of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland that inspired working people in Lebanon — Palestinian and Lebanese alike — to fight for their rights against the Lebanese ruling class.

It is that source of inspiration that the Zionist invaders — and their U.S. backers — are now trying to snuff out.

N.Y. rally opens SWP ballot drive

BY RAÚL GONZALEZ

NEW YORK — Over 100 people attended a July 23 rally here to launch the drive to get the Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot in New York state.

Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born socialist currently fighting deportation from the United States, chaired the rally.

He pointed out that he was proud to be a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and of the Socialist Workers Party "because they defend the oppressed. One thing that you will never see is an undocumented worker, an immigrant, or an 'illegal alien' speaking at a campaign rally for any Democrat or Republican."

Jane Harris, a reporter for the *Managua* bureau of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, had just returned from Nicaragua. She spoke on the deepening of the Sandinista revolution and the most recent assaults on it by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries.

Explaining to workers and farmers here the gains the Nicaraguan revolution has made and defending this revolution from U.S.-backed attacks are an important part of the Socialist Workers campaign, she said.

Verónica Cruz, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the SWP candidate for the 16th Congressional

District, also spoke. She pointed to the growing impact both here and abroad of the Cuban, Grenadian, and Nicaraguan revolutions. She said that the U.S. ruling class is both slanderous and hypocritical when it says that these revolutions are undemocratic.

"Democracy for the U.S. rulers means that it is okay to exploit. Democracy for them means that it is okay to draft young men and force them to fight their brothers."

"Democracy for them means their right to profit off the misery and hunger of millions. As long as there is an oppressor class and an oppressed class there will never be any real democracy," she said to applause.

Marroquín urged everyone to help collect the over 59,000 signatures the socialists plan to get to achieve ballot status. He then introduced Diane Wang, the SWP candidate for governor.

Wang's talk touched on a broad range of issues of concern to working people, from the U.S.-backed Israeli war in Lebanon to the problems of New York farmers, to the struggles of garment workers in Manhattan.

"Our petitioning campaign will enable us to talk to tens of thousands of New Yorkers about these issues and the need for a government of workers and farmers in this country," she said.

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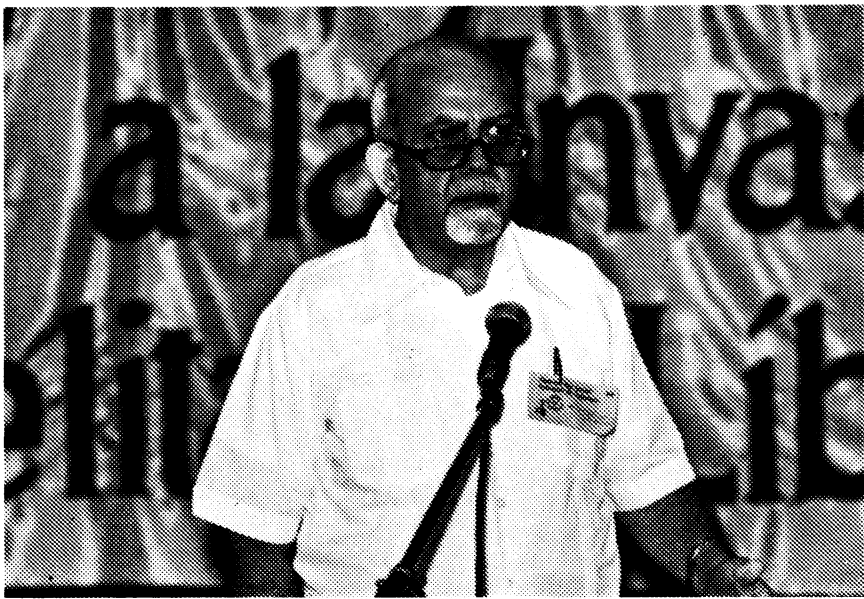
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Militant/Lou Howort

Zehdi Terzi, United Nations representative of the PLO.

2,000 at N.Y. teach-in protest U.S.-backed Israeli war in Lebanon

Meeting hears from liberation fighters

BY WILL REISSNER

On July 25, the 50th day of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, some 2,000 New Yorkers participated in an eight-hour teach-in and rally against Israeli aggression.

Iskander Zalami of the November 29 Coalition, which organized the teach-in, told the audience that "the success of this meeting shows that the embargo on the progressive view of the Palestinian question has been broken."

At an evening rally, more than 1,200 people heard speakers from liberation movements around the world express their solidarity with the embattled Palestinian people.

The meeting was held amid tight security due to the long history of attacks by the Jewish Defense League and other Zionist organizations on supporters of the Palestinian struggle, particularly in New York, which is a center of Zionist activity. Only days before the teach-in, the hotel at which it was to be held cancelled the contract, citing numerous threats and pressures.

But the size and breadth of the gathering, and the fact that it took place while Israel was involved in a war, indicates the growing receptivity of U.S. audiences to the Palestinian side of the Middle East conflict.

Zehdi Terzi, the United Nations representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) told the crowd that "meetings like this make us more confident" about ultimate victory "in the struggle for a democratic Palestine."

Terzi stressed that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon would have been impossible without U.S. aid. "The U.S. is picking up the tab for the Israelis," Terzi stressed. "It is paying the \$100 million per day in war costs. Already this comes to \$5.2 billion, all coming out of the pockets of American taxpayers, coming out of your schools, your hospitals, your social spending."

The PLO representative also focused attention on the pernicious role of U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East. Special Envoy Philip Habib, Terzi noted, is only concerned about getting the PLO out of Lebanon. "But the question is not what to do with 6,000 PLO fighters, but what to do with the 120,000 Israeli troops in Lebanon, what to do about the 4 million Palestinians," Terzi argued.

The Palestinian leader hailed "the tens of thousands of Jews and non-Jews who demonstrated in Tel Aviv, condemning the invasion of Lebanon." This points out, he stated, that "there are tens of thousands of Jews in Israel who

know that we are all destined to live together in a democratic Palestine."

Arnaldo Ramos of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front pledged his movement's support to the Palestinian people. "In Central America," Ramos pointed out, "we have been directly victimized by Israeli aid to the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, and to the present dictators in Guatemala and El Salvador."

David Ndaba of the African National Congress (ANC) stressed that the close collaboration between the South African and Israeli regimes made it imperative for the ANC and PLO to cooperate in fighting their common enemies.

Grenada's ambassador to the United Nations, Caldwell Taylor, summed up the need for international solidarity against imperialism. "When the slave-masters are uniting," he commented, "it behooves the slaves to unite too."

L.A. youth is third to be indicted for refusal to register for draft

BY JERRY FREIWIRTH

LOS ANGELES — "I remember during the Vietnam War, when I was quite young, looking at the war footage on TV and the lottery numbers for the draft. I had this terror of being sent to Vietnam and fighting for something I totally didn't believe in. Then the Vietnam War ended, and I thought I didn't have to worry about it any more."

But the nightmare David Wayte had as a teenager has returned. On July 22, he became the third person in the country to be indicted for refusing to register for the draft. The other two indicted are Benjamin Sasway and Enten Eller.

Wayte, now 21, lives in Pasadena, a suburb of Los Angeles. He works as a deliveryman for the *Los Angeles Times*.

This reporter, along with Ellie Smith of the Young Socialist Alliance, had the opportunity to spend some time talking with Wayte at his home just a few days after the indictment was handed down by a federal grand jury in Los Angeles.

"When then-President Carter first announced the reinstatement of draft registration in 1980, I was a freshman at Yale University. . . . I had a deep-seated aversion to the whole idea of militarism and war," Wayte told us. He then began considering different ways to oppose draft registration.

"Here President Carter was trying to threaten the Soviet Union by reinstituting the draft, military spending was escalating, there was the furor over Afghanistan, and the U.S. was getting deeper and deeper involved in El Salvador."

"I decided I wanted to make the strongest stand I could, to be as public and vocal about my resistance to draft registration as possible. That's why I decided to write the Selective Service and Carter informing them of my decision not to register and tell as many people as possible through the media and otherwise."

Wayte explained to us that he had a

Columbia University professor Edward Said, a member of the Palestine National Council, called on participants in the teach-in to bring the issue of Israeli aggression into the U.S. peace movement.

"Many progressives will talk about anything but Israel," Said noted. "They have been allowed to get away with complicity through silence about Israel They demonstrated on June 12 for a nuclear-free world, at the very moment that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was taking place, and said not a word about Israel."

The need to bring opposition to Israeli aggression into the U.S. antinuclear movement was reiterated by David Dellinger, a long-time activist in antiwar and progressive movements.

Lea Tsemal, an Israeli lawyer known for her defense of Palestinian political prisoners, pointed to the hypocrisy of

Begin's stated war aims. "Begin claims the war is being fought for peace in Galilee," Tsemal noted. "But many of the residents of Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon were themselves driven out of Galilee in 1948."

Tsemal pointed out that a real polarization is taking place in Israel for the first time during a war. She stressed that this development goes far beyond the left-wing and anti-Zionist forces, encompassing a broad spectrum of Israeli society, including active duty soldiers.

Activists in the U.S. must demand that "U.S. Marines stay home," Tsemal argued. A storm of applause greeted her statement that "the place for Palestinians is in Palestine."

The New York teach-in was one of a series being organized throughout the country. A march on Washington has also been called for September 11 in support of the Palestinian people.

deep personal commitment to world peace and disarmament.

"The draft has nothing to do with real national self-defense," he continued. "It can only be used to send troops abroad to fight for American interests. . . . It's impossible to even keep up with all these wars — El Salvador, Nicaragua, the Middle East, it's terrible what Israel is doing in Lebanon, and now we're thinking of sending marines in there."

The draft, he explained, "is a war-and-peace issue, but it's more than that. It's also an issue of intervention and aggression."

While viewing his decision not to register as an intensely personal one, Wayte doesn't see his refusal as an isolated act. He considers himself part of a network of public draft resisters all around the country. He and Ben Sasway, the first nonregistrant to be indicted, are in touch with each other and plan to attend each other's trials.

In addition, Wayte explained, "with 57 percent of draft-age youth in Los Angeles County not bothering to register, there's been a lot of support and sympathy for my actions. Most of my friends didn't register. Of course, not everyone chooses to go public the way I did. But it's a good feeling to know so many support me, and so many have done the same."

Wayte's arraignment is scheduled for August 2. He is working with the Selective Service Law Panel, a local antidraft group, along with other groups such as the American Friends Service Committee, Resist the Draft, and the Alliance for Survival, in planning a demonstration at 10 a.m. in front of the Federal Court House at 312 North Spring Street in downtown Los Angeles.

"I'd like to invite everyone to come to my arraignment. It's important to let people know I'm not alone. August 2 is kind of a preliminary demonstration, however. When the trial date is set, we

want to plan for as large a demonstration as possible."

In Wayte's opinion, the issues involved in this case and that of the others who have been or will soon be indicted, are quite far-reaching.

"What they're trying to do with this is to subdue and subjugate the youth, by forcing them to conform to a system that is immoral: 'you do what we want you to, and support our policy, or else we're going to throw you into prison.' Right now they're trying to eliminate the most vocal opposition."

Toward the end of our discussion, Wayte put it quite simply, "I don't support my country's preparations for war. . . . I want to show the government I'm not a piece of its property."

Chicago socialists complete petitioning

BY DIANE ROLLING

CHICAGO — Socialist Workers Party supporters here completed their most successful petitioning drive ever, gaining 36,661 signatures for mayoral candidate Ed Warren in 28 days.

The drive was capped by a rally on July 24, attended by 70 people.

By law, candidates independent of the Democratic and Republican parties need to file 25,000 signatures by December of this year to appear on the April 1983 mayoral ballot.

SWP campaign supporters distributed more than 32,000 leaflets. More than 200 individuals filled out interest cards that enable them to get free three-week introductory subscriptions to the *Militant*, the socialist campaign newsweekly.

The drive has enthused many people, from a railroad worker and three other young people who decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance, to a middle-aged Black who joined the petitioning effort to get Warren on the ballot.

For further reading

Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?
By Maxime Rodinson, 128 p., \$3.95.

Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism
By Peter Seidman, 31 p., \$60.

War in the Middle East
The Socialist View
By Dave Frankel, Dick Roberts, and Tony Thomas, 31 p., \$60.

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

U.S. miners visit Nicaraguan gold mine



Militant/Michael Baumann

Nicaraguan miner (center) checks out photo of mine in Morgantown, West Virginia. Miners in Nicaragua have won major improvements in working conditions through revolution.

In early July, 13 Americans, including coal miners from West Virginia, Illinois, and Utah, visited Nicaragua on a tour sponsored by the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The country had been hit in late May with devastating floods. In addition, the Nicaraguans were facing ongoing hostile military operations by counter-revolutionaries from neighboring Honduras.

The tour's purpose was to learn from the revolutionary process under way in Nicaragua since the overthrow of U.S.-backed dictator Anastasio Somoza in 1979.

Tour participants visited with leaders of Sandinista Defense Committees, literacy campaign workers, doctors and hospital administrators, child-care workers, youth leaders, sugar mill workers, and agrarian reform technicians, as well as a representative of the Directorate of the FSLN.

One day of the tour was spent at the Mina de Limon gold mining complex, about 50 miles south of the Honduran border in northwest Nicaragua. There are 1,200 workers there, who live in a community right at the mine site.

The following article is by tour member Nancy Makler, a shuttle car operator at Consolidation Coal Company's Blacksville #2 Mine in Wana, West Virginia. Makler is a member of United Mine Workers Local 1702.

* * *

BY NANCY MAKLER

When a coal boss in the U.S. has used up every other trick in the book, he can always fall back on his "right to direct the work force," which is in the United Mine Workers contract. We came to Nicaragua partly to find out what it's like when the government and the union jointly "direct the work force."

At the entrance to Mina El Limon, a brightly painted billboard welcomes visitors: "Bienvenidos, Companeros." It explains that the complex has been dedicated to the memory of one of its native sons, Comandante Francisco Meza Rojas, who died fighting Somoza's National Guard in Managua.

The entrance to my mine in West Virginia is a lot different. All you see are warnings about private property, and an old John Doe warrant for the arrest of anybody they might think could be a picket. It's left over from the last major wildcat strike in northern West Virginia.

Old owners fled

Following the revolution in 1979, Mina El Limon was nationalized. The Canadian owners and most of the mining technicians fled the country.

The mine superintendent had been there for 30 years and "knew where

everything was." Most of the upper level management left with him, leaving a vacuum in the technical side of the operation since no Nicaraguan miners had ever been to school in engineering or metallurgy.

Currently the government is taking steps to solve this by providing scholarships for training in other countries. The Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) has channeled some scholarships to the children of miners.

The shafts go as deep as 3,000 feet, and the temperature ranges from 140 to 160 degrees. The mining is still done by blasting and hand loading. The loaded cars are pushed to the bottom of the shaft by hand.

The effects of decades of exploitation by U.S., Canadian, and other corporations were evident everywhere we went.

There is still no telephone line from the capital city to this mine, and the road to the mine was worse than the worst in West Virginia.

Steel is used only for power-driven moving parts and hand tools. Everything else in the preparation plant area is made of wood or some other cheaper material.

The Nicaraguans have some of the tools to raise productivity but not nearly enough. I saw a horse at a hitching post, with a gallon can of threading oil lashed to the saddle horn.

Until very recently, the profits from this mine were spent elsewhere, not to meet the needs of the Nicaraguan people.

One young leader introduced himself to us as the political education director of the local union. Posters and bulletin boards around their union hall called on the miners to see themselves as responsible not only for their own conditions, but for the defense of the whole economy and the struggles of all the world's poor and dispossessed.

Solidarity with oppressed

Solidarity with oppressed and exploited workers and farmers throughout the world is a principle for the Nicaraguans. People that we talked with on the streets and in our meetings explained to us the importance of supporting the Argentines' demands for sovereignty over the Malvinas islands and the Palestinians' struggle in Lebanon.

Since the revolution, the miners explained, the government-union management has:

- Tripled the wages of the miners.
- Increased the number of doctors in the community from one to three.
- Hired 70 percent more workers.
- Built new homes with running water and sanitation.
- Established subsidized grain commissaries.

- Distributed safety clothing to the workers.
- Cut the incidence of silicosis by 80 percent.
- Reduced illiteracy from 80 to 30 percent.
- Set up a safety department. There had been none before the revolution.
- Guaranteed pensions for all retiring miners.
- Set up an agency to locate all the silicosis victims who had been run off with only a check for \$100 when the Canadian owners had detected their condition. Those found are given a pension.
- Placed a gold miner on the 43-member Council of State.

Miners aid flood relief

The union at this mine organizes and participates in the literacy and health campaigns, the militia, and the flood relief. The CST here organized emergency committees to aid people affected by the flood in the outlying areas. [The mining complex itself was unaffected.]

A member of the Sandinista Transit Police, who volunteered to show us the way to the mine, told us his unit had been involved in flood relief. When we asked him how the police selected volunteers for the rescue teams, he said, "first we took everybody who could swim."

All the organizations in the countryside mobilized to get people to high ground and to distribute food, medicine, and baby clothes. This high level of mass participation across the country held the death count down to 80.

A Cuban doctor, in Nicaragua to aid in the development of its health programs, told us expected epidemics of flood-related diseases never materialized due to the quick and organized response by the government, and the emphasis placed on preventive medicine in general.

When we asked the miners what we could do in the United States to aid the flood relief, they said the first task is to tell the American people the truth about Nicaragua and the war the U.S. government is waging against the people of Central America.

'Every miner a militia man'

One of the slogans on the Mining Engineering Office said, "In every conscious miner, there is a militia man on alert." We saw members of the militia, with rifles, in the foundry where the gold dust was being smelted. It is clear that Nicaraguan workers and farmers are dead serious in defending their coun-

try against a U.S. invasion.

Although participation in the militias is completely voluntary, it is also very widespread, precisely because the miners know that it is *their own* property they are protecting.

It's a lot different in the United States. Consolidated Coal could wait for hell to freeze over before a union member would volunteer to guard its mine.

The raids by U.S.-trained exiles from Honduras are frequent in this region of Nicaragua. At a childcare center we visited, one child's father had been killed the day before by these counter-revolutionaries.

Washington's war in Central America is a daily fact of life for the people of Nicaragua. While we were there, the Honduran government sent troops into El Salvador, and the *U.S.S. Trippe*, a U.S. warship, was stationed off Nicaragua's Pacific coast.

The U.S. government is taking advantage of flood, we were told by Gilda Bolt of the International Relations Directorate, to put added pressure on Nicaragua. The little aid they have given has gone to private businessmen, and Washington has been pressuring European governments to not give aid.

Aid needed is medicines, medical equipment, baby clothing, and bottles. Construction materials are badly needed. Most of the temporary housing for flood victims is constructed out of anything that works — cardboard and metal siding.

Involved in government

A 24-year-old union leader explained that the miners were involved in the town council and to some extent on the departmental level, but their goal was to become much more involved. The victory of the revolution gave them the military and political power to control and better their lives, but they still don't have the technical and administrative skills they need.

William Hovland, a West Virginia coal miner who is running for U.S. Senate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, was with us on the tour. "The thing that impressed me the most was how popular the Nicaraguan government is," he said, "how much the people support it and are involved in it."

"If the working people of West Virginia were told the truth about the Nicaraguan revolution, they would demand that massive aid be sent to this flood-ravaged country," Hovland said. "Instead the U.S. government pursues a policy of threats, sabotage and terror."

Texaco misfires in attempt to oust three union leaders in Nicaragua

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA — What happens if you're a union leader who gets fired for being too militant?

In the United States, if you're lucky, you get your job back months later, after a big fight. In many cases even your own union advises you to look elsewhere for work.

Things are different in revolutionary Nicaragua.

Take the case of Fermin Valecillo, Erwing Soto, and Isidoro Mendoza — three leaders of the Petrochemical Workers union at the Texaco refinery here. They were fired in the middle of contract negotiations. For Vallecillo, it was the third time Texaco had given him the boot.

Wallace MacDonald, the American manager of the oil giant's Nicaragua branch, must have had delusions either that he was back in the United States or that Reagan had suddenly become president of Nicaragua.

Just like he would have back at home, MacDonald tried to soften up the union by singling out three of the best militants and giving them their walking papers.

This happened June 16. The following day he got quite a surprise.

In the Council of State, Nicaragua's legislative body, workers and farmers have an overwhelming majority of the 47 seats. One of the first items of business June 17, after a condemnation of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, was the case of these three fired workers.

A delegate from the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) took the floor and denounced Texaco for not only violating the labor laws but also "failing to understand that a revolution is under way in Nicaragua, in which workers are the main force."

The Ministry of Labor, the CST delegate advised, would do well to get on the stick and get these *compañeros* jobs back.

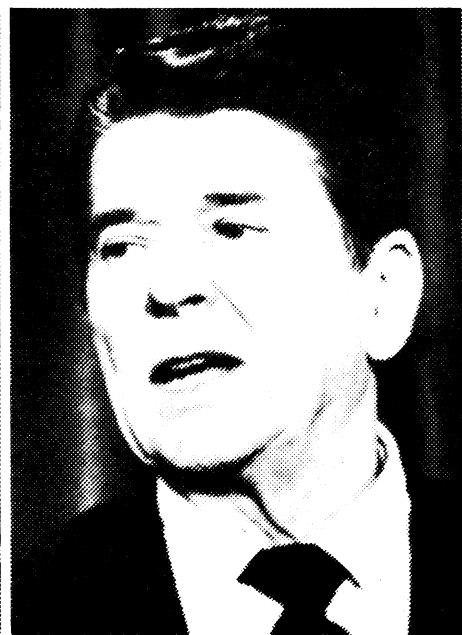
The Council of State agreed, and recommended immediate government action.

Later that day, following a visit to Texaco by Managua's chief labor inspector, Valecillo, Soto, and Mendoza suddenly had their jobs back.

In fact, Texaco tried to claim they had never really even been fired. They had "just been denied entry into the plant."



Militant/Fred Murphy



Militant/Michael Baumann

Left: Edén Pastora. Center: Nicaraguans mobilized May 1 in support of government measures to defend revolution and advance interests of workers and farmers.

Reagan's new ally against Nicaragua

Ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora works the liberal side of the street

BY WILL REISSNER

The Reagan administration is doing everything it can to bring down the Nicaraguan revolution. Washington has cut off aid and credits. It is arming rightist counterrevolutionaries in neighboring Honduras. It admits that at least \$19 million has been appropriated to destabilize Nicaragua.

Now Washington has a new and "attractive" ally in its campaign to draw the noose more tightly around the Nicaraguan revolution. That ally is Edén Pastora, the former deputy defense minister of Nicaragua, who publicly broke with the revolution at an April 15 press conference in Costa Rica.

What makes Pastora so valuable to Washington is that he was an active participant in the struggle, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), that overthrew the hated dictator Anastasio Somoza in July 1979.

Because of his credentials in the anti-Somoza struggle, Pastora's criticisms of the Sandinista government have greater credibility in liberal and left-wing circles than the criticisms by businessmen like Alfonso Robelo or the former Somozaist troops now in armed camps in Honduras.

Since his break with the FSLN, Pastora has traveled to Western Europe to try to win social-democratic parties there to his anti-Sandinista positions. He is reportedly planning a trip to Washington to meet with liberals in Congress. Pastora has also been the subject of sympathetic articles in leading U.S. newspapers.

Clever tailor

Pastora cleverly tailors his charges against the Sandinistas to the specific audience he is addressing at any given time. When he spoke to a group affiliated with the Portuguese Socialist Party, for example, Pastora played his left card. He accused the FSLN leaders of living "like the bourgeoisie" and threatened to "use bullets" to drive them from power.

But when the *New York Times* turned over a large part of its "op-ed" page to Pastora on July 14, he sang a very different tune. The publishers of the *Times*, after all, see nothing wrong with living like capitalists. They *are* capitalists!

So, in the *Times* Pastora presented a different complaint. Now the Sandinistas are not capitalist enough. The Sandinistas, he charged, have destroyed "confidence among our entrepreneurs" and have "created a hostile environment for the private sector and scared off foreign and local investors."

Mindful of the need to win the support of liberals in the United States, Pastora dropped his threats to "use bullets" to drive the Sandinistas out. Instead, wrote Pastora, "my goal continues to be, above all, to persuade, appealing to the patriotism of the nine revolutionary com-

manders [of the FSLN] so they might see the wisdom of steering the revolutionary process in the direction of domestic peace and international nonalignment."

Pastora argued that the FSLN "remains silent in the face of the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan and acts as apologist for the Soviet-inspired crackdown in Poland," while at the same time stressing that it is important "not to overlook the legitimate security interests of the United States" in Central America. Just what those "legitimate security interests" are, Pastora declined to explain.

The bulk of Pastora's *Times* article is a recitation of vague, unsubstantiated charges that the FSLN has embarked on a wholesale curtailment of civil liberties. These charges are aimed at a foreign audience that has no knowledge of the concrete situation in Nicaragua.

For example, Pastora asserts, without providing any evidence, that in "Nicaragua, the Government has emasculated the country's independent labor unions while catering to a subservient, state-controlled labor bureaucracy."

Facts on Nicaraguan unions

What are the facts? When the Sandinistas defeated Somoza in 1979, less than 8 percent of the country's workforce belonged to unions, most of them company unions.

Under the Sandinistas, who have encouraged the workers to organize, the percentage of urban workers in unions rose to 80 percent in less than one year, and large numbers of rural workers have also joined unions.

Which "independent labor unions" has the government "emasculated"? Pastora doesn't say. The fact is that in November 1980 the three largest union federations in Nicaragua, encompassing more than 95 percent of all union members, freely merged to form the Nicaraguan Trade-Union Coordinating Committee.

The other 4.6 percent of the organized workers belonged to the procapitalist Confederation of Nicaraguan Workers (CTN). By March 1981, the percentage of the organized workforce in the CTN had dropped to 2 percent.

Presumably, the CTN is the "independent" union that Pastora refers to. But what were the Sandinistas supposed to do? Perhaps Pastora thinks that they should have taken measures to force workers to join the CTN, or that they should have prevented workers from leaving it.

Pastora also charges that under the FSLN "freedom of the press has been practically extinguished, as have other basic civil rights." Again, he provides no concrete examples.

What are the facts? The Sandinistas have not "practically extinguished" freedom of the press. Under the Sandinista government, more freedom of the

press exists than at any previous period in Nicaraguan history. Not only does the wildly anti-Sandinista and procapitalist daily *La Prensa* continue to publish, but there are now also two dailies that represent the interests of Nicaragua's workers and small farmers — the independent, pro-Sandinista *El Nuevo Diario* (established when 85 percent of *La Prensa*'s journalists quit that paper), and the FSLN's *Barricada*.

On several occasions, *La Prensa* has been shut down for short periods for reporting stories it knew to be untrue. As one Sandinista leader stated, "The law does not permit the falsifying of facts. . . . It does, however, allow freedom of expression of all ideas, even fascism." And the editor of *La Prensa* acknowledges that the paper has been free to print its fiercely anti-Sandinista editorials (see *Index on Censorship*, April 1982).

More recently, press censorship has been instituted due to the state of war that exists along the Honduran border. This censorship in a war situation, however, is hardly unique to Nicaragua.

Political prisoners

Pastora charges that "today there are many political prisoners languishing in Nicaragua's prisons." But he fails to mention a single one by name because he knows this charge to be untrue.

The closest thing to "many political prisoners" are the former members of Somoza's National Guard who are in jail for crimes committed under the orders of the former dictator.

One of the few places where Pastora makes a specific charge is his claim that "thousands of Miskito Indians and other refugees have either fled to neighboring countries or have been forcibly resettled into closely guarded camps."

In raising the banner of the Miskito Indians, Pastora joins such stalwart supporters of human rights as Ronald Reagan, Alexander Haig, and Jeane Kirkpatrick, all of whom have shed crocodile tears for the plight of the Miskitos.

What is the real situation of the Miskitos? The Miskito Indians lived in an area near the Honduran border that was largely inaccessible and isolated from Nicaragua's national life under Somoza.

Following the triumph of the revolution, which had made little impact in the Miskito area, the Sandinistas attempted to bring the revolution's benefits into the region. For the first time ever, the government sent doctors into the Miskito areas to provide health care. A literacy campaign was carried out that included the Miskito language.

But opponents of the revolution were able to play on a history of distrust between the Miskitos and the central government — distrust which was certainly well-founded during the rule of Somoza.

The rightists were able to sow suspicion against the Sandinistas.

Terrorist attacks

Nor were the actions of the counterrevolutionaries limited to poison propaganda. Just across the border from the Miskito region, in Honduras, are thousands of former members of Somoza's National Guard, who have waged a campaign of terrorist attacks against Nicaragua. These, presumably, are the "other refugees" Pastora refers to.

As the terrorist attacks escalated, it became clear that the Sandinistas could not defend the Miskito villages along the border. The Sandinistas responded to what they acknowledge was a very bad situation by moving several thousand Miskitos away from the border area, both to free the Miskitos from the danger of attack and to enable the Sandinista army to more effectively seal off the border.

While many of the Miskitos were unhappy about having to leave their homes, the Sandinista government gave the Miskitos better land than they previously had, and provided the first schools and health-care facilities that many of those living on the border ever had.

Indian rights activists from groups such as the American Indian Movement have visited the new settlements and testify to the government's measures to improve the conditions of the Miskitos.

Pastora knows all this. But he deliberately leaves out any mention of the armed invasions from Honduras to hide the real cause of the problems with the Miskitos — the fact that relations between the Miskitos and the Sandinistas were being established virtually within sight of camps containing thousands of armed counterrevolutionaries in Honduras.

Devastated economy

Pastora also includes a section on the Nicaraguan economy in his *Times* indictment of the Sandinista revolution. But he makes no mention of the devastation wreaked by Somoza in the closing period of the revolution. He makes no mention of the fact that \$800 million was shipped out of the country in Somoza's final days, or that Somoza left the country totally bankrupt, with more than \$1.5 billion in foreign debts and only \$3.5 million in the national treasury.

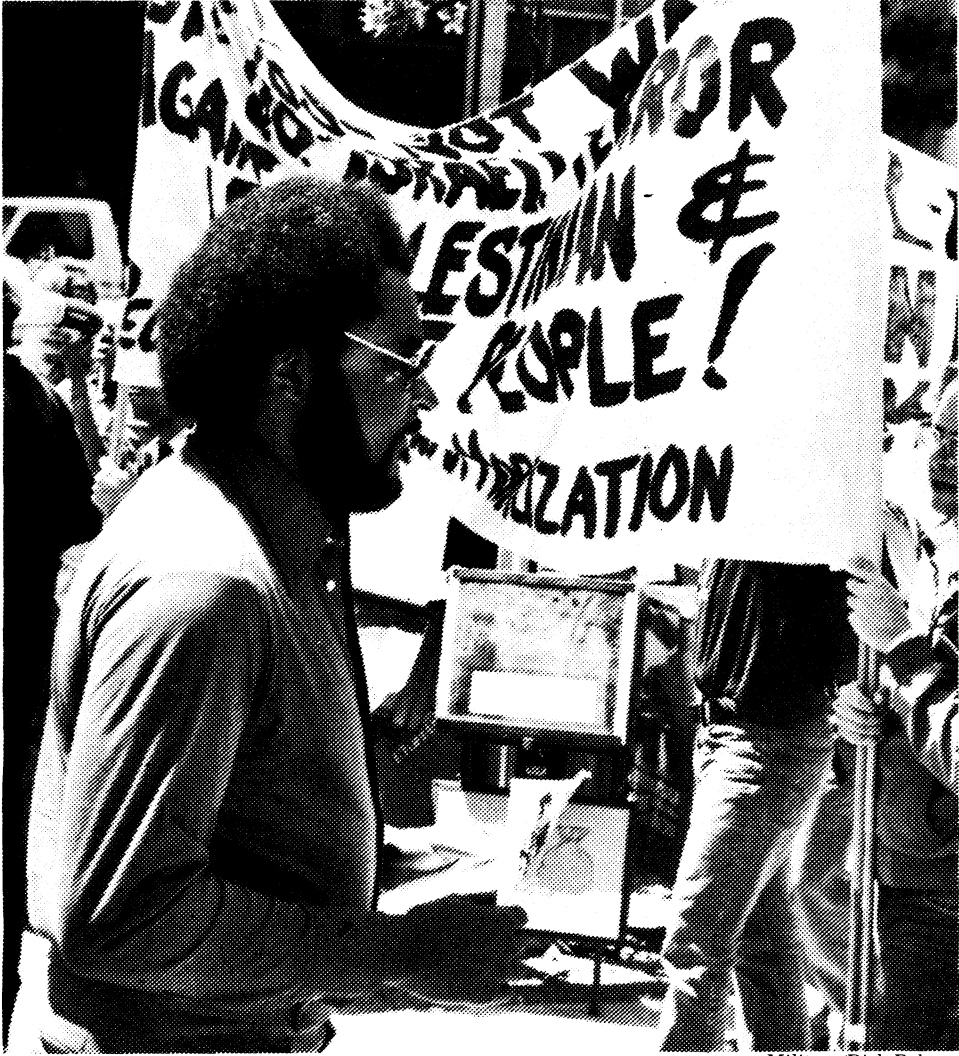
There is no mention of the worldwide capitalist recession, or that all Third World countries are being squeezed by falling prices (and markets) for their agricultural exports and rising prices for their industrial imports.

There is no mention of Washington's attempts to deny Nicaragua all access to international credit.

There is also no mention of the Rea-

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Calif. socialist explains his program



Mel Mason on march for Palestinians. "We would cut off every cent of aid to the Israeli government."

Continued from Page 1

are totally incompatible with ours.

Our campaign is saying that we need a new kind of government, one that does act in the interests of workers and farmers and defends us against the capitalists.

Such a workers and farmers government would begin to reorganize society on a totally different basis.

It would take immediate steps like cutting off every cent to the butcher Israeli government, which is slaughtering Palestinians and Lebanese today. It would withdraw all the U.S. advisers and CIA agents from Central America.

Instead of sending U.S. troops around the world to police it for capitalism, a workers and farmers government would send aid, technicians, and food to the people of Indochina, Africa, and Latin America.

It would take immediate steps to create jobs by launching a massive public works program. It would force plants that shut down and lay off workers to reopen.

It would order every school in the country desegregated. It would make equal pay for equal work the law of the land. It would place a moratorium on the debts plaguing family farmers and extend credit to them for machinery and feed.

This would be a revolutionary government. How do we get it?

We have to begin by organizing our own political party to fight for such a government. We need a party of our class, a labor party based on a revitalized union movement, that will champion the interests of workers, farmers, Blacks, women, and every other victim of this decaying society.

War, unemployment

Q. What have been the main issues you have campaigned on?

A. We have zeroed in especially on the war question. We say not one cent, not one man or woman for Washington's wars. No draft. We explain that it is the U.S. government that is the threat to world peace, that menaces the human race with nuclear extinction.

We especially campaign against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. The reason is simple. Washington is up to its neck there with

advisers, aid to dictatorships, and less known, but very important, backing to counterrevolutionary forces such as those on Nicaragua's borders.

The reason Reagan and the Democrats are spending so much money in Central America is because there you have countries where the people have thrown out U.S. imperialist domination and set up governments that represent the workers and farmers. I'm speaking of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

I had the opportunity to visit Grenada. It's an English-speaking, Black island in the Caribbean. In 1979 the people there overthrew a U.S.-backed dictator named Gairy, who was also Black. They replaced him with a government that has made big advances for the lives of working people there.

The people in Central America and the Caribbean are extending the socialist revolution. And that is something the U.S. rulers cannot tolerate. They are determined to stamp out the Nicaraguan, Grenadian, and Cuban examples before they spread to El Salvador, Guatemala, and other countries in the region, not to mention the United States.

We believe workers in this country have a giant stake in preventing the U.S. government from succeeding.

Q. What about unemployment here at home?

A. We call for jobs for all. We can put

millions to work with a crash public works program to build schools, hospitals, housing, and other things we need.

We feel special priority should be given to alleviating the miserable conditions in the Black and Latino communities.

And we say the money can be found by dismantling the war budget — that \$1.5 trillion Reagan plans to spend for military purposes.

We also call for reducing the work-week with no cut in pay to spread the available work around. And we demand preferential hiring of Blacks, Latinos, and women — affirmative action — to make up for centuries of discrimination. We think there should be separate seniority lists so that when layoffs occur, the percentage of Blacks, Latinos, and women isn't reduced in the workplace.

We say, no taxes on working people. Tax the rich, the big corporations.

Halt the cutbacks

We oppose the cutbacks in social services and education. We call for restoring and expanding the funds for things like job programs, education, Social Security, welfare, and food stamps.

We're for desegregation of the schools, and we say busing is absolutely necessary to achieve that. We advocate the maintenance and expansion of bilingual and bicultural programs.

We fight for legal, safe abortion because the right to control your body is the very touchstone of women's liberation.

We call for an end to immigration raids and deportations of undocumented workers. These sisters and brothers are not stealing our jobs; it's the capitalists and their government who are throwing millions out of work.

Q. Thomas Bradley, the Black mayor of Los Angeles, is also running for governor. What's your attitude toward him?

A. I feel the decision to run Bradley is an attempt on the part of the rulers of California to trick people into believing there is still some hope in the two-party system. It's especially aimed at trying to divert Black people from getting involved in independent, working-class political action.

Bradley's a Democrat. He's put forward as the "alternative" to the Reaganism symbolized by the Republican candidate, George Deukmejian.

The real purpose of the Bradley campaign is to put Black people and working people in general on hold politically. It's false that Bradley is an alternative to Deukmejian.

Both of them are pro-police. Bradley spent some 21 years on the police force. Deukmejian is California Attorney General, responsible for carrying out law-and-order against working people.

So in effect, what we have is two cops running for governor.

Both candidates are for the death penalty. The vast majority of people on death row are poor, and a high percentage are Black.

Both candidates are in favor of the draft. This is really significant when you consider that California has over one tenth of all the youth in the country who have resisted the draft.

Then there's the question of school desegregation. Bradley as mayor of Los Angeles did nothing but sit on the sidelines while racists attacked the implementation of a busing program. Deukmejian, of course, is openly opposed to busing and desegregation.

Both are for nuclear power, despite the fact that it can't be made safe.

Both are for the Peripheral Canal, a water swindle designed to help big business in southern California. It was recently voted down overwhelmingly in a state referendum.

The ones who would have benefited from this project are people like the Chandler family, which owns much of the real estate in southern California as well as the *Los Angeles Times*, and the Getty Oil Company, which owns a lot of land. Both are major contributors to Bradley's campaign.

Working people would have been asked to foot the bill for this plan but none of them would have ever seen any water.

Although the canal project has been overwhelmingly defeated, Bradley has still pledged himself to get it. So the question is, if the vast majority of people have spoken and say they do not want it, in whose interest is Bradley working to get the canal? Obviously the same people George Deukmejian represents — big business.

Bradley's supposed to be a friend of labor. He's attacked 12 municipal workers' strikes since he's been in office. Now tell me how that's different from Deukmejian, who enforces antilabor legislation on the state level?

My campaign makes a point of backing unionists on strike and helping to get the truth out about them. In Seaside, I've walked the picket lines with striking carpenters, meat cutters, and social service employees. I supported the air controllers' strike. And if elected, I would repeal all the antilabor, union-busting laws we have.

Bradley and Deukmejian have also proposed that big business get even more of a tax break in this state than they already have. Bradley says this is a way of creating a better business climate in the state.

Police brutality

Then of course there's Bradley's record on police brutality.

There was the murder of Ron Settles, the football star found hanging in his cell; the shooting of DeLois Young, who was nine months pregnant. Her baby was killed.

There were the racist remarks of Police Chief Gates, who said the only reason so many Blacks die from the police chokehold is that their necks don't open up as quickly as "normal" people's.

Bradley's initial response was that

Continued on Page 21

The fight against Washington's war on working people—at home and abroad

Rally in Cleveland
Wednesday, August 4, 8 p.m.



Ben Chavis

Speakers:

Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California

Rev. Ben Chavis, Wilmington 10 defendant; deputy director,

United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice

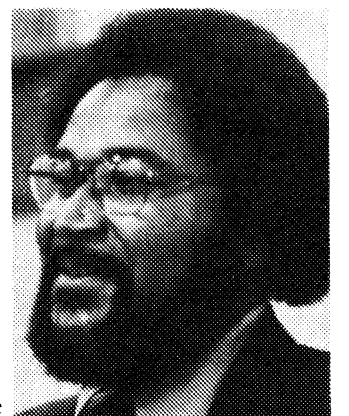
Masonic Temple Auditorium, 3615 Euclid Ave.

Donation: \$2

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For more information: (216) 579-9369

Also, rally Friday night: Aug. 6, Oberlin College. Hear fighters from the battlefronts against imperialism around the world — the Caribbean, Central America, Palestine, South Africa, Indochina.



Mel Mason

What a socialist does in public office

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

What would a socialist do if elected to office?

In 1980 residents of Seaside, California, elected an avowed socialist, Mel Mason, to the city council.

Since then, Mason has used his office to speak out on behalf of his constituents and others fighting injustice.

• When Black GIs at Ft. Ord, which is near Seaside, organized against racist harassment at the army base, Mason supported them.

He defended Pvt. Anthony Bass, who was the victim of a frame-up after he was attacked by white GIs.

Mason has also spoken out against GIs being sent to El Salvador. Many GIs at the base have signed his petitions to get on the ballot in the race for governor.

• With the Monterey Peninsula NAACP, the Seaside chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party, church groups, and others, Mason took part in a vigorous campaign against police brutality in Seaside.

A community meeting last December heard testimony from victims of the cops, and the next night Mason and others brought the issue before the City Council.

Councilman Mason told the meeting that he had visited many of the victims of police brutality.

"People contact me all the time," he said, for assistance against the police.

• This March, he led the opposition on the City Council in defeating an ordinance that would have made it a crime for youth under 19 years of age to be in video game centers during school hours.

• Working with tenant unions, he helped to exempt a housing project from rent increases, bringing in federal government assistance through the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

• In 1980, he used his office to build support for construction and county service workers on strike, holding news conferences and walking the picket lines with them.

A carpenters' union business agent, says Mason, "told me that he had never heard of anything like that before, a council member walking picket lines, holding press conferences to defend the strikers' point of view, not to slander them."

Mason has also publicly supported other workers against the bosses and their government, including the air traffic controllers and the mine workers when they were on strike.

• After management refused to allow him to tour the Spreckels sugar plant, he met with union members to support them in their fight against the company's threats to close the plant.

• He visited Grenada, a Black Caribbean island that replaced a brutal U.S.-backed dictatorship with a workers and farmers government. Mason has helped to get out the truth about the gains of

the revolution there.

• He has marched with fighters for social justice. He was in Atlanta to march in protest against murders of Black children there.

He was in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, for a rally in defense of the Voting Rights Act. And he has marched for the Equal Rights Amendment, against raids and deportations by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, and against Israel's aggression in Lebanon.

• He went to San Diego to visit Ben Sasway, who has been indicted for refusing to register for the draft. Mason solidified with Sasway and pledged his campaign's support to all youth who refuse to fight Washington's wars.

Such activities, of course, upset the ruling rich and their politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties. The Seaside City Council majority has twice tried to gag him from speaking out on such issues as racism against Black GIs at Ft. Ord, the war in El Salvador, and registration for the draft.

The gag attempts failed, after Mason generated support for his right to speak out.

As Mason puts it, "I can't do magic as a councilman, but I can use my office to bring these things to the attention of the community as a whole, helping unions and community organizations to organize themselves."

Help Mel Mason get on ballot

Despite the turning in of more than 214,000 signatures on petitions for independent candidate Mel Mason — well over the legal requirement of 113,000 — the Mason for Governor Campaign expects California officials to try to keep his name off the November ballot.

They have denied ballot status before to candidates who met petitioning requirements.

Please send messages demanding that Mason be immediately certified for the ballot to Secretary of State March Fong Eu, 1230 J Street, Sacramento, California 95814; and copies to the Mel Mason for Governor Campaign, 2864 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California 94609.



Mason, union leaders protest education cuts

BY JANICE LYNN

MONTEREY, Calif. — Union leaders at Monterey Peninsula College (MPC), along with supporters of independent gubernatorial candidate Mel Mason, expressed their outrage at impending cutbacks at the school during a July 21 meeting of the MPC governing board.

Along with these cuts, the board is attempting to impose undemocratic restrictions on public participation at board meetings.

Some \$300,000 in cuts are being prepared, predominantly in the form of "reducing staff." In other words, MPC staff members face the prospect of their jobs being eliminated in the fall.

Luis Perez, president of the California School Employees Association (CSEA) at MPC, demanded to know if administrators would be cut, too.

Mel Mason, an eight-year MPC employee and a member of the CSEA, was among those attending the July 21 board meeting.

Mason is also a socialist and city councilman in nearby Seaside. He recently sued the MPC board after it twice refused to grant him a leave of absence to campaign fulltime for governor of California. Mason scored a victory over the board when a superior court judge ruled last May that he had to be granted a leave.

In the course of the fight for his leave, Mason's supporters attended several board meetings to protest its discriminatory policy.

Now the board wants new restrictions providing that in case of "disruption" the board "may adjourn to another time and place and conduct its business in private." In addition, the board proposed that "a willful disturbance" be a misdemeanor punishable by law.

Sam Manuel, Monterey Peninsula coordinator of the Mason for Governor Campaign, blasted what he called this attempt to "silence public input."

Manuel angrily declared that the reason for the proposed regulations was "to prevent people from coming to board meetings and vigorously and publicly expressing their opposition to the proposed cuts."

He called on the board to go on record against all cuts and restrictions, instead of making plans to implement them.

Henry Fryson, candidate for Seaside City Council, was also present at the board meeting. He told the *Militant* that

Jailhouse killing of Black by L.A. cops exposed

BY BARRY SCHIER

LOS ANGELES — The cover-up of a fatal 1981 jailhouse beating has been exposed by a former Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) officer, Carl Algee.

Algee made the revelation in the course of hearings on his claim for disability due to on-the-job pressures.

The victim of the beating was Charles Hill, 40, an unemployed Black salesman.

"At various times numerous officers viciously and savagely kicked" Hill while he was handcuffed at the wrist, with his ankles shackled and his feet and hands bound together, Algee stated.

"There were at least four kicking him at once. The policemen came in and out kicking this individual. I know there was at least six who really put the boots to him."

Police had arrested Hill, claiming he was "acting in a strange manner," possibly under the influence of drugs. They brought him to a Hollywood holding cell, waiting to book him for allegedly assaulting a police officer while resisting arrest.

An autopsy by the Los Angeles County coroner's office found no trace of either drugs or alcohol. The "autopsy by the coroner's office showed Hill suffered

a fractured rib and multiple abrasions to the face, neck, wrist regions and left ankle," according to the July 21 *Los Angeles Times*.

The coroner's report listed the cause of Hill's death as "sickle cell crisis," even though he did not have sickle cell anemia.

The coroner's conclusion about the cause of death "has absolutely no basis in scientific fact and there is no medical evidence for it," stated Dr. Robert Kirschner, who was asked by attorneys for Hill's mother to review the autopsy report. Medical experts examining the autopsy report at the request of KABC-TV arrived at similar conclusions independently.

Although LAPD officials have promised to open an investigation into the incident, they have devoted the bulk of their efforts to trying to discredit Algee's testimony and credibility.

Police officials "still have not interviewed Algee about the alleged incident," said the July 22 *Los Angeles Times*. "Instead, the department's Internal Affairs Division launched an investigation of Algee for possible abuse of pension benefits, perjured testimony and neglect of duty by failing to promptly report the incident to superiors."

Boston: 'freedom of choice' vs. busing



Militant/Jon Hillson

Black students in Boston during 1975 fight to desegregate schools.

Letter from a reader

The article on busing and desegregation in Boston by Valerie Johnson Eckart (*Militant*, July 2), is unclear on some important points. In particular it does not explain the "freedom of choice" plan or indicate why most Black parents (79% according to a Boston *Globe* poll published March 12, 1982) now favor it.

Larry Johnson, advocate for "freedom of choice," is attorney for the plaintiffs of the original suit brought against the Boston School Committee. In this capacity he also defends affirmative action and quotas that maintain jobs for Black teachers. He represents about 125 Black parents organized into the Black Parents Committee (BPC). Independent of the court and state agencies, they are drafting a plan for running the Boston schools.

Attorney Johnson has indicated, in rough outline, what the BPC plan might be like, (Boston *Globe*, February 28, 1982). However the *Militant* article does not explain or describe the BPC plan. Instead the article criticizes the words "freedom of choice" as a "step back," one that is "very dangerous," that would aid the foes of desegregation.

No effort is made in the article to justify this charge. No evidence or reasons are presented. Rather than making an analysis, the article attacks the BPC plan without the reader knowing what is being criticized. It is not clear why this as yet unfinished plan is a "step back" or how it will lead to dismantling desegregation.

Certainly weakening desegregation is not the intention of the Black parents, a point the article neglects. Last February the Boston *Globe* quoted Larry Johnson, "The decision [to seek open enrollment] is not to abandon desegregation . . . We hope this is a more effective method of desegregation than geocoding, the term used to describe the court mandated student assignment process." And in May, *Equal Education in Massachusetts: A Chronicle* wrote: "According to [Black Parents Committee] spokesperson Barbara Gray, the committee wants to maintain the principles of desegregation but foster 'more choice and better protection for our kids.'"

An effective critique of the BPC would, at the very least, have to take these statements into account and explain how, against the intentions of the Black parents, their plan would result in segregated schools. The *Militant* article fails to make such an analysis.

Joseph Auciello
Belmont, Massachusetts

In reply

BY VALERIE JOHNSON ECKART

BOSTON — Joe Auciello's letter to the *Militant* printed on this page takes the "freedom of choice" school plan that has been proposed here totally out of its

context in the real world.

What is at issue is the struggle to desegregate American society. There is a government assault going on against the gains Blacks have won in the past. Rolling back school desegregation is central to this offensive.

In Boston, as in other cities throughout the country, Blacks and other minorities have been segregated into inferior schools. Desegregated education is a means by which the oppressed nationalities can attain equal access to education.

Busing is under particular attack as part of the assault on Black rights because it is essential to any program of effective school desegregation. That will continue to be the case as long as most residential neighborhoods in the United States are effectively segregated by race.

The July 2 *Militant* article pointed to the overall offensive against Black rights. This in turn is part of the assault on the whole working class, both on rights such as education and as an attempt to deepen the divisions in the working class and cut across the development of a united struggle to defend

the interests of all workers.

The "freedom of choice" proposal fits into the context of this offensive. To begin with, "freedom of choice" is not a neutral term. It was one of the slogans raised by racist forces opposed to desegregation, along with phrases such as "quality education" and "neighborhood schools."

Today it has become fashionable for liberals retreating on busing to use similar phrases.

To talk about "freedom of choice" in the abstract is meaningless. Blacks in this racist society have precious little "freedom of choice." When this slogan is raised by the racists, its purpose is to prevent Blacks from exercising their "freedom to choose" an equal education.

What about the fact that this code phrase is now being raised by some Blacks? Larry Johnson and the Black Parents Committee say that mandatory busing has not provided quality education.

True, it hasn't. Neither has the Occupational Safety and Health Administration provided a safe and healthy workplace. Nevertheless, these are important concessions that have been wrested from the ruling class through struggle. Such gains must be defended and extended.

The fact that Larry Johnson is Black is not relevant to whether he is correct in his opposition to busing. Capital punishment is racist and anti-working-class, but there are Blacks and workers who don't see it that way. The same is true of the "freedom of choice" hoax.

In any case, Larry Johnson does not speak for all Blacks on the "freedom of choice" plan.

The *Bay State Banner*, Boston's major Black weekly, indicated it would be a retreat for Black rights. Thomas Atkins, attorney for the NAACP and a leader of the struggle for desegregation in Boston, condemned the plan as soon as Johnson announced it. Atkins stated that going back to open enrollment would mean a return to the segregated conditions that existed prior to 1974.

He pointed out that "freedom of choice" existed for Blacks prior to the desegregation order in Boston. It didn't work, and that's why the Black community fought for busing.

Teachers debate affirmative action

BY JOSEPH AUCIELLO
AND ART LeCLAIR

BOSTON — "If we are really sincere about affirmative action, it cannot be in times of plenty when we fight to bring minorities in. When times are hard and jobs are shrinking, we can't say, 'Sorry, we have to get back to seniority.'"

William Simons, president of the Washington, D.C., Teachers Union, addressed these remarks to the national convention of the American Federation of Teachers, held in New York at the beginning of July.

The issue of whether to fight for affirmative action — particularly in the midst of a recession, when thousands of teachers are being laid off — was the central issue debated at the convention.

AFT President Albert Shanker took the floor at the convention to speak against affirmative action and to back up a court suit filed by the Boston Teachers Union (BTU), an AFL affiliate. The convention backed the BTU suit over the protests of many Black teachers and some white teachers.

The BTU is attempting to overturn the affirmative-action ruling of U.S. District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity Jr. — a ruling Shanker called "one of the most dangerous decisions any judge has handed down."

In 1974 Judge Garrity ordered that 20 percent of Boston's teachers must be Black and another 8 percent must be Hispanic. Over the past two years, due to severe budget cuts, nearly 1,300 teachers have been laid off.

Last year, the BTU voted to accept

layoffs by seniority, which would have removed approximately 900 Black teachers. Garrity vetoed this move, ruling that seniority must be overridden and that layoffs must not affect the percentage of Black and Hispanic teachers in the schools.

Consequently, a seniority formula has been set up whereby layoffs are made in a way that does not affect the proportion of Black and Hispanic teachers on the job. The gains in affirmative action have been maintained.

The BTU claims that the court order violates its contract, that all layoffs must be carried out in accordance with the union's seniority list. At the AFT convention, Shanker complained, "By destroying the principle of seniority, we destroy something that is color blind."

Socialist blasts seniority lawsuit

BOSTON — Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor Don Gurewitz blasted the American Federation of Teachers' (AFT) decision to back a lawsuit against affirmative action here. The suit, filed by the AFT affiliate, the Boston Teachers Union, seeks to overturn a court order maintaining percentages of Black and Hispanic teachers when layoffs occur.

"I support this court order," Gurewitz said. "Protecting affirmative action gains for Blacks and Hispanics is an important step toward desegregating the schools, the workplaces, and U.S. society as a whole."

In his letter, Auciello refers to the *Globe* poll released March 12 to argue that most Black parents favor "freedom of choice." But the poll was highly contradictory and phrased in such a way as to get the response it did.

In addition to stating that 79 percent of Black parents favor "freedom of choice," the poll found 73 percent fear that adoption of the plan would be seen as a setback. It found 60 percent would keep their children in their present schools. In addition, 71 percent would choose an integrated school over a segregated one.

The *Globe* pointed to a "complex set of opinions and conflicting feelings on the part of Boston's Black parents." Had the *Globe* poll asked, "If your child could be assured a positive and safe educational experience through desegregation, would you support busing?" the response would have been quite different.

Last March, Rev. Jesse Jackson wrote a column for the *New York Times* taking up the racist attacks against busing. In discussing these attacks, Jackson said:

"A new twist has been added. Some say that not only are whites against busing, but that blacks are, too. True, some blacks oppose busing, but not for racial reasons. Blacks sometimes are against busing because all decisions about desegregation are being made for them, not with and by them."

Jackson pointed out that in many schools, Black students who are bused in are subjected to segregated classes, discrimination in disciplinary proceedings, hostile attitudes among white students and teachers, and other forms of racist harassment. In Boston, as elsewhere, many Blacks are rightfully frustrated by the whole racist and class-biased system of public education.

The "freedom of choice" plan is a step in the wrong direction. It gives ammunition to the antibusing offensive. As the July 2 *Militant* article explained, the Justice Department — which is in the forefront of the offensive against busing — is expected to submit a "voluntary, comprehensive 'free choice' plan" to the courts here.

The "freedom of choice" plan is not a step forward for Blacks. The facts speak for themselves.

But nothing in this racist society is "color blind." That is even more true in the midst of a recession, when the weakest and most oppressed are shoved further down, and the pressures on the working class accentuate the inequalities and divisions within it.

The jobs of older, white males cannot be protected by tossing Blacks, Hispanics, and women to the dogs in the name of seniority. With more than 10 million unemployed already, this should be clear. Such a strategy only weakens the unions in the fight against layoffs.

The fact is that the maintenance of affirmative-action gains in the Boston schools points the way forward for the entire labor movement.

The trade unions need to unite the
Continued on Page 21

"It is especially important during a recession for labor to defend affirmative action, to challenge the moves by the rulers to intensify inequality and push the most oppressed down further."

"If I were elected governor, I would order separate seniority lists established at every workplace in the state: one for Black, Hispanic, and women workers; one for other workers."

"No employer would be allowed to use layoffs to reduce the percentage of workers hired through affirmative action one bit."

Black independent candidate enters Seaside council race

BY DICK ROBERTS

SEASIDE, Calif. — At a City Hall news conference here July 15, Henry Fryson announced that he is running for City Council as an independent. Fryson has been a long-time collaborator with Mel Mason in the struggles to better conditions of working people in this community.

"My campaign will serve as an example of the kind of independent political action that is needed by the masses of people in this country to fight against war and to struggle to build a society that places human needs as its number one priority," Fryson stated.

Efforts are under way to cut back the Seaside budget as part of a massive \$4 billion cut in California social welfare programs.

With a population of 39,000, Seaside had been receiving \$740,000 from the state as a "bail out" for programs slashed when Proposition 13 was passed in California in 1978.

The state is moving to slash \$150,000 from this bail-out fund.

"That's a critical amount of money in a small town like Seaside," Fryson said. "It means cutting needed jobs in community services.

"I am the only candidate who supports women's rights," Fryson said.

"My campaign will address such issues as housing, affirmative action, city planning, administrative realignment in City Hall, and an economic

development program that is designed to fulfill the consumer and employment needs of this community."

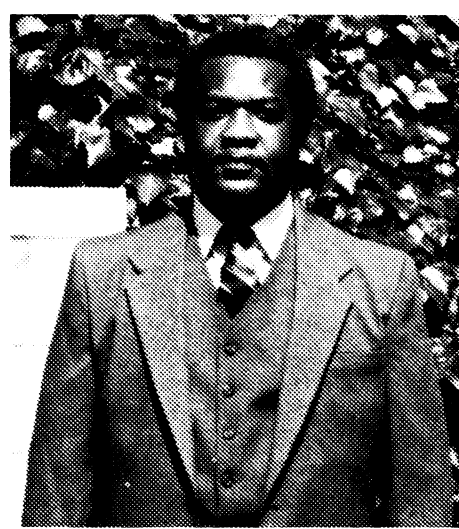
Fryson is an orderly at Community Hospital in the surgery department. In 1978, when he was a laborer in the Seaside Public Works Department, Fryson was the central figure in a struggle by workers against graft in the city administration.

The two top public works officials

were forced out of their jobs as a result of this struggle.

In 1980 Fryson managed Mel Mason's election campaign for City Council. There are five members of the council and it is a four-year term.

Fryson also said at his news conference: "My campaign supports the ideas of working people running for office and taking the lead in changing the politics of this city, state, and country to meet human needs."



Militant/Dick Roberts

Henry Fryson

Black party delegation in Grenada pledges support to revolution

BY BAXTER SMITH

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — A special event in the revolutionary calendar was observed here on June 21 when several thousand Grenadians rallied in Queen's Park to mark Hero's Day.

Hero's Day is the annual salute to the contributions of Grenadians who have fallen in struggles against British colonialism, the Gairy dictatorship, and imperialism.

This year there was a march of students, workers, and the revolutionary armed forces. The rally site was festooned with banners, flags, and paintings of Grenadian martyrs and heroes.

A highlight of the rally was a message by Ron Daniels of the U.S. National Black Independent Political Party

(NBIPP). Daniels was part of a 58-member NBIPP delegation that visited Grenada.

"We have seen with our own eyes what freedom really means," Daniels said. He blasted the Reagan administration, "which is a continuation of previous administrations," for its treatment of Blacks in the U.S. and in Grenada.

He pledged that NBIPP members, when they returned to the United States, would "do whatever possible and whatever necessary to bring about a change in United States policy toward Grenada."

Prime Minister Maurice Bishop referred to the bomb blast that took three young women's lives at the Hero's Day rally two years ago. He said this was an

indication that imperialism and local counterrevolution had "lost the struggle for the hearts and minds of the people" and were resorting to acts of terror.

Bishop explained that the revolution is now more vigilant, and he pledged it would "defeat counterrevolution" whenever it arises.

The prime minister and a high-level delegation had just returned, only hours before addressing the rally, from a two-week trip to the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Bulgaria, and Libya.

Referring to the GDR and Bulgaria, Bishop said the Grenadians went to these countries to observe their progress firsthand.

The prime minister declared: "We were shocked and astonished by the tremendous strides that were made in the past 35 years" in the GDR in rebuilding the economy that was devastated during World War II.

"Developing relations with the socialist world," Bishop said, "is a matter of first importance."

He praised the support that the workers states have given to liberation struggles around the world. In discussions the Grenadians had with leaders of the GDR and Bulgaria, Bishop said, "we were able to tell them something about United States imperialism."

Although the delegation was able to come away with new aid agreements, Bishop explained that the purpose of the trip was "more to lay emphasis on the moral and solidarity nature" of Grenada's relations with these countries. In this sense, the visit to Libya was particularly important.

Not part of the announced itinerary before they departed here, the delegation rerouted their travels to include a stop in Libya after Israel invaded Lebanon. The purpose was to pledge Grenada's support for the Palestinians and Lebanese.

Casa Nicaragua in L.A. protests terror attacks

LOS ANGELES — Casa Nicaragua held a news conference here July 20 to respond to continued attacks by right-wing opponents of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Early in the morning of July 17, Casa Nicaragua was firebombed. "Death to communism" was scrawled on the wall and signed "FDN." The next day, eggs, paint, and oil were splashed on the building.

Meanwhile, *La Opinión*, the main Spanish-language newspaper here, carried an article announcing that the Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN) would picket Casa Nicaragua July 19.

Casa Nicaragua supporters organized a countermobilization the night of the

picket to protect the building. More than 125 people turned out, while some 30-50 counterrevolutionaries gathered across the street.

A short scuffle broke out between a few supporters of Casa Nicaragua and the anticommunists. Some 50 cops moved in and a helicopter appeared. It was clear the police were ready to break heads.

Supporters of Casa Nicaragua moved into the building, remained calm, and stayed inside until the police left. Everyone was able to exit safely.

The next morning at the news conference, Blase Bonpane from Casa Nicaragua explained the history of the Los Angeles police inaction on bombing attacks

against progressive groups. He went on to explain what Casa Nicaragua was and why they support the Nicaraguan revolution:

"Whereas there used to be hunger in Nicaragua, the children are well-fed. Where there used to be illiteracy, there is none. Where it used to be that people were summarily executed on the streets, now there is not even capital punishment. Where there was torture, now there is none," he said.

Asked if the confrontation the day before was a reflection of a struggle between the right and the left in Nicaragua, he responded, "I was there until about a month ago. Nicaragua is a country completely at peace."

"There is an invasion going on, however. Armed counterrevolutionaries cross the border from Honduras and attack villages, gouging out eyes, raping women, and executing anyone they choose."

"And the sad part is that they are armed and organized by the CIA. Reagan has authorized at least \$19 million for a destabilization effort against Nicaragua."

Bill Bollinger, professor of Latin American studies at Cal State Los Angeles, said that the FDN, the group that signed the slogan on the wall the night of the bombing and called the picket line, was known to participate in terrorist training camps in the deserts of Southern California.

Reporters asked if the response by the police to the firebombing had been adequate. Ramón Díaz, the central leader of Casa Nicaragua, explained that the cops had even refused to take a report on any of the vandalism and had insisted that the fire department report on the bombing would be enough.

Sarah Matthews, speaking for the Young Socialist Alliance, labeled the police response "totally inadequate."

"The fire department report is not due for three weeks. These attacks and threats have been occurring on a daily basis." She demanded the police take action to immediately apprehend the terrorists.

Campaign launched in Baltimore to defend NBIPP prison activist

BY MARIE ANDERSON

BALTIMORE — Rev. Ben Chavis was the featured speaker at a reception here July 16, as some 60 people gathered to launch a campaign to free imprisoned National Black Independent Political Party activist Eddie Conway.

Conway was a leader of the Baltimore chapter of the Black Panther Party in 1970 when he was arrested and convicted of the murder of a Baltimore cop. The government used classic frame-up techniques to convict Conway. He was repeatedly denied the right to an attorney of his choice. The chief government witness against him was a police informer planted in Conway's cell after his arrest.

In prison, Conway has helped to organize a prisoners union, a newspaper, Malcolm X Day programs, and other activities on behalf of fellow inmates in the Maryland penitentiary.

He was instrumental in organizing this year the first prison chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party.

In his remarks at the reception, Chavis characterized Conway as a polit-

ical prisoner. He explained that Conway, like the Wilmington 10 and many other brothers and sisters still in jails throughout the country, is a victim of the government campaign of terror and frame-up organized to disrupt and destroy the Black liberation movement in the 1960s and '70s.


Chavis said that activists today have a special responsibility in maintaining the defense of these brothers and sisters. New layers of young people who want to get politically involved will hesitate unless they see a movement that defends all those unjustly targeted by the government, he said.

Chavis explained the continued defense of victimized freedom fighters like Eddie Conway is central to rebuilding the mass movement needed to bring to justice the real criminals in this country — Reagan and the other exploiters in the government and corporations responsible for the crimes of racism, sexism, unemployment, and war.

For more information contact the Committee to Free Eddie Conway, P.O. Box 22080, Baltimore, Maryland 21202.

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Two speeches by Rev. Ben Chavis on the fight for Black liberation

The following are excerpts from two speeches delivered by Rev. Ben Chavis at Militant Labor forums in July. One of the Wilmington 10 defendants, Rev. Chavis is a nationally known fighter for Black rights. He is also deputy director of the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice.

Grenada: a beacon light in the Caribbean

Delivered at the Newark Militant Labor Forum on July 18.

I'm very happy once again to share a few perspectives at a Militant Labor Forum. I'm proud to stand in the tradition of Malcolm X, who utilized these Militant forums to delineate some of the crucial issues facing Black people, and poor and oppressed people in general.

But it would not treat history right if I began this evening without paying tribute to the many brothers and sisters who lost their lives here in Newark in the 1960s, who had their blood drawn, who were beaten over the head by police clubs, who were arrested; young people who protested the various forms of racism that were so evident at that time.

I remember at that time all we thought we needed to do was to elect a Black man mayor and all the problems would be straightened out. We know that since that time, we elected a Black person mayor of Newark, but all the problems have yet to be straightened out.

I bring you greetings from the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice. I also bring you greetings from the National Black Independent Political Party, a newly formed political party, attempting to organize the masses of Black people in the United States in the interests of Black liberation and Black self-determination.

Grenada: a beacon light

I have been asked to speak on Grenada, which in the truest sense is a full expression of Black power.

How many of you know where Grenada is in the Caribbean? It's a small island near the southern tip of the Caribbean islands, very near South America.

Grenada's population is overwhelmingly Black. Its people have had a long history of oppression and manipulation by outside powers, particularly imperialist powers, especially the United States.

But on March 13, 1979, the Grenadian people overthrew their U.S.-backed dictator and launched a revolution. Under the new People's Revolutionary Government, Grenada, even though it's a small island, stands as a beacon light to all progressive forces in the world.

Like Cuba, Grenada has embarked upon a social transformation that is not capitalist, that is not to offer itself up to the exploitation and manipulation of imperialist powers. It has embarked upon a socialist transformation of its society, and has embarked upon distributing goods and services in the interests of its people.

But let's step back and talk first about what Black power means. I would define Black power as that dynamic force necessary for the masses of Black people to attain liberation and self-determination.

Black power in Grenada is not the same thing as Black power in the United States, although there are some

similarities, there is certainly some interrelationship. And we can certainly learn some things from the sisters and brothers in Grenada.

The Gairy dictatorship

The brothers and sisters in Grenada seized state power because they realized that was necessary to attain liberation and self-determination.

Prior to March 13, 1979, the people of Grenada lived under the dictatorship of a man named Gairy.

Gairy himself was a Black man. Gairy was a Black dictator. I hate to say Black dictator, because that defies what my terminology of Black is. He was a dictator of colored skin, and he allowed Grenada to be used for the economic satisfaction of multinational corporations, particularly those based in the United States of America or based in Great Britain and other places.

Under the Gairy regime, the unemployment rate in Grenada was one of the highest in the whole Caribbean: something like 70 to 50 percent. Under the Gairy regime, the illiteracy rate of the Grenadian people was very high. Under the Gairy regime, the accessibility of health care was almost nonexistent, particularly for the poor and working classes. Under the Gairy regime, the people themselves could not determine government policy. They had no control over how the fruits of their labor were used.

It became necessary many years prior to March 13, 1979, for a group of Grenadian brothers and sisters to embark upon organizing themselves to bring about a revolutionary transformation of their country.

New Jewel Movement

Basically, the first task was to organize a mass-based organization which would politically educate the Grenadian people about why such gross economic and social contradictions existed in their society. The name of this mass-based political organization, which later became a mass-based political party, was the New Jewel Movement.

By the time March 13, 1979, came about, there was in fact almost a bloodless revolution. Some people think that the success of a revolution is determined by how much blood is spilled.

No. The success of a revolution is determined by how effectively those who have embarked on a revolutionary course seize state power. The effectiveness of a revolution is whether or not it succeeds in its strategic goals and objectives.

I often remind my brothers and sisters here in the United States that you get in the struggle to win victories, not just to struggle.

There was a lot of romanticization in the 1960s and 1970s about what it meant to be in the movement for Black freedom, self-determination, and liberation. Some thought it was good enough to just change our names. Some thought it was good enough to just wear dashikis. Some thought it was good enough to just engage in some random act of violence against the system.

But we now know from hard study and experience that what it takes is a commitment beyond one's own narrow limitations, a commitment based on an understanding of where one's people are at any given point in history; what it will take to move them forward in a progressive sense, in a revolutionary sense; how the masses can experience, learn from, live through, and enjoy the victory of the movement.

I think that if you study the history of the New Jewel Movement, that is exactly what it did.

When the New Jewel Movement made the decision to get into electoral politics

— they did so not as an end in itself, but as part of a revolutionary strategy. They set out to raise the consciousness of the people about what it would take to overthrow the illegitimate parliament and establish a new form of government, a new form of economy that would be responsible to the people.

How does this translate for our present situation in the United States? I don't think you can transform the U.S. society if you don't understand it. And that is why I encourage brothers and sisters to understand something about the U.S. labor movement, to understand something about the working class, to understand something about the multinational corporations, to understand something about and to begin to answer some questions.

Why is it that 30 million Black people in the United States remain on the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder even though we have worked? Even though we have fought in the wars, sometimes against our will? Even though we have been the historic victims of this society? Even though in a real sense there are many Black people in this country who are more patriotic to the United States than those who sing "My Country 'Tis of Thee"?

NBIPP tour

Several weeks ago we took 60 Black people, 60 African-Americans to Grenada as a delegation of the National Black Independent Political Party.

We wanted to learn. Since we say that we want to build a mass-based party here in the United States, we wanted to check out a part of the world where a mass-based formation had been successful, (understanding that it would be different, when we came back to the United States, to build a mass-based political party here).

Some of us wanted to go to the birthplace of Malcolm X's mother, who was from Grenada.

His mother was a strong African woman, a strong Black woman, who raised her son to have the dignity to stand up and fight not only for the integrity of his family, of his people, but for all oppressed people of the world.

We also wanted to make a concrete expression of our solidarity with the Grenadian revolution by making a material contribution to the people of Grenada.

What did we learn? First, we learned about Grenadian democracy.

Reagan says there's no democracy in Grenada. In this way, the United States has attempted to justify its campaign to destabilize Grenada.

Well, when we arrived in Grenada and stayed there for 10 days, we saw the

fullest expression of democracy. I'll be very honest with you, I saw more democracy in Grenada than I do in the United States. And that's quite a statement for me to make, because I've lived in the United States all my life and was taught to believe at one time that we live in a democracy.

Working people in control

First of all, the working people themselves are absolutely in control of the situation in Grenada. There's not a small elite, there's certainly not a dictator in charge of everything. The New Jewel Movement has transferred power — not only governmental power, but power over industry — to the people.

The fullest expression of Black Power in the Caribbean, I believe, is in the nation of Grenada.

Unemployment has been cut by more than half. The government has created many jobs. I don't mean menial jobs. They have meaningful jobs, productive jobs.

We visited some of the agricultural and industrial work places in Grenada. We saw workers working happily at their jobs, not grudgingly.

Workers are organized. The trade union movement in Grenada is very strong.

There has been established a health-care program in Grenada where every citizen has absolutely free health care. Just think about that. I don't know the last time you've been to the doctor. But I know that, just for a checkup, it's certainly not free here in the U.S.

Grenada's still poor — I don't want to overstate the case. But a nation that has only experienced liberation since 1979 is now able to provide free health care to all its people. Why? Because the people themselves needed and demanded free health care, and the government was responsive. It shifted priorities to make sure everyone got free health care.

A people's democracy

If that is not a people's democracy, a people's democratic decision being put into action, I don't know what is.

The educational system in Grenada is practically free. They're now building a new kind of educational system, because they have to re-educate some brothers and sisters who went through the colonial educational system.

A revolutionary transformation always calls for the continuing education of all of its people if the revolution is to stay alive. There's no such thing as one gaining all of the revolutionary knowledge. That never happens. One must be open to continuing education. One must not stand at one point and say, This is

US black party's delegation 'inspired'

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Grenada



Minister Strachan addresses NBIPP's 57-member delegation at York House last week.

"What we have witnessed while in Grenada has only fortified our belief that the Revolution has brought a truly democratic process to Grenada and has reinforced our commitment to struggle actively in the United States to force a change in its foreign policy." This was the conclusion of a 57-member delegation of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), from the US, after a short fact-finding visit here earlier this week. The NBIPP, with chapters in 57 US cities, said its visit to Grenada came about because of our acute concern about the hostile policies and actions of the US Government to destabilize and turn back the revolutionary process. A statement read by NBIPP's national representative, Barbara Armwine, at a press conference on Monday, said that the delegation has been "deeply moved and inspired by the extraordinary accomplishments of the Grenadian people, led by the New Jewel Movement (NJM) in the short period of three years." It added that through zonal and parish councils and the mass organizations, the "people discuss, modify and determine governmental policies and laws." "We find this creative development truly democratic and as a result of the Revolution, whose central aim is to place power in the hands of the people, so they play a direct role in solving the problems that affect their daily lives and the future of the nation." In the delegation were noted civil rights activists Ben Chavis, NBIPP's national co-chairman Ron Daniels and International Committee co-chairpersons, Eddie Brath and Kathy Flewilen. During its visit, the delegation visited numerous projects of the Revolution, met representatives from the mass organizations and participated in Monday's Heroes' Day rally at Queen's Park. It donated some 200 books and other materials to the Ministry of Education and gave \$1400 to the Mirabeau Farm School. According to Sis. Flewilen, on return to the US, members of the delegation will be undertaking educational work, aimed at informing the US people about developments here and the nature of the revolutionary process. This will mainly take the form of slide shows and public talks.

From the June 23 issue of *Free West Indian*, newspaper of free Grenada.



Militant/Osborne Hart



Militant/K.C. Ellis

Left: demonstrators in Washington, D.C., January 15, 1981 — Martin Luther King Day. Right: Rev. Ben Chavis at Militant Labor Forum in Newark, July 18.

the epitome of my revolutionary development, now I'll go back and share with everybody what I've learned. You continue to learn, continue to move forward.

In fact, do you know what was the spark for the New Jewel Movement? The Black power movement in the U.S.

The leaders of the New Jewel Movement found inspiration from Martin Luther King Jr. They found inspiration from Malcolm X. They found inspiration from Marcus Garvey. They found inspiration from W.E.B. DuBois, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth. They found inspiration from what we were doing in the U.S.

The irony is — it's a good irony — that these Black brothers and sisters outside the United States took the consciousness that we were raising in terms of Black awareness inside the U.S., and took it to some logical conclusions.

Some gaps in our movement

Here in the U.S., I believe sincerely and honestly we must go back to the days where we left off, because there's some gaps in our movement.

When we raised Black consciousness up to some of the peaks of the '60s, the truth of the matter is we did not follow through. The truth of the matter is we did not do the institution-building within our own communities. The truth of the matter is we did not do the mass organizing of our people.

We were good on mobilizing. We brought people out into the streets to protest, to demonstrate. But we did not build the sustained kind of organization that we need, that would continue the political education process, that would heighten the struggle from one level to another level.

And therefore in 1982 we face a situation where the consciousness of Black people is not at the level in '82 that it was in 1962.

That's why I believe now it's up to us to look to the brothers and sisters in Grenada and other places that have put into practice what we said we were about in the '60s — we now in the '80s must look to them for inspiration. We must look to them for organizational methodology, and translate it into our own context in the U.S.

I would encourage everyone, Black and white, to see Grenada for yourself. Whites need to see Black people in control of their own situation. Because there're some whites, and even some Blacks, who don't believe that Black people can control a nation.

We must also get out the truth about what is going on in Grenada, because there're many falsehoods — deliberate falsehoods about Grenada being spread by U.S. propaganda.

Much of U.S. foreign policy, I believe, emanates out of U.S. domestic policy. One of the reasons why the U.S. has a racist foreign policy is because it has a racist domestic policy. One of the reasons it has an economically exploitative foreign policy is because it has an

economically exploitative domestic policy.

A nation that oppresses, exploits, and imprisons or deprives its own citizens because of color, because of race and because of class, will inevitably do the same thing in the international arena.

A vanguard party

Let me explain the different steps the New Jewel Movement took on the way to final victory in the March 13 revolution.

At first, they were a mass-based political organization. It became necessary after several years to form within the

mass-based structure a vanguard structure, a vanguard revolutionary party.

There comes a time in the development of the struggle when one has to in fact make a deliberate step ahead of the people in order to lead the people in a correct direction. The New Jewel Movement decided it would be necessary for them to organize themselves in a vanguard revolutionary sense to provide a further step forward, to lead the mass organizations of their people in a revolutionary direction.

Everyone could join a mass organization, but not everyone could join the vanguard revolutionary party without meeting certain criteria. It was open to

everybody, but with certain criteria. And one criterion was working your way through the mass organizations. By one's concrete work, by one's commitment being shown, the relationships one formed, one would have an opportunity to join the revolutionary vanguard party.

Today in Grenada everybody is completely free to join the mass-based organizations. They have the National Women's Organization (NWO). Discrimination against women is against the law in Grenada. In other words, you can be locked up for discriminating against women.

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Black self-determination in the U.S.

Delivered at the Manhattan Militant Labor Forum on July 14.

The fight for Black freedom in the United States is a vital component of the international fight for African freedom. And the international fight for African freedom is a vital part of the worldwide struggle against racism, monopoly capitalism, and imperialism.

The fight for Black freedom in the United States is a fight for self-determination. It is a fight for Black liberation.

When we say we are against racism, against monopoly capitalism, against imperialism and all forms of economic exploitation, we are saying in the same breath that we are for the liberation of all oppressed peoples.

Priority of Black people

History, however, continues to teach us that an oppressed people cannot effectively deal with other peoples' oppression until they begin to come to grips concretely with the struggle to eliminate their own oppression. In other words, I want to state emphatically that the priority of the masses of Black people must be Black liberation and self-determination.

We need to resurrect a new boldness in our community in terms of giving brothers and sisters at the community level a renewed, fighting spirit — not only a fighting spirit, but an organized mechanism through which that fighting spirit can be translated into positive concrete action.

In other words, Black people need to win some victories. We've suffered too many defeats. And we've gotten the notion that whoever gets into the White House is going to determine whether or not there will be Black freedom.

Whoever's in the White House will not determine whether Black folks will be free — in the United States, in Africa, or anywhere else. It will be Black people living in the United States, it will be Black people living in the Caribbean, it will be Black people living in Africa who will determine whether they will be free.

We must not get into a situation of

trying to decide whether it's Democrats or Republicans who hold the key to our destiny. Neither hold the key. We hold that key in our own hands. But that key must be organized and translated so the masses can understand what we are saying and respond in an appropriate way.

So rather than just mobilization, we must call for mass organization — grass-roots political organization.

It is not good enough just to be aware that Blacks are the most unemployed in this nation. It is not good enough just to be aware that a lot of our people are starving and suffering in decadent housing and don't have the ability to get adequate health care. It is not good enough just to be aware that our young people aren't receiving the proper education in this country's decadent school system.

We must move from awareness of the problems to politically understanding what the contradictions of society are.

Freedom under capitalism?

Is it correct to assume that we can have Black freedom under a monopoly capitalist system?

If we are serious about struggling for Black freedom, we must be equally committed to transforming the present system that we live under. But if talking about transforming this present system is talking about being against monopoly capitalism, we must be bold enough to say that's what we are for. We must have a clear vision of the kind of society that we want to fight for, that we want to live in, that we're willing to help build from the bottom up.

I don't think any accommodation, I don't think any compromise or mutation of capitalism is going to be adequate. I don't know of anywhere in the world where any form of capitalism has been functional for the masses of people.

But I do know several places in the world where some form of socialism has not only been functional, but operational in the interests of the people.

I hope your applause means you agree with me when I say something about socialism. But I hope you'll also agree when I say that Black people must put

as their own priority the struggle for Black liberation.

Here in the United States there is a need for mass-based organization and political education. Will the Democratic Party do it? Will the Republican Party do it?

No. These two parties are committed to maintaining the establishment, to maintaining the status quo. These two parties, while they purport to have some interest in the masses of people, continue to reinforce the infrastructure of monopoly capitalism, continue to reinforce the infrastructure of imperialism.

Israel and South Africa

I think no greater commentary on the lengths to which imperialism will go exists than the present Israeli war in Lebanon. There are calls from all the imperialist circles for the PLO to leave Lebanon. Well, the PLO wants to leave Lebanon. The PLO wants to go to Palestine, to regain their land and destiny.

Any time a nation can decide that it can commit genocide against a people to reinforce its oppressive desires, it's very dangerous for all the people of the world.

Don't you think right now that the racist, apartheid regime of South Africa is ready to do the same thing? What Israel has done to Lebanon, South Africa wants to do to Angola, to Mozambique, to Zambia, and to all of the frontline states.

Don't you think that the United States could move into Nicaragua, into El Salvador, particularly if the left wins in El Salvador? — and they are winning.

For those of us who live in the United States of America, the onus is on us. Greater responsibility will be on people who live in the United States and who have a vision of the kind of world and society we want to live in. We have stated that we cannot expect the Democrats and Republicans to do it. But that's not good enough, because they don't even state that they intend to do it.

National liberation struggle in U.S.

What is the character, then, of a movement that would be so bold as to

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Oil worker is La. candidate

BY JOHN CHARBONNET

NEW ORLEANS — Suzanne Weiss is the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for U.S. Congress in the 1st Congressional District in Louisiana. The district includes eastern New Orleans as well as the Tenneco Chalmette refinery, where Weiss is a maintenance worker and a member of Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) Local 4-522.

The incumbent is Republican Robert Livingston, who traveled to El Salvador as an observer for the March elections. He is a vocal supporter of U.S. policy there.

At a campaign rally July 17, Weiss linked the need to oppose U.S. intervention in El Salvador to the fight for democratic rights at home and the need to open the ballot to working people.

"Louisiana election laws are designed to exclude independent, working-class candidates from the ballot and uphold the political monopoly of the Democratic and Republican parties," she charged.

State law requires a congressional candidate to either pay a \$400 fee or collect 1,000 signatures of registered voters in their district. Supporters of the socialist campaign collected close to 3,000 signatures for Weiss and a second congressional candidate, Nels J'Anthony, a member of OCAW Local 4-750 at the Shell Norco refinery.

In spite of this, the Orleans Parish registrar of voters ruled the candidates would have to pay the fee, claiming there were not enough valid signatures.

Weiss charges that the filing fee is designed to discourage workers from running for office. She also charges the registrar with using discriminatory procedures in disqualifying signatures. For example, if a registered voter changes his or her address, their signature is discounted.

Petitioners in New Orleans were also

hampered by the redistricting of congressional boundaries. The state legislature gerrymandered the city's two congressional districts into narrow strips, making it very difficult to collect signatures in the proper districts. The U.S. Justice Department, which had to approve the new boundaries, did not make its decision until after the deadline for filing petitions.

Weiss called the new plan, which has been accepted by the Justice Department, "an attack on the democratic rights of Blacks." The population of Orleans Parish is over 60 percent Black. The new plan perpetuates the old discriminatory boundaries, splitting the Black vote into two districts.

New Orleans has not had a majority-Black congressional district since Re-

construction. Lawyers for Black voters have filed suit, charging the new plan violates the Voting Rights Act.

Weiss traced the cause of these attacks on the democratic rights of Blacks and working people to the bipartisan austerity offensive and war drive: "The Democratic and Republican parties want to prevent us from speaking out, protesting, and organizing against war, cutbacks, and union-busting. They want to prevent us from speaking out on the need to form a labor party that will fight for a workers and farmers government."

Also addressing the socialist campaign rally was Gary "T" Trabue, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in Texas and a member of OCAW Local 4-367 at the Shell Deer Park refinery in Houston.



Militant
Socialist candidate Suzanne Weiss.

Fired Ga. socialists gain backing

BY MICHAEL GILLESPIE

ATLANTA — Socialist Workers Party candidate Maceo Dixon and campaign chairman Garrett Brown have won significant support from co-workers, unionists, and civil libertarians in their fight for reinstatement at Oxford Chemical's Chamblee plant.

The socialists were production workers at the plant. Brown was fired May 24, and Dixon was "laid off" indefinitely July 9.

Dixon, who is running for governor of Georgia, has pointed out his "layoff" totally violated seniority provisions, and that the real reason he and Brown were fired is because of their union activities and the SWP campaign. "This is an attempt to intimidate other workers in the plant and silence the only working-class alternative in the gubernatorial race," Dixon charged.

In addition to a July 17 protest rally, a news conference denouncing the firings was held outside Oxford's plant on July 13. More than a dozen workers from the plant, including Teamsters Local 528 shop steward Sidney Colbert, attended.

The Georgia American Civil Liberties Union issued a statement for the news conference that said, "The use of economic sanctions by employers to influence employee political activity outside the workplace is an infringement on workers' rights and on citizen responsibility."

"Such action is not permissible, and the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia stands ready to assist those whose rights are abridged."

On July 7 Fulton County Commissioner A. Reginald Eaves sent a letter to Oxford protesting the May 24 firing of campaign chairman Brown.

"The effect of Brown's dismissal will be to intimidate other Oxford workers in such a manner as to inhibit the expressions of concerns about unsafe and unhealthy working conditions and to discourage political participation," Eaves wrote.

"I am of the opinion that employee rights and constitutional freedoms," he continued, "should not be denied workers by their corporate employers."

"I urge you to reinstate Garrett Brown to his rightful place of employment, and to respect the rights and freedoms of all employees at Oxford Chemicals, Inc.," Eaves declared.

Oxford tried to sabotage the news conference by falsely declaring the socialists had called for an illegal "wildcat" strike. The company then called in Chamblee and Dekalb County police, who sent four squad cars, and even a police helicopter, out to the plant.

The company even sent attorneys to

at least one TV station to lobby against coverage of the news conference.

Although the company succeeded in quashing any TV coverage, Dixon's views did receive extensive two-day coverage from WAOK radio, a major Black station, and from WGST radio, the major all-news station. An article on Dixon's firing also appeared in the Atlanta Journal.

Dixon's campaign supporters have gathered more than 250 signatures on protest petitions at Atlanta workplaces, demanding Dixon and Brown's reinstatement.

At Oxford itself, more than 40 of the plant's 85 production workers have signed a general union grievance challenging the company's gross violations of the union contract and its victimizations of union and socialist activists.

Dixon has also filed race-discrimination charges against Oxford with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC). The company allowed whites on the layoff list to bump into new jobs, while Dixon and other Black workers were required to take "qualifying tests" for other jobs in the plant.

Other militant unionists are also being targeted by companies in the Atlanta area.

Two journeymen electricians, members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, are currently fighting the Georgia Power Co., which fired them for refusing to work in the unsafe Plant Hatch nuclear generating station.

The electricians, who witnessed lax and unenforced safety measures during a previous six-week stint in the nuclear plant, were fired despite Georgia Power's claim that "no one is forced to work at Plant Hatch" and a union contract provision guaranteeing the right to refuse unsafe work.

Ala. Blacks protest killing

BY ANDY ROSE

BESSEMER, Ala. — More than 500 angry Black people marched on City Hall and the police headquarters here July 25 to demand justice for Henry Ware and an end to police brutality.

Ware, an unarmed Black youth who had committed no crime, was shot to death July 3 by Bessemer police Sergeant Billy Ray Smith. He was the most recent victim in a long series of shootings, beatings, and torture of Blacks by police in this industrial suburb of Birmingham.

"We are here to say this madness must stop," said Rev. Abraham Woods Jr., Birmingham head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

The ranks of the demonstration swelled as it passed through residential and business areas of town. Marchers sang, "Which side are you on" and "We shall overcome" and chanted "fired up, won't take it no more!"

Police violence here comes in the context of devastating plant shutdowns and the 24 percent official unemployment rate. Although the population is majority Black, Bessemer has no Black elected officials.

Woods noted that Birmingham civil rights leaders have been called "outsiders" for protesting the Bessemer shooting. "We are insiders because we are brothers and sisters," Woods replied. "The problems of one community are problems of us all. We are united for justice."

In fact the march was cosponsored by Black churches and community groups in Bessemer itself.

The crowd thundered its approval, with fists in the air, when Woods declared, "it may take closing up everything in Bessemer, but we will see that justice is done!"

William Colston of Operation Unity, a Bessemer community organization, told

the rally his group is now demanding that killer cop Smith be fired.

When facts about the killing of Ware began to emerge, Bessemer officials claimed Smith had been suspended — but with pay. Outrage has grown as it was revealed recently that Smith was not suspended, with or without pay, or disciplined in any way, shape, or form.

Evidence on the killing was due to go before a grand jury the day after the march here. But now Bessemer District Attorney Pete Short says he may not be ready to present the case.

There is little confidence among Bessemer Blacks that official investigations will bring out the truth. Civil rights leaders have gone to the last two meetings of the Bessemer City Commission to demand that police radio recordings from the night Ware was killed be made public.

Bessemer authorities refused, saying the tapes are for "law enforcement officials only." They say the tapes are now in the hands of the FBI.

Martin Boyers, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Alabama, joined the march. Protesters gave a warm response to a statement by Boyers calling for Smith to be prosecuted for murder and urging an independent investigation by Black community groups.

Boyers told the *Militant* that although his is the only campaign to issue a public statement on the killing, the Democrats have made their own position clear. Bill Baxley, Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor and a close political ally of front-running gubernatorial candidate George Wallace, is attorney for Smith.

Sentiment is high here for continued action.

Many have raised the idea of a business boycott. One man marching with a *Militant* in his back pocket said, "What they should do is shut all these places down. Then we wouldn't have this any more."



Militant
Maceo Dixon (right), candidate for governor of Georgia, talks with co-worker at Atlanta campaign office.

An interview with Iran's ambassador to the UN

Since the overthrow of the shah in 1979, the Iranian revolution has been subjected to continual slander and falsification by the U.S. media and government. Only rarely have representatives of the Iranian government been able to present their point of view to the American people.

When Iran recently moved troops into Iraq in an effort to end the two-year war against the revolution, a new spate of anti-Iranian articles appeared in the U.S. capitalist media.

Militant correspondent Suzanne Haig interviewed Dr. Said Rajaie-Khorassani, the Iranian ambassador to the United Nations, on July 19. The following are excerpts from the interview presenting his view on the war in Lebanon and the attacks on the Iranian revolution.

Question. Your government is the only one in the Middle East that has given military support to the current struggle of the Palestinian people in Lebanon. How do you view that fight?

Answer. In the name of God, the compassionate and merciful. We support the Palestinians in the military sense, yes. We are the only ones. Probably in the moral and political sense other countries are offering support to the Palestinians. But military support probably counts more.

I believe that it is not only the Islamic Republic of Iran and the people of Iran that support the Palestinians. I believe that many Moslem people all over the world will not hesitate to join the defensive war against Zionist oppression if they are given the chance, if the ruling parties, the governments make the necessary provisions for people to join the Palestinians.

Economic dependence

All Moslems of the area believe that the Zionist hegemony in the Moslem world has resulted in very grave socio-political shortcomings and effects to the area.

Western consumer goods, norms, and manners of conduct which are inherently foreign to us — which are not congenial with our mode of life — are being introduced to us. And with these norms, the people have become accustomed to Western ways of life — familiar with consuming Western goods. It has ultimately resulted in economic dependence.

It has also divided the united front of the Moslems, which has naturally resulted in very grave political consequences. We have become so many small groups of countries, sheikdoms, kingdoms of Moslems.

If we were one nation, we would not suffer so much damage, so many losses and humiliation due to the cultural, political, and economic invasion and intervention by imperialist forces.

In this sense, the issue of Palestine is not simply a national issue. It is not an issue which is primarily a Palestinian problem. It is our own problem. It is our own common cause. We have as much concern for their cause as they themselves have.

Q. What connection do you make between the Iranian revolution and the Palestinian struggle?

A. Our revolution is not a national revolution. It is a very fundamental, cultural, religious, spiritual revolution, which has social-political implications. The social-political aspect of the revolution is the outcome of the more fundamental inward change in the people.

A verse from the Holy Koran says that God does not change anything in

the people unless they first change themselves.

We decided to change ourselves. And, therefore, the social-political aspects of the revolution came out.

Since we have the same motive and the same cause and aspirations as our Palestinian brothers, it is quite natural to see that the two revolutions — the Palestinian revolution and the Islamic revolution in Iran — will become one and united in the very near future.

The imperialist forces in the area are now doing their best in order to prevent this unity, in order to keep things under control. To prevent this unity, they are trying to pacify the Palestinians in Lebanon.

Iran-Iraq war

Q. You have been engaged in a war with Iraq for the last two years since Iraqi forces invaded your country. Why did the invasion come about?

A. The Iraqi regime, under the instigation of the United States, launched its war of aggression against us.

From our point of view, the Iraqi aggression is not independent of other internal problems created for our revolution by the agents of the United States inside Iran.

The invasion served no one but the Zionist regime, which is the strongest imperialist base in the area, and in the long run, the interests of the United States.

The United States, as everybody has heard on the TV screen in the U.S., is afraid of losing its interests in the area.

The Islamic revolution is going to awaken and has already awakened the indigenous population, the indigenous Moslems.

The people have a very firm revival of interest in the particularly revolutionary aspects of Islam, and this is what the United States wants to control.

So to control this spread of the revolution, to control this revival of religious, social-political awareness, they thought that it was better for them to smother our revolution, or at least keep it within the limitation of the national boundaries of Iran.

I believe that their approach is completely wrong, because the echoes of the revolution are not under our control. The people of the area are Moslem, and sooner or later they will raise their voices and cut the hands of imperialism in the area. And we cannot be blamed for what we are a part of.

Q. Iran is accused by the U.S. government of conspiring to foment revolution in other parts of the world.

A. U.S. imperialism makes this charge all over the world. That's what they do to the people of Nicaragua, a small nation that is called dangerous to the interests of the United States.

This is the nature of imperialism. It is not simply confined to the United States. It is a global network, headed by the United States.

'We have to defend ourselves'

Q. The U.S. government has continued its open military aggression against the Iranian revolution. Since you sent troops into Iraq, they are warning that they may bring the sixth fleet into the area. What is your response to this?

A. Our answer is that we have to defend ourselves. We shall defend our revolution without any hesitation, no matter how powerful and how great the enemy is.

We believe that the United States, by getting involved in this sort of direct military maneuvering against us, is de-



Militant/Suzanne Haig

Dr. Said Rajaie-Khorassani, Iranian ambassador to the UN

stroying its base in the area by its own hands.

The more the indigenous population understands the satanic nature of the United States, the nearer we are to the ultimate objective, which is the eradication of the imperialist base in the area.

The authorities of the United States must keep in mind that we are not going to retreat, to surrender to intimidation.

Now the Americans are trying through their propaganda to make it seem they have an entirely different foreign policy. They are trying to look pro-Arab. They claim to be against us because they are in favor of the Arabs. This of course is nonsense.

They are adopting these pro-Arab statements in the hopes that the hatred of the indigenous Moslem population of the Middle East toward the United States will be reduced.

I do not think that our struggle, the common struggle of the people of the Middle East against imperialism and against Zionism, will be slowed down. Nor will the imperialist agents and forces gain anything through throwing out such pro-Arab slogans, because the Arab people have learned enough about the United States from their past experience.

Goals in war

Q. What are your goals in the war with Iraq?

A. We have no territorial ambitions in Iraq.

All that we want is to obtain the right of the Iranian people to peace and tranquility, and we want an end to the war situation.

Our conditions remain the same. We want the repatriation of the Iraqi subjects who have been expelled from Iraq. We want reparations for the war damage. We want the withdrawal of all troops from our territories. And we want the condemnation of the Iraqi government authorities.

Now if the international bodies are not going to condemn this man [Iraqi President Saddam Hussein] and his clique for perpetrating acts of aggression against us, then we have to defend the rights of our own people and go capture him and put him on trial in a just tribunal. Someone else should do it — international organs — but if they cannot take charge of their responsibilities, then we are ready to.

But we are not imperialist. We are not expansionist. We have enough land. We consider the rest of the people in the area as our brothers and sisters.

The U.S. always says that it is the interests of the United States and their friendly governments which are in danger.

We believe that the interests of the local people, the people of the area, should come first, and not the interests of the United States. The people must decide

on their future, on their mode of life, on their foreign policy.

Attacks on civilians

Q. What is the state of the war with Iraq right now?

A. The Iraqis have claimed that they withdrew their forces completely, but in fact they have continued the aggression.

First of all, the Iraqi troops have been "withdrawing" for 15 months.

The second thing is that some very important strategic points in the Iranian provinces of Ilam and Bahktaran are still under the occupation of Iraqi forces. When we say this, they deny it, claiming that they are in their own land, that those strategic hills belong to them. But we know what belongs to us and what belongs to them.

Last Friday, the Iraqis bombarded a congregation of prayer in the city of Hamadan, which is very far from the battlefield, killing more than 90 people and injuring some 600.

They did the same in Ilam. Exactly like the Israelis.

They always attack the civilian quarters everywhere, exactly like the Zionists, and they want to destroy the revolutionary movements and revolutionary peoples, militant people of the area, in favor of the imperialist forces.

What we have told all the international bodies is this: We have soldiers, volunteers, as young as 13 and as old as 85. When they go and fight, it is understandable if the enemy attacks them, because it is their own choice to join the battle. They decided to go either to kill or to get killed.

But when the Iraqis bombard the congregation at prayer, the innocent people, the unarmed people — this is a crime. We believe it must be recorded in modern history. They must be put on trial and punished.

Our enemies know that they might be able to kill many of us, but they cannot conquer us, because the actual movement is no longer ours. It belongs to the whole Moslem world, and it will keep its momentum independent of what happens to us. Our movement goes on because it represents a new epoch in history.

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The Iranian revolution and the Mujahedeen: a reply to two readers

Where does the Iranian revolution stand today? What is the character of the People's Mujahedeen Organization? What can working people in the United States do to help the advance of the Iranian revolution? These and other questions have been raised by letters critical of the *Militant's* coverage on Iran. Below are two such letters and a reply.

Dear Editor:

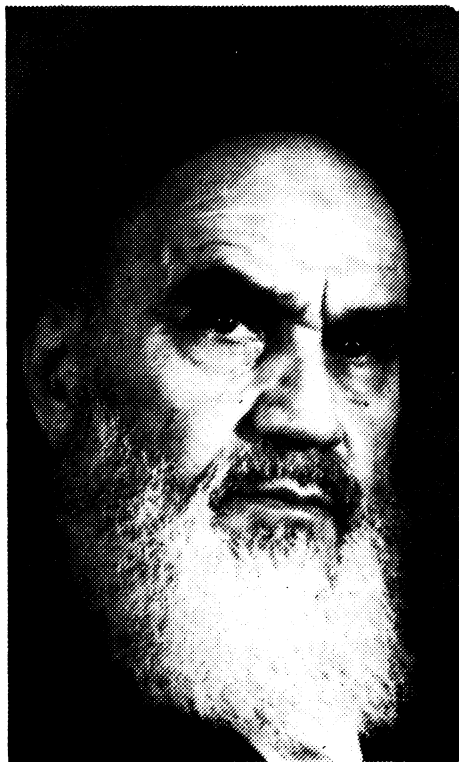
In the July 9 issue of the *Militant*, Nelson González, a staff writer for the *Militant*, wrote a vicious attack on the Organization of Peoples Mujahedin (OPM) which ought to be answered in detail. In the space available to me, I want to take up a few of its most glaring faults.

The private war between the OPM and the Islamic Republic was begun by the latter, in a series of brutal attacks on the OPM, its most formidable rival on the left. The Islamic Republic used the OPM's criminal response as an opportunity to unleash a bloody repression in Iran by no means directed only against armed groups like OPM. People were routinely executed for possessing a leaflet or a book. The scope of the killing far surpassed what the shah carried out, except in the last year of his reign.

Recently, Khomeini told a progovernment paramilitary tribal group that any secular democrat must be killed. According to the Islamic Republic's own figures, it executed as many people last year as every other country in the world combined! Mr. González writes: "The only thing that has died in Iran has been the revolutionary perspective of some middle class elements such as the Mujahedeen." If only he were right!

I missed the OPM's July 12 contingent, but in the leaflet they distributed, on Lebanon, they promise to send everyone they have to fight in Lebanon, if the Islamic Republic would let them go. Whatever one may think of such a promise, it is a far cry from Mr. González's claim that they are trying to take the focus off of imperialism.

I did see the "prorevolution" Iranian contingent. They were members and sympathizers of the Pro-Moscow, pro-Khomeini Tudeh Party. When they chanted "Today Iran, tomorrow El Salvador" bystanders wondered what they were talking about. After all, in both countries, a ruthless repression is launched against all dissent.



Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini: one of CIA's prime targets.

Up to one or even two years after the Iranian revolution, the chant "Today Iran, tomorrow Palestine" had been very popular among supporters of the Palestinian struggle. They do not take it up any more. They much prefer the example of Nicaragua.

Sincerely,
Evan Siegel

This is in reply to your article attacking the Iranian Mujahedeen in the July 9 *Militant*. First off, contrary to the opinion of the Socialist Workers Party, being opposed to the murderous Khomeini regime is not the same as being opposed to the Iranian revolution. Being opposed to Khomeini means being opposed to the murder of children, the attack on women's rights, and union busting.

The *Militant* expresses shock that the Mujahedeen compares Khomeini to Hitler. I think it's a valid comparison. Hitler, in power, attacked the left, carried out mass executions, and terrorized the masses through an armed gang of thugs ("Storm Troopers"). Khomeini, in power, attacks the left, carries out mass executions, and terrorizes the masses through an armed gang of thugs, the so-called "Revolutionary Guards."

You are correct to label the Mujahedeen as popular frontist. I agree that blocing with Bani Sadr is a mistake. There are, however, worse crimes than popular frontism, such as mass torture and executions, as exemplified by the Khomeini regime. By supporting the Iranian dictatorship, the SWP discredits any claim it makes, that it favors a democratic Socialist revolution in the United States.

Kenneth Morgan
Price, Utah

A reply by David Frankel

Both Evan Siegel and Kenneth Morgan strongly object to the July 9 article by *Militant* staffwriter Nelson González on the People's Mujahedeen Organization of Iran.

Morgan, who compares the situation in Iran today to Hitler's Germany, clearly thinks that the Iranian revolution is dead, destroyed by "the murderous Khomeini regime."

Siegel says things are worse now than during most of the shah's reign, and he lumps together the Iranian government and the rightist junta in El Salvador.

Both Siegel and Morgan see the Mujahedeen as a basically progressive force engaged in a struggle for democracy. They criticize the Mujahedeen for errors of strategy and tactics, but as Siegel puts it, the Mujahedeen are the Iranian government's "most formidable rival on the left."

This picture of what is going on in Iran today is consistent with the way things are being presented in the big-business media, but it is completely inaccurate.

The starting point

The starting point for understanding what is happening in Iran is that a revolution has taken place there, the greatest mass upheaval in the history of the Middle East.

By smashing the shah's U.S.-imposed monarchy, the Iranian masses placed themselves in a qualitatively better position to resist imperialist oppression of

their country and to fight for their demands. They organized workers committees in the factories and peasants committees in the countryside; they drove U.S. military bases and advisers out of their country; and the new government that they elected nationalized imperialist holdings and broke diplomatic relations and trade ties with Israel and South Africa.

These advances in the class struggle have led to a sharp confrontation between the Iranian revolution and all of the reactionary forces in the region — beginning with U.S. imperialism.

Iran has faced military attacks from Washington, an imperialist economic blockade, and a two-year-long war of aggression carried out by the Iraqi dictatorship. The Iraqi aggression has been backed by arms from the United States, France, and Britain, as well as by money, arms, and even some troops from Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt, Kuwait, and other reactionary Arab regimes.

Iran-Iraq war

Now that the Iranians are moving to finally bring the war with Iraq to an end, Washington is again threatening direct military intervention against Iran out of fear that revolution may be unleashed in Iraq, and U.S. imperialist interests and allies in the whole region jeopardized. That is why Washington proposed joint military maneuvers with Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf monarchies on July 16.

But the *Militant's* critics ignore the conflict between imperialism and the Iranian revolution. For Siegel and Morgan, the central enemy is not Washington but Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, despite the fact that Washington has made no secret of its determination to see Khomeini overthrown.

It is true that the Iranian government is a capitalist government. It is true that it carries out repression against the workers and oppressed nationalities, against left-wing groups, and others. But if the Khomeini government had crushed the mass movement in Iran, if repression really were worse today than under the shah, *U.S. imperialism would be supporting the Iranian government instead of trying to overthrow it.*

Far from a demoralized and demobilized mass movement, there have been huge demonstrations in Iran supporting the fight against Iraqi aggression and the struggle of the Palestinian people against the Zionist oppressors.

One has only to look at the inspiring performance of the Iranian soldiers and revolutionary guards in defending the revolution against the Iraqi invasion to see that the Iranian masses believe that they have gained something worth fighting for.

Nelson González made this point in the *Militant*, saying: "The Iranian revolution is not dead. The only thing that has died in Iran has been the revolutionary perspective of some middle-class elements such as the Mujahedeen."

Siegel leaves out the first line of this statement, distorting its meaning to make it sound as if González is denying that executions have taken place.

What is the Mujahedeen?

Not much better is Siegel's statement that "the private war between the OPM and the Islamic Republic was begun by the latter," as if it were a question of who pushed who first, like in a schoolyard brawl.

Left out of this account of a "private war" is the fact that Iran was already in the midst of a very public war against



Mujahedeen leader Massoud Rajavi: ally of Iranian masses?

the imperialist destabilization campaign and the invading Iraqi army.

This brings us to the character of the Mujahedeen. The Mujahedeen originated as an antimonarchist group based mainly among middle-class youth. They took part in the struggle against the shah and in the insurrection that finally brought down the monarchy.

But the Mujahedeen's class composition and explicitly anti-Marxist program left it rudderless in the midst of the revolution. It became more and more disillusioned with the Khomeini government, but it did not look to the workers and peasants as the force that could advance the revolution. Instead, it looked to dissenting factions within the government. This led it into a bloc with Iranian President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr.

With the ouster of Bani-Sadr in June 1981, the Mujahedeen embarked on an assassination campaign against the leaders of the Iranian government. The decision to undertake this terrorist campaign was in keeping with the Mujahedeen's rightward evolution. Since the Mujahedeen did not look to the toiling masses, and since those they looked to inside the Iranian government had lost the struggle for power, they were drawn more and more into the imperialist orbit.

Boost for imperialists

At issue here is not whether individual acts of terror, which leave the masses as spectators, are a wrong strategy. The problem with the Mujahedeen is not one of ultraleftism or class collaboration, as we will see later.

What the Mujahedeen did was to launch a campaign to overthrow the Iranian government — not in a context in which the masses were struggling to do this, but in a context in which the government was under attack by U.S. imperialism and various pro-shah forces. The armed attacks carried out by the Mujahedeen gave a big boost to the imperialist destabilization campaign against Iran. It gave left cover to the counterrevolutionary drive.

The Mujahedeen has taken responsibility for many terrorist actions, hailed many others, and condemned absolutely none.

Far from seeing the Mujahedeen as a progressive alternative to the existing government, or as defenders — even misguided ones — of their rights, the Iranian workers and peasants have decisively repudiated them. They view the Mujahedeen campaign as part of the imperialist drive to bring down the government and drown their revolution in blood, and correctly so.

When a devastating explosion destroyed the office of the prime minister in August 1981, in an attack hailed by the Mujahedeen, more than a million



Iranian revolutionary guards. Kenneth Morgan calls them 'storm troopers,' but their inspiring role in war with Iraq is proof that revolution is alive and masses are ready to fight to defend their gains.

people poured into the streets of Tehran chanting slogans against U.S. imperialism.

The judgment of the Iranian toilers has been confirmed by the subsequent political evolution of the Mujahedeen. In a move calculated to appeal to Washington, Mujahedeen leader Massoud Rajavi has attacked what he calls Khomeini's "reactionary policies of exporting the revolution." Bani-Sadr, now allied to the Mujahedeen in the exile National Council of Resistance, says that Iran should "turn to the West for help in solving its economic problems."

The Mujahedeen have also appealed to the imperialists to tighten the economic boycott of Iran. A February 8 communique from Rajavi's Paris office noted that "officials of Khomeini's regime are now making efforts throughout the world to acquire credit," and warned that "granting Khomeini's regime any credit . . . is considered a move specifically against the people of Iran."

Columnist William Safire, formerly an aide in the Nixon White House, has urged U.S. support for the Mujahedeen "on the ramparts of the counterrevolution," while the British magazine *8 Days* reported January 23:

"US sources say Washington, Baghdad, and Riyadh would all like to see Abol Hassan Bani Sadr restored to power in Tehran, and US officials have had substantial contact with the former Iranian president and his entourage in Paris."

No, the Mujahedeen are not the Iranian government's "formidable rival on the left," as Siegel would have it. They have become part of the imperialist counterrevolution, regardless of the intentions of individual members of the Mujahedeen who may believe they are trying to advance the Iranian revolution, Mujahedeen rhetoric about democracy, women's rights, and the rights of the oppressed nationalities is simply part of their operation to draw liberals and sections of the radical movement behind their campaign to overthrow the Iranian government.

A popular front?

Nor are the Mujahedeen "popular frontists" who have made a "mistake" in forming their bloc with Bani-Sadr, as Morgan asserts. The Mujahedeen is not a working-class party; the National Council of Resistance is not a bloc of reformist workers parties and capitalist forces; and the crime of the Mujahedeen and Bani-Sadr is not one of throwing up class-collaborationist obstacles to the revolutionary mobilization of the workers and peasants.

The crime of the Mujahedeen is that they have become one front in the imperialist-orchestrated effort to overturn what the Iranian workers and peasants

have won over the past three years. As the massive demonstrations against terrorist attacks have shown, the overthrow of the Khomeini government could not be carried out short of a blood-bath against the Iranian workers.

The problem is not one of class collaboration in the workers movement, but of "democratic cover" in the counterrevolutionary movement.

Morgan's comparison of Khomeini and Hitler is undoubtedly the low point of his letter. He compares the government of imperialist Germany under fascism with the government of an oppressed semicolonial country that came to power through a massive popular revolution and that is the target of an unrelenting imperialist campaign aimed at overthrowing it!

Morgan calls the revolutionary guards in Iran "an armed gang of thugs," and compares them to Hitler's Storm Troopers. But the revolutionary guards are the same young people who faced the shah's massive military machine with only their bare hands, who brought down the monarchy and tore open the prisons, who mobilized in their millions against American imperialism, and who amazed the military experts around the world by driving the Iraqi invaders out of Iran. They are the future of the Iranian revolution.

Mujahedeen and U.S. politics

Drawing out the political evolution of the Mujahedeen in relation to the Iranian revolution also helps us to get a better understanding of their role in American politics. Interestingly enough, neither Siegel nor Morgan ever really take up this question, although it was the main point of González's article.

González, let us recall, began by saying: "On June 12 one million people came out in a massive demonstration repudiating the Reagan administration's war policies."

Yet the contingent organized by the Mujahedeen on the June 12 march "sought to take the focus off U.S. imperialism and its war policies."

No signs were carried by the Mujahedeen demanding that Washington keep its hands off Cuba and Nicaragua, that it get its "advisers" out of El Salvador, that it halt its aid to Israel, or that it dismantle U.S. military bases in the Middle East.

Nor did the Mujahedeen carry any signs opposing the U.S. nuclear buildup, or calling for an end to U.S. spending on weapons of mass destruction.

Instead, they carried banners saying "Down with Khomeini's Tyranny," and "Support the National Council of Resistance."

As González explained, "This contingent focused its participation in the march on attacking the Iranian revolution. . . .

"Their literature presented one common analysis: since the shah was overthrown and the Ayatollah Khomeini took power, everything has gotten worse in Iran."

Thus, the Mujahedeen carried a reactionary, pro-war political line into the June 12 demonstration. Instead of attacking U.S. imperialism, they introduced propaganda supporting one of Washington's prime objectives in the Middle East — the overthrow of the current Iranian government.

The line of the Mujahedeen, González explained, "is to divert antiwar forces from building a movement clearly directed at the crimes of U.S. imperialism."

A good line on Lebanon?

Kenneth Morgan makes no attempt to answer González on this, or to claim the Mujahedeen contingent was anti-imperialist.

Evan Siegel tries to gloss over the facts. He says that "in the leaflet [the Mujahedeen] distributed, on Lebanon, they promised to send everyone they have to fight in Lebanon, if the Islamic Republic would let them go."

But the focus of the leaflet that Siegel refers to, like the other literature distributed by the Mujahedeen at the June 12 demonstration, was not against the Zionist invasion of Lebanon, nor against Washington's role, which is never mentioned. It is against the Iranian government.

The text of the leaflet says that the Israeli attack "to a large extent is specifically the result of Khomeini's anti-Iranian and anti-Palestinian policies over the past three years as well as his common interests with Israel."

In other words, it blames Khomeini for Begin's invasion of Lebanon! This is the leaflet that, according to Siegel, "is a far cry from Mr. González's claim that [the Mujahedeen] are trying to take the focus off of imperialism."

Siegel would have a hard time explaining how Iran's halting of oil shipments to Israel, its turning the Israeli embassy into an embassy for the Palestine Liberation Organization, its organization of mass demonstrations in solidarity with the Palestinian fighters in Lebanon, and its sending of thousands of volunteers to fight alongside the PLO are "anti-Palestinian policies."

Siegel tells us that supporters of the Palestinian struggle are no longer inspired by the Iranian revolution. That appears to be true for Siegel, but it is hard to imagine that Palestinian fighters in Lebanon have not been inspired by the arrival of thousands of Iranian volunteers to join their struggle.

The voices in the Arab world that have joined in the imperialist hue and cry against the Iranian government are

not those of the Palestinians and other Arab peoples, but those of King Khalid in Saudi Arabia, King Hussein of Jordan, President Mubarak of Egypt, and others who have supported the Iraqi dictatorship's war against Iran.

June 12 contingents

Siegel also attacks an Iranian contingent on the June 12 march because it chanted "Today Iran, tomorrow El Salvador." Regardless of what organization those Iranians might belong to, what they did on the June 12 march was completely correct. They linked the defense of the Iranian revolution with the defense of the Salvadoran revolution. They turned their fire against the U.S. war drive.

Unlike the Mujahedeen, the prorevolution contingent also carried large banners demanding that Israeli troops get out of Lebanon and calling for a halt to U.S. aid to Israel.

(It should be pointed out that the Iranian government has also called for support to the struggle of the Salvadoran workers and peasants and spoken out in defense of the Nicaraguan revolution.)

In conclusion, one other point should be mentioned. Morgan is confused about the attitude of the Socialist Workers Party toward the Khomeini government. He states that the SWP supports the Iranian government.

What the SWP supports in Iran is the struggle of the workers and peasants to advance their class interests, including the establishment of their own government on the road to the socialist transformation of society.

The SWP opposes the attacks by the present capitalist government in Iran on the rights of women, the oppressed nationalities, and the working class. But we, like the Iranian toilers, defend that government against attacks by imperialism and other forces allied to it.

The SWP understands — as do the Iranian workers and peasants — that the fight to defend and extend democratic rights can only be carried out effectively as part of the fight to advance the struggle against imperialism.

The main enemy of democratic rights in Iran, and the main enemy of the socialist revolution in Iran, is U.S. imperialism. Failure to understand this can easily lead to making a bloc with "democratic" imperialism, as we have seen in the case of the Mujahedeen — a bloc that places its members on the opposite side of the barricades from the workers and peasants.

Here in the United States, the duty of revolutionists is above all to stand in implacable opposition to the aggressive designs of our imperialist rulers. That is the best way that we can help the Iranian revolution. And it is also the only way to advance the socialist revolution right here at home.

For Further Reading

Imperialism vs. the Iranian Revolution

By Janice Lynn and David Frankel, 39 pp.
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St.,
New York, N.Y. 10014. \$1.70 includes handling and postage.

Polish Solidarity reorganizes, prepares for new battles

Activists discuss next moves in fight against martial law

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Commenting on a series of massive workers' demonstrations and strikes that swept Poland in May and June, the interior minister, Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, called it a "trial of strength" between the government and the Solidarity union movement. It was, he added, just one of "many which are yet to come."

Seven months since the imposition of martial law on Dec. 13, 1981, and two years after the massive July-August 1980 strike wave that gave rise to Solidarity, it is clear that Poland's governing bureaucracy has failed to achieve its basic goal: the destruction of the Polish workers' movement, represented by the 10-million-member Solidarity.

Despite rosy claims that things are getting back to "normal," the governing Military Council of National Salvation (WRON) is now confronted by a growing — and increasingly better organized — movement against martial law.

Massive resistance

The scope of this active opposition is truly massive.

Large strikes and demonstrations have been held in virtually every part of the country. On May Day, for example, workers' marches and rallies in support of Solidarity and in opposition to the WRON were held in some 20 cities and towns, according to detailed reports in the union's news bulletins and periodicals. More than 100,000 turned out in Warsaw and Gdansk alone.

Clandestinely organized Solidarity committees now exist in most major factories and in many residential areas, especially in the large workers' housing projects. In some areas regional coordinating bodies have been set up to link the activities of these many individual committees. A national coordinating committee, composed of Solidarity leaders from four of the strongest regions, has also been set up to provide some countrywide coordination.

Altogether, there are now some 1,700 periodicals being published by union committees and groups of students, intellectuals, and political activists. Some, like *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, a weekly in the Warsaw (Mazowsze) region, are published in tens of thousands of copies and have elaborate distribution networks.

In mid-April, union militants launched their first clandestine radio station in Warsaw, called Radio Solidarity. Although it was later forced to shut down because of arrests and police seizure of the main transmitter, several other stations were set up, including in Gdansk and Poznan.

Through the pages of the union's numerous bulletins, a lively discussion is now under way on the movement's strategy and tactics. This reflects the growing confidence of Solidarity activists; they are discussing not only how to survive under the difficult conditions of martial law, but how best to move forward to win their basic objectives.

Another sign of their confidence is the fact that discussions are now under way about organizing a national general strike to force the regime to end martial law, free the thousands of imprisoned political and union activists, and lift the restrictions on Solidarity's activities.

The regime's basic problem is that it is confronted by a large, heavily industrialized working class that has just gone through a massive revolutionary upheaval, the largest since the abolition of capitalism in Poland following World War II.

The nearly one and a half years between the July-August 1980 strike wave and the December 1981 crackdown greatly radicalized Poland's working class, along with other social layers like the farmers, students, and intellectuals. As never before, they became united in a common struggle against the bureaucracy, which has used repressive methods against the working class to preserve its power and material privileges.

The authorities, seeking to justify their opposition to this massive workers' movement, often branded the Solidarity leadership as "anti-socialist."

But as Lech Walesa, a central leader of the union, pointed out in the very first negotiations between the Lenin Shipyard strikers and the government in August 1980, "We are not against the socialist system. We do not want to upset the principle of the social ownership of the means of production — we think that our factories belong to the Polish people. But we demand that the people be the genuine managers of the factories and the country."

That is what Solidarity fought for in the following months. And that is the vision that inspired its 10 million members. During the course of that revolutionary upsurge, Poland's working people got a taste of their real social power and became more conscious than ever before of the bureaucracy's essentially parasitic nature. They came to realize that only a democratically organized system, governed by the workers themselves, could move Polish society forward.

That consciousness was one of the biggest gains of Solidarity. And it was something the imposition of martial law could not erase.

"With bayonets one can spread fear, terror, and death and successfully strike blows against an unarmed people," prominent political activist Adam Michnik wrote in an essay smuggled out of his place of detention. But, "with bayonets one cannot eradicate 15 months of freedom from a people's memory."

Round one for Jaruzelski

When Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski declared martial law on December 13, Solidarity was taken off guard. As Michnik pointed out, "Almost no one believed that Polish soldiers could be successfully used to attack Polish workers."

This was not just the view of the Solidarity leadership, but of a large part of its membership as well. A Solidarity-conducted poll among union members in the Warsaw region just six weeks before the declaration of martial law found that some 68 percent expressed confidence in the army (compared to 7 percent for the ruling Polish United Workers Party).

Despite the unexpectedness of Jaruzelski's crackdown, workers throughout the country responded with spontaneous protest strikes. Because of the severing of most communications links, the extent of these strikes was not clear at the time. Later Solidarity documents estimated that some 80 percent of all enterprises were affected to one extent or another.

But with their leaders in prison, with no way to communicate with one another, and without any preparation to defend themselves, the workers were unable to prevent the authorities from breaking this strike wave.

The WRON, for the most part, hesitated to use regular army troops against the workers. Instead, it deployed large units of the 80,000-member paramilitary police, the ZOMO, who have a reputation for brutality. The ZOMO were concentrated against key factories, a few at a time, and thus broke the strikes. In most cases the workers did not attempt to physically resist. But in a few, as in the Wujek coal mine in Silesia, they fought back with makeshift weapons. The government admits that 17 people were killed in the first weeks of martial law.

The fact that the authorities were afraid to unleash a massive bloodbath (as they did during the 1970 strikes) was an important factor in the speed with which the workers' movement has subsequently been able to reorganize itself.

In an interview in the May 19 issue of the underground Solidarity weekly *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, Bogdan Lis, a key union leader in Gdansk, noted, "The ZOMO won this first battle. . . . But Polish society's backbone has not been broken. There were few shootings, not many deaths, and so — despite the psychological shock — the people survived and were able to recover."

The imposition of martial law was nevertheless a major setback for the workers' movement. Many democratic rights were suspended, strikes were outlawed, Solidarity's activities were banned, and thousands of union militants — including the bulk of Solidarity's regional and national leaderships — were hauled off to detention centers.

Today, several thousand remain in internment camps or are awaiting trial; another 2,000 have already been tried by martial-law courts and sentenced to prison terms.

'Normalization' fails

On the basis of this blow against the workers' movement, the bureaucracy attempted to stabilize its rule, an effort known in Poland as "normalization."

By and large, it has failed.

One factor in this has been the continued worsening of the country's severe economic crisis.

In the early 1970s, the government



"Solidarity was, is, and will be" — the sentiment of Polish workers who are determined to discuss the next steps forward, many since martial law was imposed. Above in Warsaw, reads union paper "Tygodnik Mazowsze" mass support for Solidarity was clear last year. Above (far right) is May 3 rally in

had embarked on a massive industrial expansion program, financed by huge loans from U.S. and West European banks and governments and relying on expanded trade with capitalist countries. The onset of the world capitalist economic crisis consequently had severe repercussions within Poland, which were worsened by the bureaucracy's gross economic mismanagement and its refusal to allow workers any say in the making of economic planning decisions.

With a staggering foreign debt of \$27 billion and mounting repayment obligations, Poland has been unable to import the raw materials and spare parts needed to keep industry going. In June, the Central Statistical Office reported that industrial production for the first five months of 1982 was 9 percent less than during the same period of 1981. Shortages of many basic consumer goods are still widespread.

Not only has the WRON been unable to give any real economic concessions to the workers in an attempt to win a degree of acquiescence to its rule, but circumstances impelled it to begin pushing through stringent austerity measures.

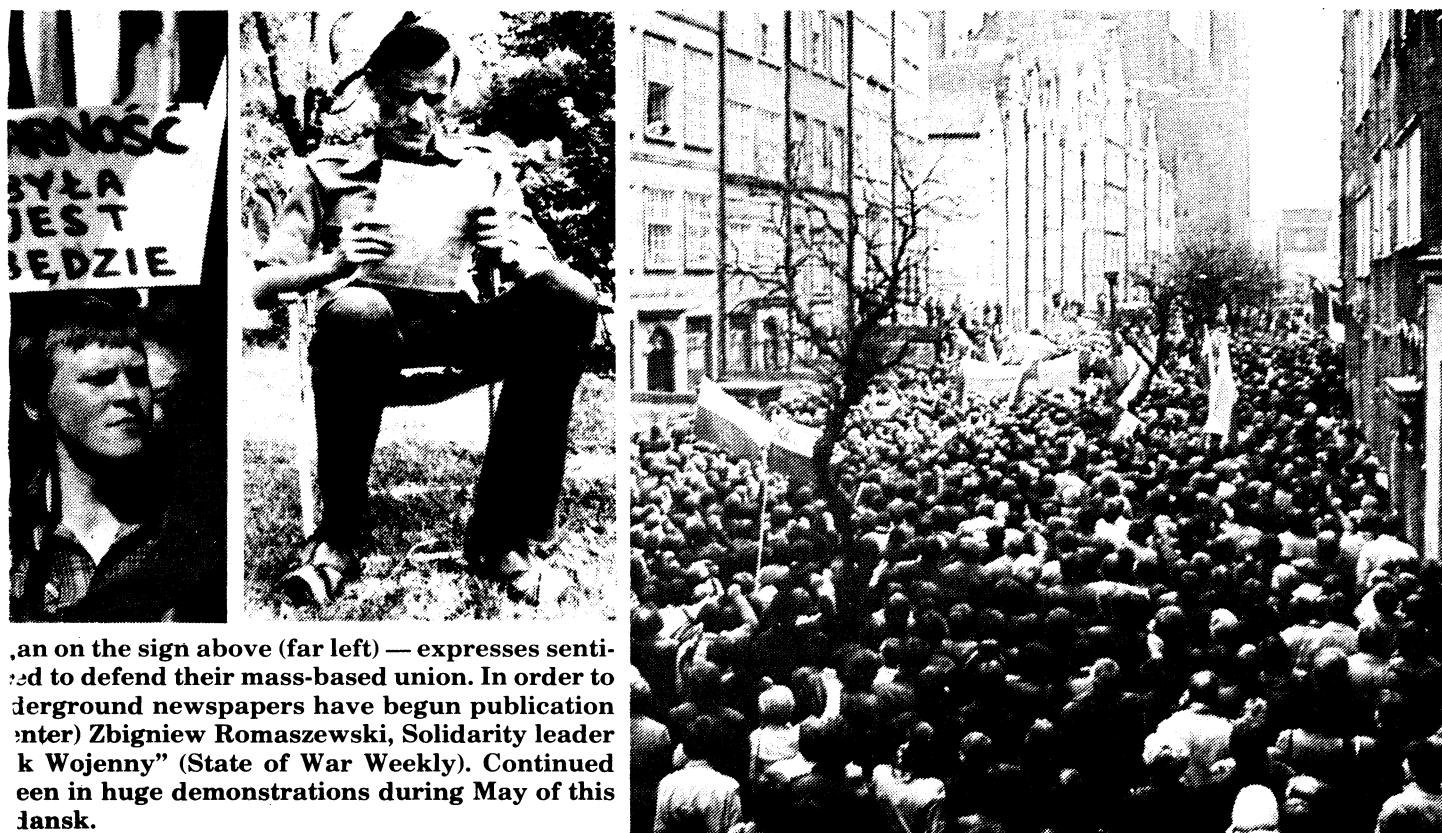
In February, the prices of many common food items were raised by 200 to 400 percent. While unemployment has begun to appear, the workweek has at the same time been extended to six days (one of the economic gains the workers had won last year was to have every oth-

POLAND Workers in Revolt



By Dave Frankel,
DeAnn Rathbun,
and Ernest Harsch

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



an on the sign above (far left) — expresses sentiment to defend their mass-based union. In order to underground newspapers have begun publication (center) Zbigniew Romaszewski, Solidarity leader "k Wojenny" (State of War Weekly). Continued seen in huge demonstrations during May of this Gdansk.

Saturday off). The activities of the descent workers councils that had been set up in many large factories before the imposition of martial law have been suspended, enabling the managers to arbitrarily alter work rules.

Regime's 'union' flops

Under these circumstances, the regime's initial attempts to set up a new "independent" trade union totally flopped. Because of the massive support for Solidarity on the shop floor, the authorities could not find one Solidarity leader of any significance who was willing to lend some credence to this scheme.

Frustrated in their efforts to split the union, the authorities have threatened to outlaw Solidarity outright. But so far they have hesitated to do so out of concern over the workers' reaction to such a move.

The WRON has, however, banned several other groups that were allied to Solidarity, including the Independent Student Association (NZS) and the Polish Journalists Association (SDP). Also outlawed were the National Federation of Self-management (KSF) and various regional bodies that had been set up in 1981 to coordinate the activities of the factory-based workers councils.

The gulf between the working population and the government (which still aims to speak in the name of the workers) has widened considerably. The political authority of the Polish United Workers Party has never been so low; any of its worker members have left in disgust, and in the factories the party is now represented largely by foremen and management personnel. At the same time, the illusions that people previously had in the military hierarchy have been shattered.

Expressions of the widespread hatred for the WRON are commonplace. Children sing rhymes about the "nasty crow" (the Polish word for crow is *wrona*). Antigovernment slogans frequently appear on walls overnight.

Despite the obviously different situations, martial law is often equated with the period of Nazi occupation of Poland during World War II, and the Jaruzelski regime is viewed as being little different from dictatorships in other parts of the world. "Let the rulers of this country know," Bogdan Lis wrote in one public appeal, "that someday their names will be down in the history books alongside those of Pol Pot, Pinochet, and Franco." The common nickname for Jaruzelski is General ZOMOza.

Solidarity reorganizes

It was not long after the December strikes were crushed that Solidarity activists in factories around the country began to reorganize themselves. This process started, first of all, in the large enterprises where the union had been the strongest, such as the Lenin Ship-

yard in Gdansk, the Ursus tractor factory near Warsaw, and the Nowa Huta steelworks in Krakow.

Initially, small committees were organized in cell structures to make it more difficult for the security police to break them. They existed both within the factories and in residential areas. The strict curfew that was in force in the early weeks of martial law tended to favor the emergence of committees in the large workers' housing projects.

The tasks of these early committees were limited: to collect union dues and money for victims of the repression and workers dismissed from their jobs, to organize passive resistance to various aspects of martial law, and to gather and circulate accurate information.

Those groups with the technical resources began publishing news sheets and bulletins. A survey of these underground publications in the April 6 *Tygodnik Mazowsze* noted that they were being published in every major city and in many smaller ones as well. There were several dozen in the Warsaw area alone. In the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, the bulletin *Solidarnosc* was being printed in editions of 60,000.

These publications range from mimeographed bulletins of a single page each to multipage newspapers printed on offset presses. Besides the hundreds of factory bulletins, several satirical journals are being published, as well as at least six bulletins produced by activists in the internment camps (unlike prisoners who have been tried and sentenced, the internees are allowed writing materials and are not confined to locked cells).

Workers take to streets

In Wroclaw, where the new workers committees were particularly well organized, Solidarity called its first large public protest action following the crushing of the December strikes. On January 29, workers in about 90 percent of the enterprises in the region downed their tools for a half-hour general strike to protest against martial law.

This marked the opening of a new stage in the development of opposition to martial law. From then on, strikes and street demonstrations were to become a regular occurrence.

The day after the Wroclaw strike, thousands of workers and students poured into the streets of Gdansk to protest martial law and higher food prices. On February 13, hundreds marched in Poznan, and on March 21 an estimated 50,000 people chanting Solidarity slogans turned out in Gdansk for the baptism of Lech Walesa's newly born daughter.

But the real turning point in the resurgence of the mass movement came in May. On May 1 and 3, large street demonstrations swept the country and on May 13 workers observed a national strike call. The size and scope of these

actions rivaled many of the protest actions that were held in Poland prior to the imposition of martial law.

The May Day action in Warsaw was announced over Radio Solidarity, in direct opposition to the official May Day ceremonies organized by the regime.

"We are broadcasting today on the eve of the working-class holiday, May 1," Zbigniew Romaszewski, a Solidarity leader in Warsaw, declared in the broadcast. "The society has been deprived of all its important symbols. They have all been taken by the regime. This is also true of May Day. We have decided to take back these symbols."

Noting that the eve of May Day was also the 31st anniversary of the death of Kazimierz Puzak, a Polish Socialist Party leader who died in prison following a Stalinist show trial in the late 1940s, Romaszewski continued:

"Every year, comrades faithful to Polish socialism put flowers on his grave and sing the old workers' song, *The Red Flag*. Let this tune be the theme song of our broadcast this May Day. Let it be a warning to all those who want to force the workers to their knees and terrorize the society. On their red flag, the one they will carry in their march tomorrow, is the blood of the workers of Poznan, of the Baltic Coast, the blood of those who have fallen in the war they declared on their own people."

The next day, some 50,000 people turned out for a large and enthusiastic march through the streets of Warsaw's Old Town. Solidarity banners were unfurled and demonstrators chanted "Our holiday! Our holiday!" "Lift martial law!" and "We want Solidarity!"

In Gdansk, up to 60,000 people demonstrated. They gathered outside the Lenin Shipyard at the monument to workers who were killed during the 1970 strikes and then marched several miles to the building that had housed Solidarity's regional headquarters before martial law.

In the northwestern port city of Szczecin, a large crowd gathered in the morning outside the gates of the Warski Shipyard. As the demonstrators marched from there through the center of the city, Solidarity banners were raised and protesters shouted to bystanders, "Come with us, not the enemy!" Many did. By the time the march reached the main cemetery, where people put flowers on the graves of workers killed in the 1970 strikes, the demonstrators numbered some 20,000.

Marches and rallies were reported in more than a dozen other cities as well.

Two days later, similar demonstrations were held throughout the country to mark May 3, known in Poland as Constitution Day after the country's 1791 republican constitution. While the police had refrained from interfering with the May Day demonstrations, on May 3 they attacked. In Warsaw, Gdansk, Szczecin, Lublin, Krakow, Lodz, and many other cities, scores of people were

injured. The authorities admitted arresting 1,372 people for participating in the actions.

Because of these police attacks, Solidarity leaders counseled their supporters to avoid street demonstrations for the time being, although this advice has not always been heeded (as on June 13, when protest marches were staged in Krakow, Wroclaw, and Gdansk).

The May 1 and 3 actions paved the way for a May 13 general strike, the first nationally coordinated action called by Solidarity. Although it lasted just 15 minutes, it showed the extent of the union's active support on the shop floor.

In the Warsaw region, some 80 to 90 percent of the factories were affected to one degree or another, according to union accounts. In some factories Solidarity banners were hoisted. Ten coal mines in Silesia stopped work. Parts of the large steelworks in Katowice and Krakow went on strike, as did the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk and many factories in Wroclaw, Elwro, Bialystok, Torun, Lodz, and other cities.

Although the authorities were aware of Solidarity's reorganization, they were taken aback by the size and scope of the May actions. Those opposed to bureaucratic domination, on the other hand, received a tremendous shot in the arm.

Government reprisals against the strikers were very severe, however. At the Swidnik helicopter factory near Lublin, for example, some 1,000 workers were dismissed from their jobs — about one-tenth of the entire workforce.

To avoid exposing workers to further reprisals like this, Solidarity leaders have called for a suspension of protest strikes and strike demonstrations until the end of July, to allow time for the preparation of more effective forms of action.

Despite Solidarity's massive support among working people, it has not yet been able to force the regime into making any significant concessions. This has set off a wide-ranging discussion among leaders and activists over how best to move forward, a discussion that is still only in its initial stages.

Among Solidarity leaders, both those who are still at liberty and those in the internment camps, there is general agreement over the movement's immediate aims: to force the government into lifting martial law, freeing the political prisoners, and ending the restrictions on Solidarity's activities. These three demands feature prominently in the union's publications and appeals.

A number of figures in the movement have also argued that such concessions could be a starting point for a broader agreement between the authorities and Solidarity. In two essays smuggled out of the Bialoleka internment camp near Warsaw, Jacek Kuron, one of Poland's most prominent political activists, raised the possibility of reaching a "social compromise," in which Solidarity would agree to limit some of its demands if the government ends the repression.

Writing in the April 28 *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, Wladyslaw Hardek, a union leader in Krakow, said that while an agreement with the authorities "would not involve any great love, it could be a marriage of convenience."

Romaszewski has stressed the transitory nature of such an agreement, stating that an initial compromise that restores Solidarity's rights "does not have to be a final one."

The sharpest differences, however, Continued on next page



Miners, along with Gdansk shipyard workers, play important role in Polish workers' fight for their rights.

Continued from previous page

have emerged over organizational questions and methods of struggle.

Kuron, in his first essay in February, initiated a broad debate on these questions. He emphasized that the only way to force the authorities to agree to make concessions was to build a strong, well-organized movement with a centralized leadership. Since the regime would probably refuse to reach an agreement, he continued, "the leadership of the resistance movement must prepare society both for major concessions leading to a compromise with the government, and for liquidation of the occupation through an organized uprising of the whole population."

This, he argued, was the best hope for preventing an uncontrolled social explosion and a consequent Soviet invasion.

"Only two forces," Kuron wrote, "can guarantee peace: the regime, by concluding a compromise with society; or society, by overthrowing the regime."

Exchange of views

Two influential Solidarity leaders in the Warsaw region, Zbigniew Bujak and Wiktor Kulerski, responded to Kuron in separate articles in the March 31 *Tygodnik Mazowsze*.

Bujak, one of the highest ranking Solidarity leaders to have escaped detention, rejected Kuron's call for the construction of a centralized movement that would be prepared to overthrow the regime. Emphasizing that such an undertaking was "unrealizable," he concluded that "it is necessary to start from the principle of avoiding direct confrontations with the government, because they would expose the country to too great a danger."

"I am for a strong, but decentralized, movement," Bujak said, "which will use many different forms of action. Only such a movement, undefined and many-sided, will be elusive and difficult to defeat."

Kulerski likewise opposed the consolidation of a centralized resistance movement, stating that it should be "informal, decentralized, comprised of mutually independent and loosely linked groups, committees, etc., with a large amount of independence and freedom of decision."

He rejected Kuron's "alternative of either revolution or compromise," and instead held out the possibility of a gradual evolution, "a lengthy rotting of the system and gradual changes leading to society regaining influence over its fate."

In a rejoinder to Bujak and Kulerski, published in the May 21 *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, Kuron stated that he did not think a gradual evolution or a prolonged period of decentralized resistance was possible, largely because of the worsening economic situation and the regime's continual provocations. In this context, he said, "a central leadership will lose its influence over the movement if it appears that it does not have a program for getting out of the present situation."

Kuron also pointed out that the authorities could not be expected to make any concessions unless they are forced

to do so. "A program cannot be built on the hope that the generals and secretaries will willingly agree to a compromise. It has to be acknowledged that violence only retreats in face of violence; it has to be clearly stated that the movement itself will not refuse to use force."

'We have to fight together'

In the April 28 *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, several other union leaders gave their own views on how to win concessions.

Wladyslaw Frasnyniuk, a key leader in Wroclaw, argued, "The union cannot remain passive in such a catastrophic economic situation, when social tensions increase and repression does not diminish. The refusal to come to an agreement must be met, in my opinion, with a general strike." Solidarity, he added, should be built as "a flexible and consolidated organization."

Wladyslaw Hardek from Krakow likewise stressed, "We have to begin a struggle throughout the country, in a coordinated fashion, for a chance to win an agreement. No one will give us this chance; we have to win it ourselves."

Bogdan Lis, noting that "the workplaces are time bombs," stated that the authorities had to be presented with an ultimatum: "Agreement or struggle. We have no other alternative. . . . If the government does not have the good will [to reach an agreement], then it has to be forced into it."

This debate has not been limited to the union's top leaders. Shop floor activists and less well-known leaders have also contributed to it. *Tygodnik Mazowsze* has established a regular column for such contributions, entitled, "Program of action: voices from the discussion."

In one of four such contributions in the May 19 issue, for example, Kazimierz Podlaski wrote, "A mass protest and resistance movement cannot arise

or develop without an ideological, informational, and tactical center."

In the April 24 *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, an anonymous rank-and-file activist also argued, "We have to do everything we can to unite people, and not divide them up into isolated groups. Above all, we have to build up ties. Didn't Jaruzelski's blitzkrieg teach us anything? . . . Our weapon is our massive numbers; our weapon is a united resistance. . . . We have to fight together."

As a result of this kind of discussion, the views of some Solidarity leaders have shifted.

In April, just a few weeks after Bujak's reply to Kuron arguing against a more centralized movement, he joined with Lis, Hardek, and Frasnyniuk to form the Provisional Coordinating Committee (TKK) of Solidarity. This body has since begun functioning as a national leadership.

One of the first actions of the TKK was to call the 15-minute strike on May 13. The massive response to that call was a key test of the committee's authority among Solidarity members.

Appeals to soldiers

Another topic of discussion has been the need for the workers movement to seek active support within the ranks of the army. Unlike the highly privileged ZOMO, the army is based largely on conscript troops.

The need to carry out agitation among soldiers and police was one of the points stressed by Kuron.

In fact, such efforts have been made since shortly after the imposition of martial law. For example, in a New Year's appeal, Bujak called on "soldiers and officers of the Polish army, and policemen as well, to carefully listen to the voice of your conscience, and follow it rather than the orders you are given. Do not willingly let yourselves be forced to commit fratricide, even if you must pay the highest price."

The first broadcast of Radio Solidarity in Poznan on May 12 included a similar appeal to soldiers.

There have been some indications that Solidarity's message is getting through to the army barracks. The union bulletins have been publishing an increasing number of reports about what is happening in the army units, including the formation of informal soldiers' groups.

At the May Day demonstration in Szczecin, according to an account in the May 9-11 issue of the union bulletin *Z Dnia na Dzień* (From Day to Day), a soldier took off his helmet and attempted to join the workers' march, but was prevented from doing so by his officer.

In Lublin on May 3, a march of about 12,000 was blocked by army and ZOMO detachments. A young woman handed flowers to one of the soldiers, and the troops cleared the way for the march.

Following the demonstrations and strikes of early May, the Regional Executive Committee (RKW) of Solidarity

in the Warsaw region stated on May 27, "The lack of any show of goodwill on the part of the authorities . . . is leading unavoidably to a radicalization of workers' views and to a general strike. Several dozen large plants and factories of the Mazowsze region have asked the Regional Executive Committee to set its date."

Other regional bodies subsequently begun discussing preparations for a general strike as well.

While many articles in the union press have expressed support for the idea of such a strike, others have opposed it, on the grounds that the union is not yet ready, for such a drastic step, or that it could lead to a Soviet intervention.

To find out how much active support there would be for a general strike — and what further preparations would be necessary — systematic surveys are being conducted by unionists in numerous workplaces and regions. Plans are also being discussed to establish an effective communications network among the factories, including radio transmitters and receivers, to ensure that the authorities will not be able to isolate the factories from one another as they did during the December strikes.

Solidarity activists are also anticipating government attempts to break any general strike by force.

"In contrast to December 1981," Lis has pointed out, "we will have to defend the striking factories."

In an interview in the June 2 *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, Romaszewski stressed that the general strike had to be "a countrywide general strike, with active defense of the workplaces. In Warsaw, 20 to 30 large factories could launch occupation strikes, with the rest supporting them through stay-at-home strikes. In addition to this, demonstrations and marches can keep some of [the government's] forces occupied."

The response of the ranks of the army and police, Romaszewski pointed out, could be crucial to the success of the strike. "If the situation becomes very serious, the government will be unable — in my opinion — to rely either on the army or even on the police. When just one battalion refuses to shoot . . . That's what happened in February 1917 [in Russia], when a small unit of the Cossacks went over to the side of the demonstrators. And within a month there was no longer a tsar."

Many Solidarity leaders are not as optimistic as Romaszewski. But the ability of union activists to rebuild the movement so quickly — and on such a massive scale — has already surpassed the initial expectations of not only the government, but of many Solidarity activists themselves.

The discussions that are now unfolding in Poland's factories, steel mills, and shipyards will have a crucial influence over the future course of this workers' movement.

From Intercontinental Press

French gov't ignores Reagan on pipeline

BY ERNEST HARSCH

The French government announced July 22 that it was ordering French companies to ignore U.S.-declared sanctions against the sale of equipment to the Soviet Union for the Soviet-West European natural gas pipeline.

It was the first West European government to do so, although others have expressed opposition to the sanctions as well.

The French statement, issued by the office of Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, noted that other members of the European Economic Community agreed that Washington's "unilateral action could not be accepted."

The Reagan administration had been pressing the sanctions as part of its broader anti-Soviet propaganda drive.

It responded to the French announcement by warning of legal action and economic retaliation against West European companies that continued to fulfill their pipeline contracts.

This row between Paris and Washing-

ton is one of the more dramatic reflections of the growing strains between the imperialist powers, which has been expressed in some divergent political and economic policies.

The interimperialist rivalries have been heightened by the world capitalist economic crisis, which has driven the ruling classes of the various imperialist powers to erect more and more protectionist barriers against their competitors.

Washington, for instance, has sought to obstruct European steel exports to the United States, a move that has prompted threats in Europe of similar actions against U.S. steel imports there.

On top of this economic rivalry, the Reagan administration has been pressing its NATO allies to shoulder more of the burden of policing the world on behalf of imperialist interests.

The conflict over the Soviet pipeline began shortly after Reagan first barred U.S. companies from any direct participation in it in December. Once com-

pleted, the pipeline may eventually supply more than 30 percent of the natural gas used by West Germany, France, Italy, and Spain. West European governments already have hundreds of millions of dollars invested in it.

On June 18, Reagan extended the sanctions to include equipment produced under U.S. license by West European companies.

Several weeks before the French government's response, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher — one of Reagan's closest allies — publicly criticized the sanctions and indicated that British firms may ignore them.

The same day as the French move, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said in a television interview while visiting the United States, "The pipeline will be built and the British, the French, the Germans, and other Europeans will stick to the agreement which their firms have been making with the Soviets."

Why capitalism can't avoid crisis

The story of the failure of Keynesian 'controls'

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

(Fourth in a series)

John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) was a British economist who became famous in the 1930s and 1940s for advocating government intervention in order to control capitalist business cycles and limit depressions.

For the first three decades after World War II, Keynes's views were popular among procapitalist economists and policy makers. The opinion was widely held that the British economist had finally found the answer to Karl Marx's analysis that the capitalist system is historically doomed. The use of Keynesian methods by capitalist governments had finally made (so it was said) the capitalist system viable.

Today, however, world capitalism is in its worst crisis since the 1930s, and the Keynesian approach doesn't seem to

which are promises to repay, at a given rate of interest, by a certain date. A small example is a U.S. savings bond.

However much more of the government's debt is in large-denomination bonds that yield much higher rates of interest. These bonds are bought and sold by big capitalist investors — rich individuals as well as banks and corporations.

This is where a catch to the Keynesian scheme can arise. Market demand will only be increased if the capitalists are willing to increase the total amount of money that they loan out.

If they do not expand their loans, increased borrowing by the government will mean fewer loans to workers, farmers, and small businessmen. Deficit spending by the government will then only redistribute the demand for commodities. It will not add to it.

For example, the Reagan administration is running up a big deficit. But this is not adding to total market demand as much as it is shifting it from housing, autos, appliances, and farm machinery to arms. The housing, auto, and farm machinery industries remain in a depression because workers and farmers cannot borrow while the war industry is entering a deficit-financed boom, fueled by the Pentagon's mammoth orders.

Unfortunately for those who think government manipulation of the business cycle is the answer, credit is always in short supply during a serious capitalist economic crisis of overproduction.

When markets are glutted, capitalists are reluctant to make loans because they fear they will not be repaid. When they do make loans under these conditions, they charge high interest rates to make up for the increased risk of defaults. During the current recession, for example, interest rates have reached historic highs.

Monetary policy

Keynes and his disciples realized that the government cannot regulate total market demand if credit shortages that arise during economic crises cannot be overcome. They claimed, however, that the amount of credit available could be regulated by the central bank. By having the central bank increase the supply of money, the Keynesians argued, credit could be made plentiful and interest rates kept low.

In the United States, the central bank is the Federal Reserve Board. Since the dollar is the key world currency for trade and payments, the Federal Reserve Board exercises great influence on the U.S. economy.

The Federal Reserve Board is owned by the commercial banks. The White House, however, appoints the top officials of "the Fed" (as this powerful institution is frequently referred to in capitalist circles). The Federal Reserve, therefore, represents a direct fusion of private bank capital and the government.

The basic function of the Federal Reserve Board, and central banks in other capitalist countries, is to serve as banker for the commercial banks and the government.

The large commercial banks keep a certain amount of their funds on deposit in the Federal Reserve. The U.S. Treasury does likewise.

Currency is issued by the Federal Reserve. Look at a dollar bill — it says "Federal Reserve Note." The Federal Reserve also tries to regulate the total money supply, which is made up largely of checking accounts based on currency rather than actual paper money.

The ability of the Federal Reserve Board to regulate the amount of credit and money is far more limited, however, than the Keynesians and other capitalist experts assumed.

Basically, the central bank issues and controls the amount of paper money. But



GM workers hear news of impending layoffs. From late 1940s through 1960s, a period of relative prosperity, Keynesian methods of "regulating" U.S. economy seemed to work. Now, capitalism is in its worst crisis since the Great Depression, and Keynes's theories have been discredited.

it cannot determine how much money the private bankers and other credit institutions actually lend out, or the interest rates they charge on their loans. Nor can the central bank or government control the demand for credit by industry, commercial capital, farmers, or workers.

Finally, the capitalist central banks cannot determine the purchasing power of the currency they issue. At best, the central banks can "influence" these things. But, ultimately, they cannot harness the basic forces that determine the way capitalism works and that drive toward deeper crises.

Capitalist opposition to Keynes

When Keynesian ideas first became popular in academic and government circles, many of the more traditional capitalist economists and conservative politicians opposed them. They objected to the Keynesian recommendations on the grounds that deficit spending and easy money were inflationary. The Keynesians had what superficially seemed to be a logical response.

During depressions, they argued, when supply exceeds market demand it's absurd to worry about inflation. Prices tend to fall in a depression, as capitalists cut prices to get rid of unsold commodities. As long as production is significantly below the physical capacity to produce, the Keynesians claimed, there could be no serious inflation.

The capitalists' response to any increase in demand would be increased production. Only during periods of boom or during wartime, when production is near or at the physical capacity to produce and cannot be rapidly increased, will the capitalists be able to respond to increased monetary demand by raising prices (and profits), thus bringing demand back into line with supply.

Indeed, when inflation got too bad, the Keynesians argued, their antidepression policies should be reversed. The government should run a budgetary surplus. Taxes should be raised and government spending reduced. These measures, plus repayments on the national debt incurred during the preceding recession, would tend to reduce demand to a point where it was again below the physical capacity to produce.

The central bank should also follow a policy of slowing down the growth in the money supply during a boom to help reduce the spending capacity of consumers. This would keep demand from overflowing the productive capacity of industry.

In this way, Keynesians insisted, serious inflation could be avoided, at least in peacetime. In any event, according to the Keynesians, severe inflation and serious recession could not occur at the same time.

Keynes's followers generally admitted that perfect results could not be obtained by tinkering with the economy. There were limits to how much demand could be "fine tuned." Anyway, Keynes and his supporters held that "a little inflation" isn't such a bad thing because it helps keep down real wages (that is, what wages can actually buy). And employers like an occasional recession to cool wage demands by workers.

Surely, the advocates of Keynesianism claimed, it was better to put up with some inflation and occasional "mild recession" than to take the risk of social revolution.

Seemed to work

From the 1940s through the 1960s, things appeared to work out more or less as the Keynesians said they would. There were occasional "mild" recessions and "creeping inflation." But there were no really deep or long depressions.

Serious inflation was limited to the Korean and Vietnam war years. Chronic mass unemployment was largely confined to Blacks and Latinos. Industrial workers still faced periodic layoffs, but public and private unemployment benefits cushioned the blow. Usually these layoffs were fairly short lived.

Capitalist economists, with few exceptions, were convinced by the 1960s that the U.S. economy was immune to severe recessions. In celebration, *Time* magazine put Keynes's picture on the front cover of one issue in the mid-1960s.

Today — after a decade of price explosions, sudden shortages, international monetary crises, unprecedented interest rates, and a series of deep recessions — Keynesian theory is pretty much discredited, even in capitalist circles. They are now left with empirically probing one measure after another to try to stabilize the economy.

What went wrong?

The problem is that Keynesian policies left untouched the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between the socialized nature of production and the private ownership of the means of production. The Keynesians wanted to plan total market demand, but not production. That was left to private corporations competing with each other for profits, just as they have always done.

Keynesian tinkering thus only treated symptoms, not causes. During the long expansion of the world capitalist economy that followed the Great Depression and World War II, it could appear successful.

But once the contradictions of capitalism led again to overproduction on a massive scale, Keynesian policies were bound to fail.

(To be continued)

BEHIND THE RECESSION

have the same glitter for capitalism that it once did.

What were the policies that Keynes and his followers advocated? And why is Keynesianism going out of style?

The basic characteristic of a depression is that the supply of goods and services on the market exceeds the demand from consumers. It is this overproduction that leads to cutbacks in production and massive layoffs.

Keynes's argument

Keynes argued that when depression threatened, the capitalist government should take measures to expand the market — that is, increase consumer demand. This could be done, he claimed, through cutting taxes, increasing government spending, and expanding the money supply.

One effect of reducing taxes is that it increases the amount of money consumers have to purchase goods. Thus when the government spends more than it receives in taxes — all things being equal — demand for goods and services on the market will increase.

For example, if the federal government runs a deficit of \$100 billion (and payments on the national debt are \$80 billion), the ability of the market to absorb commodities will be increased by \$20 billion.

Government spending, in turn, tends to set off ripple effects.

If the government increases unemployment benefits, for example, the unemployed will be able to buy more consumer goods. This will mean that the consumer goods-producing industries will be able to hire back some of the unemployed. Since the consumer goods-producing industries will be using more of their productive capacity, they might increase orders for machinery.

Over a period of time, the size of the market might be increased by three or four times the initial \$20 billion.

Thus by manipulating government spending and taxes, the Keynesians argued, the government could determine the size of the market. It would be possible to ensure that the expansion of the market would keep up with the productive power of industry. The contradiction of capitalism whereby the market grows much more slowly than the ability of industry to produce would be overcome, it was claimed.

Deficit financing

When the government runs a deficit, it has to somehow raise the extra money not covered by tax receipts.

Just like an individual who wants to spend more than his or her immediate income, the government borrows the difference. It does this by issuing bonds,

Interview with Vietnam's representative to the UN

The following interview with Madame Nguyen Ngoc Dung, acting representative of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the United Nations, was conducted July 20 by *Militant* correspondent Suzanne Haig.

Question. What was the Vietnamese delegation able to accomplish at the UN Special Session on Disarmament?

Answer. We felt it was essential to point our fingers at the proponents of the arms race and to lay bare the hypocrisy of those who claim to support disarmament while stepping up armaments. It was equally important to make a distinction between the struggle of the oppressed peoples for national liberation and independence — who need arms for their struggle — and the colonial, imperialist forces, who use arms against them.

Vietnam has suffered so much during its wars of liberation over more than 30 years. We know what it is like. That is why we strongly support the objectives of disarmament. Recently, as an expression of our peace policy and our willingness to limit the danger of nuclear war, we have decided to participate in the Treaty on Non-Proliferation.

Q. What is the nature of the U.S. military pressure against Vietnam today?

A. The U.S. military pressure, although not direct, is increasing. Direct military pressure against Vietnam is carried out by China — the “newly found” U.S. ally — with the green light from the United States, which is now prepared to sell China U.S. weapons.

The U.S. continues to have military bases in the Philippines and is reactivating a number of its military bases in Thailand. It has increased military aid to its allies in the region. Its navy and marines have held maneuvers very close to our borders. U.S. electronic reconnaissance aircraft have flown missions close to the coast of Vietnam.

The CIA has undertaken a concrete plan to destabilize Vietnam. It has among other things recruited and trained Vietnamese refugees as spies and sent them back to Vietnam.

It should be recalled that last year at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Manila conference, General Haig and his deputy declared to the effect that the U.S. policy is to put pressure on Vietnam — economic, political, and if necessary, military.

Apart from its economic blockade against us, the U.S. has used “food as a weapon” by objecting to assistance programs for Vietnam in various international organizations such as UNICEF and the United Nations Development Program. It has even prevented U.S. voluntary agencies from sending humanitarian assistance to the children in Vietnam and Kampuchea.

Situation in Vietnam

Q. What is the situation like in Vietnam today?

A. After so many years of war, our most earnest aspiration was to live in peace and rebuild our war-torn country. But this was made impossible, first by the proxy war that the Pol Pot clique unleashed along the southwestern borders of Vietnam and then by the open invasion launched by 600,000 Chinese troops in the North.

Added to these aggressive wars were repeated natural disasters. This makes the situation more difficult.

We have to tighten our belts. But no one is dying of hunger in Vietnam. Twelve million Vietnamese children continue to go to school. Our artists have won prizes in many world competitions.

The aftermaths of the wars (first by Japan, then France, then by the U.S.

and China) are too great to overcome in a matter of days or months. It takes years and years. But we are as resolved and confident in our future as ever.

Aid from Western Europe

Q. Have you received much aid from the West European countries?

A. Not much. In some cases, the western European countries such as France, the Netherlands, and Sweden have helped. Others submitted to U.S. pressure to cut off aid to Vietnam.

Q. What are the problems you face with China?

A. The Chinese leadership has betrayed the revolutionary cause of the world people and we are one of their victims. They cannot tolerate an independent Vietnam on their southern border.

China continues to occupy a Vietnamese archipelago called Paracells. Some 400,000 Chinese troops are being massed near our border and conducting daily military provocations.

We are determined to defend our independence and sovereignty at any cost. But we are for a peaceful solution of the dispute. We have repeatedly called on China to resume the Vietnam-China talks which were interrupted a year and a half ago by China. We have proposed to sign with them a treaty of peaceful coexistence. But unfortunately, all of our efforts have been turned down.

Q. What role are the ASEAN countries playing in relation to Vietnam?

A. There are two trends: One of confrontation and tension and the other of reconciliation and cooperation. The former is not new because it is just the follow-up of what the ASEAN countries did to the Indochinese countries during the U.S. imperialist war in the area. It is not in their interest and is against the aspirations of their peoples. It only serves China and U.S. strategic interests.

The latter is positive and growing.

More and more people in the ruling circles in the ASEAN countries have become aware of the China factor as the main threat to peace and stability in the region. We have worked tirelessly for peace and cooperation in the region and continue to do so today.

Troops in Kampuchea

Q. Washington claims that the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea constitutes an act of aggression. How do you view the real situation?

A. Washington's “turning white black” trick is famous.

We are very proud that at the request of the Kampuchean people, we have come to their rescue. What we should regret is that we didn't come earlier to help them stop that living hell under Pol Pot. Pause a minute to think of 3 million Kampucheans who were brutally murdered and you'll find the answer.

Today, our troops are still in Kampuchea because the Kampuchean people still need them to prevent a possible return to power by the Pol Pot clique, which is hiding in sanctuaries in Thailand with Chinese and Western support. I presume you are aware that July 15 a significant number of Vietnamese troops withdrew from Kampuchea because the security and stability there has been improved.

Q. What is your opinion of the so-called coalition government of Kampuchea that Pol Pot recently put together with Prince Sihanouk and Son Sann?

A. It is a dressed-up corpse. It is merely a farce staged by Beijing (Peking) and Washington to conceal the abhorrent image of the Pol Pot genocidal clique and to maintain their seat at the UN. It is a Pol Pot disguised clique. Look at the “government” — the military, economic and foreign relations are in the hands of Pol Pot and his company. Sihanouk and Son Sann are oddly puppets.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea has stated that by joining hands with



Militant/Suzanne Haig

UN representative Madame Nguyen Ngoc Dung

Pol Pot — murderer of three million people — Sihanouk and Son Sann have openly taken side with the most hated enemy of the Kampuchean people and resigned themselves to working for Pol Pot's return to Phnom Penh as was designed by Beijing.

International solidarity

Q. What importance do you assign to international solidarity?

A. For us, international solidarity is a matter of principle, a major factor to guarantee victory in our common struggle against colonialism and imperialism. We will never forget the antiwar movement here in the United States. They formed part of our strength and therefore constituted part of our victory.

May I take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the American people who have supported us in the liberation wars as well as today. We will never fail to deserve their support.

The tremendous spirit against war and oppression shown in the June 12 rally in New York is a new expression of the international solidarity in the struggle for disarmament, peace, and justice. Once again, Vietnam reaffirms its full support to our brothers and sisters in Central America, in South Africa, in the Middle East, and in our country, who are fighting for their legitimate rights to national independence, self-determination, peace, and welfare.

Debate on women's rights at Penn. forum

BY PAUL MAILHOT

HARRISBURG, Pa. — In the wake of the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment and the passage of the Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act, a lively debate was held here July 14 on strategy in the fight for women's rights.

The debate took place at a meeting sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum. Rosemary Gould, a statewide leader of the National Organization for Women (NOW); Lori Serratelli, a Democratic Party candidate for Pennsylvania House of Representatives; and Katherine Sojourner, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor, spoke.

Many of the people in attendance were local leaders of NOW. Several members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women also came.

Serratelli explained that she felt “the key for the women's movement is to reach the source of power.” And that “power lies in the legislature.”

“I see the Democratic Party, at least in philosophy, attempting to represent working people, attempting to represent women and minorities. Not having the same constituency as the Republican Party has, that is the big money and corporate types of people,” she said.

Gould outlined changing the composition of Congress through the election of prowomen Democratic Party candidates as the immediate goal of NOW. “We're looking to support women in the field of politics, and that's not the Margaret Thatchers and Phyllis Schlaflys of the

world, but the women who have publicly endorsed the goals of the women's movement.”

“We are also looking to support men who support these goals,” she said.

The perspective that the Democratic Party was representative of working people and that women should continue supporting it was challenged by Sojourner.

“For too long the Democratic Party has taken labor money and feminist money, said they were for us, then turned around and stabbed us in the back,” she said.

“For years we've been urged to vote for our ‘friends’. . . . Like the Democrats in 8 of the 15 unratified states who had enough of a majority to pass the ERA. Like Democratic Congressman Allen Ertel, who is running for governor and who voted for the Hyde Amendment. Like Democratic State Senator James Lloyd who is running for lieutenant governor and who voted for the Abortion Control Act.

“Where is the power to win women's rights?” she asked. She pointed to the half-million Solidarity Day demonstration called by the AFL-CIO last September 19. “In my opinion we must look to the muscle of the unions, the muscle of the oppressed nationalities, and the muscle of women united together.”

Sojourner explained that it was time the unions formed a new party — a labor party — that would represent the majority against the tiny handful of wealthy

owners of big business who are represented by the Democratic and Republican parties. Such a party would be a big step forward for the women's struggle.

One young woman in the audience, addressing herself to Serratelli, said, “I don't mean to put you on the spot, but I'm a registered Democrat and I'm really unhappy. A lot of what Katherine has to say sounds really good. To me Democratic and Republican are getting to be two sides of the same coin.”

While admitting that some “mistakes have been made by some Democratic Party politicians,” Serratelli explained that she had gotten “involved in the Democratic Party to try to change it. . . . I think it's quicker to work within the system we have, because it is open to be changed if we do it together.”

Sojourner responded that more and more working people are seeing the futility of trying to do just that. They are coming to the realization that both the Democratic and Republican parties represent big business and therefore can't also be for the interests of working people, Blacks, and women.

Sojourner said, “We should continue to build an independent, fighting women's movement that will not stand aside for any politician's campaign or aspirations. We should take the opportunity to develop deeper alliances with the union movement and with Blacks and Latinos.”

Sojourner also urged people to get involved in the Socialist Workers Party election campaign.

Puerto Ricans say, 'No to U.S. draft!'



Militant/Lou Howort

The following was printed in the letters section of *Claridad*, weekly newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, in the July 16-22 issue. The translation is by the *Militant*.

Once again, the United States is demanding the blood of our youth. Last May, Colonel Rafael B. Acosta announced that young people who had not yet registered for the draft would be confronted with indictments.

Unfortunately, our judicial system is subject to these decisions. Where is the right to life and freedom?

We Puerto Ricans are not in control

over our lives. This is a corrupt and manipulated system of justice, whose weight falls upon the sons of the poor, and these sons will be the ones prosecuted.

Why do we have to serve in the army of the country that invaded us?

They are not content with exploiting, stealing our lands, and killing the will to struggle and the hope of this people. They also have to use a "son of this people" to threaten us with repression.

"Woe are those that for money sell the blood of my people's children."

We are not afraid of threats. We do not want to be part of a murderous army, which history has not absolved.

They speak of the Nazis that killed millions of Jews, but the North Americans have been equally oppressive. Remember Hiroshima. "They are the worst enemy of the human race."

How many Puerto Ricans died during the First and Second World Wars, in the Korean conflict, the great number of young men that died in Vietnam and those that returned mentally ill, addicted to drugs? This is what you want, Colonel Acosta; this is what they want, a crippled youth.

Now they take advantage of the economic crisis.

The mass media present the army as the solution to many problems. Through it you can get a job and study opportunities. Many young men registered in the past for this. What became of them? They were made into "men-machines."

Their last resort has been to use federal scholarships and loans to intimidate us. Many people think these are "gifts" from the United States; they don't know that these represent a minuscule part of the money obtained by the North American or multinational companies, such as the pharmaceuticals that profit from the exploitation of our workers.

They should know that we are not mere tokens in some game, that our country is Puerto Rico, for which we are willing to fight and die. No draft!
Samuel González González
Student, University of Puerto Rico,
Río Piedras

U.S. gov't bars Puerto Ricans from sports meet in Cuba

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Neither family members nor fans of Puerto Rican athletes will be allowed by the U.S. government to travel to Cuba for the Central American and Caribbean Games in August.

A Treasury Department spokesman told the *Militant* on July 27 that the government will allow only participants to attend the games. The Treasury Department is in charge of enforcing the Trading with the Enemy Act, which is used by the government as the basis of its ban on travel to Cuba.

Earlier, on July 22, Judge Joseph Tauro ruled in U.S. District Court in Boston against a temporary restraint of the government's ban on travel to Cuba. The Puerto Rican Olympic Committee had asked that 1,000 family members and fans be allowed to go, in addition to athletes. The Treasury spokesman called this a "wild number."

The Puerto Rico Olympic Committee has also joined a suit by Leonard Boudin, the noted constitutional lawyer, and others seeking to strike down the travel ban. The suit is yet to be heard.

PUERTO RICO: U.S. COLONY IN THE CARIBBEAN

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

24 pp., 35 cents

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Calif. socialist explains program

Continued from Page 6

Gates's remarks were unfortunate and inappropriate. Then when pressure began to build up, Bradley started to research at city hall to see if there was a way he could discipline Gates.

But Bradley is Gates's boss! He hasn't even fired him.

Q. Some have charged that by running against Bradley you are splitting the Black vote. What is your response to that?

A. My answer is simple. I think we should split our vote — we should split from the Democratic and Republican parties altogether. The labor movement ought to get out of the bosses' two parties and build a new party, a labor party that would fight for our interests.

George Deukmejian and Thomas Bradley are interchangeable as far as I'm concerned. Blacks and all working people should vote for people and parties that represent our interests. Vote on program, not on the basis that someone's the same color as you.

If someone has the same program as Bradley, which is no different fundamentally than Deukmejian's, having that person be governor means you're still going to have the same program run down your throat.

To me it doesn't make any difference whether the person is Black or white — if that person is running on a program against your interests, you should not support them.

Q. What activities has your campaign carried out in support of Black rights?

A. There is an incorporation struggle by Blacks in East Palo Alto. Ours is the only campaign that has supported them. East Palo Alto is a majority Black sec-

tion of Palo Alto. What happened was that some corporations in the area were beginning to look at East Palo Alto as a possible bedroom community for their managers and administrators.

There was a threat that Blacks and other working people in the community would get "gentrified" — forcibly moved out so that condominiums and other real estate developments could be built. Blacks would end up with no place to live.

So Blacks organized an incorporation drive to make East Palo Alto its own municipality with its own government. They saw it as a question of Black self-determination.

The vote to incorporate failed, but just barely. Blacks, I understand, plan to renew the struggle.

We've also solidarized with the Prottero Hills tenants in San Francisco. They're fighting to keep the city authorities from moving them out of public housing and tearing that housing down to build condominiums. The majority of the tenants are Black.

We've consistently spoken out and organized against police brutality.

And I'm active in the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), both in its Seaside chapter and as an elected national leader of the NBIPP. The NBIPP was formed by people who had decided there was no future for Blacks in the Democratic and Republican parties. That sets an important example for workers; it points in the direction we have to go in building a labor party, in fighting for independent working-class political action.

Through my campaign I've been able to help build the NBIPP and win new members to it in cities like San Jose,

East Palo Alto, and San Diego.

Q. How do you see the question of Black liberation fitting in with the liberation of the working class?

A. The Black struggle in America is not separate and apart from the overall working-class struggle for liberation in this country. The entire class is oppressed by the rich. Blacks, in addition, are oppressed by race.

Racism is a major tool used by the rulers of this society to keep down the whole class, to keep us divided. Malcolm X used to talk about how the capitalists rule through this technique of divide and conquer. The institution of racism promotes divisions in the working class and prevents it from coming together as a whole to fight the ruling class.

That's why we say there can be no liberation in this society without Black liberation. And no Black liberation without freeing the whole working class.

Youth and the draft

Q. Your campaign has attracted many young people. Why is that?

A. One of the main reasons is our position against the draft. We don't see where young people have any interest in fighting other people who are struggling for the same freedom we are struggling for here.

We say our youth need jobs, not coffins. We say they need education. And it is the war drive that is taking these things away from our youth.

This is especially true for Black and Latino youth. They suffer disproportionately in every aspect of U.S. society and they suffer disproportionately on the battlefield whenever the U.S. goes to war.

The wars Washington is involved in deal with Third World countries — darker skinned people. Blacks find no inspiration in the idea of being sent to Africa to fight other Black people. Just as Latinos don't get any inspiration about going to Central America to fight other Latino people.

With the crisis of unemployment and the cutbacks in education, we see working-class youth, especially Blacks and Latinos, left with no alternative but to join the army. We're opposed to that.

We say education and jobs should be a right. We're against the cutbacks in schools that put more funds in the military budget. We say education should be free and accessible to every young person.

Young people are our future. They have a central role to play in the class struggle. No revolution can happen without young people in the forefront.

Q. What do you urge people who support your campaign to do?

A. I tell them if they want to be effective, the best thing they can do right now is to join the Young Socialist Alliance or the Socialist Workers Party. There is no possibility of liberation within the capitalist system. We have to fight for a totally different society, a socialist society, where human needs come first.

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Teachers debate affirmative action

Continued from Page 8

working class in struggle for its demands, and they need to reject the divisions imposed by the bosses if they are to fight effectively. Such unity necessitates defending the rights of the most oppressed, beginning with the rights of Black and Hispanic workers.

Within this context, seniority is a useful tool of struggle. It can be used to protect older workers and union activists from being victimized by the bosses. But

if seniority is used to perpetuate discrimination, instead of as a weapon against the employers, it turns into its opposite.

In Boston, where 70 percent of the schoolchildren are Black or Hispanic, the BTU will lose its most important allies if it does not defend the rights of Black and Hispanic teachers. The suit brought by the BTU is in the interests of neither the schoolchildren nor the Black community nor the union itself.

Socialists answer the U.S. government in historic lawsuit against secret police

Final SWP brief in case against FBI, CIA, INS spying

In July 1973 the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance filed a landmark lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and other federal agencies.

During the eight years leading up to the 1981 trial of the suit, the government was forced to turn over more than 200,000 pages of documents showing a 40-year government campaign to disrupt and silence the socialists. This included poison-pen letters, burglaries of the socialists' offices, wiretapping, use of informers, and deportation threats.

The files also revealed secret police attacks on Black organizations, unionists, women's rights groups, and others.

At the 1981 trial in the case, the government told presiding Judge Thomas Griesa all this was justified because of "national security" interests. The political ideas of the plaintiffs were sufficient grounds for government spying and harassment, whether or not they had committed any illegal acts.

The socialists' lawsuit asks for a permanent injunction that would bar the FBI, CIA, and INS from continuing to "investigate" the SWP and YSA because of their revolutionary socialist views.

The suit also seeks to have the Voorhis Act, which effectively prohibits U.S. socialists from collaborating with co-thinkers abroad, ruled unconstitutional as applied to the SWP and YSA.

It asks the judge to prohibit the government from invoking sections of the Immigration and Nationality Act to deny political asylum, citizenship, resident status, or visas to foreign-born persons who are members or supporters of the SWP.

The suit also seeks \$70 million in damages from the government.

Since the end of the trial, on June 25, 1981, the SWP and YSA have submitted to Judge Griesa an extensive post-trial brief detailing the evidence that came out in the case. This has been published in book form under the title *Secret Police on Trial*.

After a long delay, the U.S. government submitted its post-trial brief, which justified the 40-year "investigation" of the socialists. We are reprinting below excerpts of the final brief submitted by the socialists July 27 in response to this government brief.

A decision in the case is now awaited from Judge Griesa.

* * *

One of the central issues to be resolved in this case is whether plaintiffs' conduct, as revealed by the massive trial record, "is a legitimate area for investigation." *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* (1974).

For the first eight years of this litigation, the government repeatedly assured this Court and the Second Circuit that it would prove that the FBI's investigation of the SWP and YSA was justified by evidence of planned or actual criminal activity by the plaintiffs. These promises were not fulfilled at trial, and in their post-trial memorandum the defendants have virtually conceded that, at least since the Second World War, there has been no criminal basis for the investigation. Given the history of this litigation, that retreat is a significant one.

The defendants attempt to compensate for their retreat from a "criminal" justification by shifting to a near-total reliance on a purported "national security" rationale. They assert that, even if they did not have reasonable grounds for suspecting that the SWP and YSA were engaging in or planning criminal or violent actions, now or in the foreseeable future, nevertheless, plaintiffs'

"political ideology" posed a threat to the national security, sufficient to justify forty years of FBI spying and disruption. According to the government:

"The ultimate purpose of a national security investigation is not to investigate the commission of a crime, but to detect and thereby prevent activities which may lead to the subversion or overthrow of the Government. There can be no doubt that such investigations were authorized, and were conducted for a lawful purpose, namely, the detection of threats to national security."

"The FBI was amply justified in pursuing the national security investigation of the SWP and YSA despite the fact that the investigation never resulted in criminal prosecutions subsequent to the convictions in 1941 of eighteen of the SWP's leaders for Smith Act violations. Criminal prosecution was not the principal goal of the investigation, and there is no legal requirement to the contrary."

National security rationale

Plaintiffs contend that the defendants do not have the authority they lay claim to — that of permanently investigating (and seeking to "prevent") lawful political activity in support of the ideas the Executive views as "subversive." Plaintiffs submit that the national security rationale for the "investigation" is as meritless as the criminal rationale.

For on the facts presented by this trial record, it is plain that no constitutionally permissible ground for believing that plaintiffs pose a threat to the "national security" has ever existed.

In 1974, during proceedings on plaintiffs' motion for a preliminary injunction, the Court directed the government to come forward with any evidence whatsoever in its possession of violent or illegal activity by the SWP and YSA. In response to this direction, "the Government [came] forward with absolutely nothing."

The government nevertheless represented to the Second Circuit, on appeal of the preliminary injunction, that a minority in the SWP "endorses and supports the current use of violence," and that this minority was seeking to gain control of the YSA in order "to convert YSA into a violent movement."

This representation was decisive to the outcome of the appeal. The Second Circuit stressed that the "FBI has a right, indeed a duty, to keep itself informed with respect to the possible commission of crimes." (emphasis added). It

recognized that the issue posed by the government's allegation of criminal plans by the SWP and YSA was "whether the conduct sought to be protected is a legitimate area for investigation."

The preliminary injunction was vacated because "[s]uch an issue deserves treatment on a full record."

In 1978, on appeal of this Court's contempt citation against the Attorney General, the government once more assured the Second Circuit that the investigation had a legitimate basis as a criminal investigation. It represented that "[t]he District Court's reliance on the fact that the 18 informants supposedly reported no criminal activity" was erroneous, for "the District Court never asked the Government to summarize whether these or other informants reported on crime, which many unquestionably did."

It stated that, "Contrary to the Court's observations, the 18 informant files alone indicate that there were reports suggesting that the SWP had engaged in a systematic violation of the Voorhis Act, as well as other federal statutes." It also suggested that the SWP had "links to international terrorism" and that as a "constituent section" of the Fourth International "it was responsible for assassinations, kidnappings and other acts of political violence including the bombing of American facilities abroad."

In the months leading up to the trial of the case, this Court once more asked the government "to come forward with any facts or information possessed by the United States Government" of actual or threatened violations of law by the SWP. The Court instructed the government that:

"... unless the government comes up with . . . evidence from the informant files or whatever, [contradicting the claim] that there was no unlawful activity, no activity of planning or advocating violence, no acts of violence . . . it will be conclusively found that that is the case unless the government comes forward with proof to the contrary by a certain date."

The government responded, "this sounds sensible and it seems to track the Breitler report."

The Court, responding to the suggestion at this conference that the government might not choose to produce certain evidence, observed, "I have a feeling that if they knew of any illegal or violent acts or plans by these people they would figure out a way to produce it."

The government assured the court that the files would "absolutely" show evidence of illegal activity. It informed the Court that it was reviewing not only the massive files, spanning four decades, on six central leaders of the SWP, but also the "SWP files." The government stressed that it was reviewing the files page by page for trial, "in order to bring forward this material. This is going to be part of the evidence at trial. That's why, of course, the materials will have to come out anyway. We want it to come out."

The government insisted that the files contained evidence of "loads of illegal activities" by plaintiffs. The Court repeated its direction to the government to produce a statement of "what illegal activity or threatened illegal activity" it contended the FBI files contained.

'Secret affidavit'

The list of purported criminal acts was submitted by the defendants shortly before the trial in the form of the affidavit of Charles Mandigo. It transpired that the "loads of illegal activities" consisted of the 1941 Smith Act convictions of SWP leaders in Minneapolis.

After reviewing the affidavit, the Court stated:

"We waited weeks and weeks and weeks, and we get an affidavit with a lot of rhetoric, a lot of quotations from public sources, and a lot of history which anybody could go to the library and find out, and the real questions we were waiting with bated breath to know was if the FBI had any evidence of illegal activity by these people or threatened illegal activity or attempted illegal activity or planned illegal activity, and if it was just going to be a matter of quoting that rhetoric, we have had that rhetoric around for a long time and we didn't need to get some typists to type all that stuff up again. What we have is nothing, no additional information."

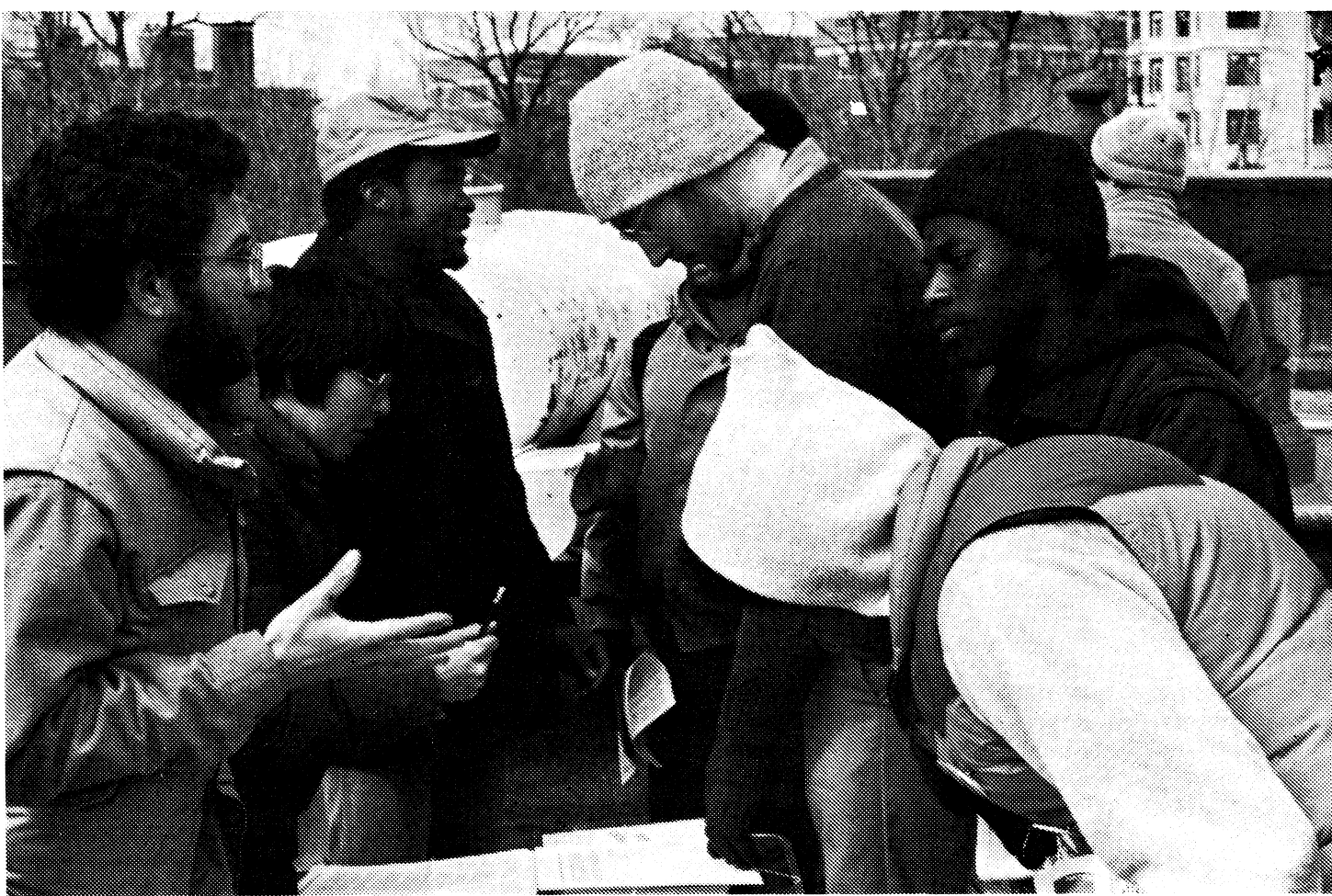
What little remained of the Mandigo affidavit vanished at trial, when it was demonstrated that virtually every paragraph in it contained erroneous or unsubstantiated assertions. Virtually nothing in that affidavit is even mentioned in the defendants' post-trial memorandum.

Subsequently, the defendants continued to insist that their files *did* contain evidence of criminal activity by plaintiffs. However, their assurance that "this is going to be part of the evidence at trial" was retracted. The defen-



Half-million marched on Solidarity Day, last September 19. Government's insistence on right to violate Constitution because of "national security" is aimed at stifling labor political action.

Militant/Osborne Hart



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Socialist trade unionists fired from jobs in war industry explain their case to demonstrators at March 27 demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Many signed petitions supporting their democratic rights.

dants instead shifted to the position that the "evidence" of illegal conduct could not come out at trial, because none of that evidence could be made public without revealing highly secret sources and methods. They proposed submitting this "evidence" to the Court in [a secret] affidavit.

The Court initially rejected this proposal. Plaintiffs, however, urged the Court to accept the offer and to examine the affidavit. Plaintiffs' concern was that the defendants' strategy was to lay the basis for a claim on appeal that they had been prejudiced by the Court's refusal to review evidence that provided legal justification for the investigation. The Court, on reconsideration, agreed to examine the secret affidavit and additional ex parte materials submitted by the defendants.

Plaintiffs then made numerous proposals to the Court and the government to enable the plaintiffs to respond to the secret affidavit without the disclosure of secret "methods and sources." None of these proposals was acceptable to the government. The Court stated that it had also made proposals to the government "as to some modest disclosures" to plaintiffs on the import of the secret materials, but that the government had rejected them, taking "a very expansive position of the secrecy" of the materials.

The Court ultimately ruled that:

"As a result of recent discussions between Government counsel and the Court, it has been resolved that the Court will give no evidentiary consideration whatsoever, whether on matters of credibility or otherwise, to the [secret] declaration of Charles F. Mandigo, dated January 19, 1981, and to other items submitted on April 8, 1981.

"The Government has agreed that it will not rely on these matters as evidence in this court or in any Appellate Court.

"The Government reserves the right, however, to move, after this Court's decision on the merits of the case, to dismiss all or parts of the case on the ground that the Government was unable to fully defend the case by virtue of the necessary secrecy of certain evidence."

In short, the "secret affidavit" forms no part of the trial record of this case. The Court noted during the trial that "[o]ne fortunate thing" is that "as the case goes on and more evidence comes in, that material presented in the secret affidavit looms less large. There is a lot to the case and there is no one thing that is going to make or break an issue." The Court informed the parties that the materials were "not of . . . overwhelming psychological impact. . . . If [the defendants] don't want anything done with them that is their problem."

Despite the total collapse of the public Mandigo affidavit, and the withdrawal of its [secret] counterpart, the defendants expended considerable energy at trial in trying to make a case that the plaintiffs are or have been involved in illegal acts or plans linked to violence.

A parade of government witnesses took the stand to offer testimony to this effect. These ranged from FBI informer Ralph Desimone (one of the original eighteen whose identities the government asserted were shielded by informer privilege) to Russell Harding (an informer for the Arizona state police who testified that plaintiff Morris Starsky had once asked him if he knew how to make a bomb, and that the YSA at Arizona State University had been involved in a planned takeover of a campus building in the early 1970s).

The testimony of these and other witnesses called for similar purposes has already been refuted. The decisive measure of how thoroughly unsubstantial and/or discredited their testimony was is the fact that most of these witnesses fail even to make an appearance in the defendants' post-trial memorandum. Following in the trail of the public Mandigo affidavit and the secret affidavit, they have simply vanished.

Thus, we have come full circle. The government labored mightily, on the eve of the trial and during the trial itself, to produce evidence of criminal activities by the SWP and YSA. It has brought forth less than a mouse. We are back to where we were when this Court warned the government that if it could not produce evidence that the plaintiffs were engaged in "illegal activity or threatened illegal activity" it would be found that no such activity took place.

It is for the Court to resolve the factual issue of whether there was a justification — on any ground — for the FBI's forty-year investigation of the SWP and YSA. Any possible claim that this Court does not have the authority and the obligation to review the purported factual basis for an "investigation" which severely trench upon fundamental First and Fourth Amendment rights must be decisively rejected. That obligation is in no way diminished by the fact that the government in this case has advanced a "national security" rationale for its actions.

'National defense'

The courts "may not simply accept bland assurances by the Executive that a situation did, in fact, represent a national security problem." *Smith v. Nixon* (1979). For, ". . . this concept of 'national defense' cannot be deemed an end in itself, justifying any exercise of legis-

lative power designed to promote such a goal. Implicit in the term 'national defense' is the notion of defending those values and ideals which set this Nation apart.

"For almost two centuries, our country has taken singular pride in the democratic ideals enshrined in its Constitution, and the most cherished of those ideals have found expression in the First Amendment.

"It would indeed be ironic if, in the name of national defense, we would sanction the subversion of one of those liberties — the freedom of association — which makes the defense of the Nation worthwhile." *United States v. Robel* (1967).

Thus, the talismanic repetition of the phrase "national security" simply does not immunize from judicial review Executive actions interfering with fundamental rights of association. The more directly such actions "affect domestic activities protected by the Bill of Rights, the more urgent is the need for judicial oversight . . . particularly when the actions have not been authorized by Congress and are not so public as to permit informed scrutiny and review through the political process." *Zweibon v. Mitchell* (1975).

What now remains of the purported factual basis for the "investigation" relates almost exclusively to plaintiffs' advocacy of their revolutionary socialist views, which the defendants claim poses a "threat to the national security."

How gov't answers plaintiffs

The government's long-awaited answer to plaintiffs' September 1981 post-trial memorandum avoids concrete analysis of the central issues of fact and law posed by this case. It relies, instead, on naked assertions of unfettered Executive discretion to combat "subversion" and undefined "threats" to the "national security."

In their memorandum, plaintiffs thoroughly demonstrated that the FBI's "investigation" of the SWP and YSA was without legal authorization. Some nine months later, in their answer, the defendants have offered sweeping generalities as support for their claim that the investigation was authorized — without, however, even attempting to rebut a single aspect of plaintiffs' detailed analysis of the facts and law. That analysis was correct, now stands essentially unchallenged, and provides a solid basis for the relief that plaintiffs request.

Plaintiffs also showed in their post-trial memorandum that the means employed by the FBI in the defendants' "investigation" of the SWP and YSA — the burglaries, warrantless wiretaps and

bugs, informer and disruption operations — unquestionably violated federal law and the Constitution, and involved massive violations of plaintiffs' First and Fourth Amendment rights.

In response to this detailed analysis, the defendants have done little more than assert that the Fourth Amendment does not apply to the SWP and YSA, and that, even if First Amendment rights were impaired, the judiciary is powerless to vindicate those rights in the context of a "national security investigation."

According to the defendants, the use of informers to disrupt and spy upon a political party is "unquestionably legal"; the FBI's Cointelpro operations simply do not give rise to a claim; and as to the massive warrantless burglaries, wiretaps, and bugs, even the "proposition" that these raise "constitutional questions" is a "dubious" one. These bald assertions do not begin to meet the detailed legal and factual analysis supplied by the plaintiffs.

Singled out on political grounds

At the very heart of the claims in this litigation is plaintiffs' charge that the SWP and YSA were singled out for "investigation" on political grounds. Plaintiffs contend that they were subjected for forty years to massive violations of their fundamental rights of association, not because the defendants ever had reason to believe that they were engaging or about to engage in illegal activity, but because the defendants wanted to "prevent" and silence plaintiffs' political activity and advocacy.

Here, the defendants have made virtually no effort to refute plaintiffs' charge. In fact, they readily concede that it is largely, perhaps wholly, true. They merely deny that this charge poses any constitutional issue whatsoever. According to the defendants, they have unfettered discretion to "investigate" those whose "political ideology" is, "as a policy matter, deemed inimical to the good order of the country." The defendants "prove" that plaintiffs are Marxists, and then rest their case.

Quoting plaintiffs' memorandum, defendants inform the Court that the SWP and YSA "are self-professedly in favor of a 'new government . . . to organize the transition from capitalism to socialism,'" and that "plaintiffs' views are based on the fundamental doctrines of Marxism."

The remainder of their factual "justification" is little more than an elaboration of the same theme. The gist of the argument is that the plaintiffs must be watched by the federal police because even if they are engaged solely in lawful activity today, their ideology will lead them to commit lawless acts sometime in the future. As the government puts it, "The SWP's belief in the necessity for a Marxist revolution naturally led to a concern that the SWP would employ force or violence to bring about the revolution."

In short, the Executive claims here to have determined that the members and supporters of the SWP and YSA — and, of course, countless others in this country who share to one degree or another plaintiffs' Marxist views — comprise a class of future criminals. These people, though innocent of wrongdoing today, will supposedly be led inexorably to commit bad acts sometime in the years to come because of their beliefs. The defendants' conclusion is that such people must be "investigated" today (and, apparently, forever) in anticipation of the crimes they may commit in the indefinite future (when the revolution comes).

Were such action taken by Congress,

Continued on next page



Militant Manny Makris

Among the first victims of government attacks on our democratic rights are workers from countries where the U.S. is attempting to smash popular revolutions. The Immigration and Naturalization Service is now trying to deport members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance because of their socialist views.

Continued from previous page

it would be a classic case of a bill of attainder. Such a determination by the Executive, and the actions flowing from that judgment shown in this case, are no less forbidden by the Constitution.

According to the defendants:

"The ultimate purpose of a national security investigation is not to investigate the commission of a crime, but to detect and thereby prevent activities which may lead to the subversion or overthrow of the Government. There can be no doubt that such investigations were authorized, and were conducted for a lawful purpose, namely, the detection of threats to national security."

But the defendants still leave the central question unanswered: What was the "national security" interest that they were seeking to protect in their forty-year long "investigation" of the SWP and YSA? Nowhere, in the thousand-plus pages of their post-trial memoranda, have the defendants even attempted to articulate the "national security" interest advanced as their key defense.

Whatever authority there may be for "national security investigations" when no suspected criminal activity of any kind is involved — and no court has ever recognized the existence of any such authority — surely it cannot be based on nebulous assertions regarding "inimical" ideologies, especially in the area of political advocacy and associations:

"The danger to political dissent is acute where the Government attempts to act under so vague a concept as the power to protect 'domestic security.' Given the difficulty of defining the domestic security interest, the danger of abuse in acting to protect that interest becomes apparent. . . . The price of lawful public dissent must not be a dread of subjection to an unchecked surveillance power." *United States v. United States District Court ("Keith")* (1972).

Vague definition of 'threat'

The vague concept of "national security" is combined in the government's post-trial arguments with an equally vague characterization of the "threat" posed by the SWP and YSA to this asserted interest. Nowhere in their post-trial papers have the defendants attempted to define this threat.

But behind in the haze of the defendants' argument is the clearly visible contour of the real — and ominous — claim of executive power being advanced by the government. The "threat" to the "national security" on which the government bases its defense is, at bottom, the "threat" that the plaintiffs' views, if not "prevented," will gain wider support and acceptance among the American people.

It is not surprising that the defendants shrink from articulating this "threat" in plain and unambiguous language. Yet this is the real basis for their claim that everything the FBI has done to the SWP and YSA — from burglarizing their offices, to taking clandestine

measures to get SWP and YSA members fired from their jobs — was justified.

Defendants' claims of authority to "prevent" the activities of the SWP and YSA have no place in a democratic society. "Those who won our independence by revolution were not cowards. They did not fear political change. They did not exalt order at the cost of liberty." *Whitney v. California* (1927).

The government states:

"Clearly this investigation must have been intended [sic] to range beyond the usually narrow focus of a criminal investigation to encompass information gathering about potential threats to the national security; its starting point was the identification of certain political movements deemed inimical to, and subversive of, our constitutional form of government."

Yet the meaning of the term "subversive," so central to the government's defense, is never explained. Nowhere in their memorandum do the defendants offer a definition, or even the elements of one.

The term "subversive" (like its more contemporary counterpart "national security threat") is a highly ambiguous one. It can be used, as Congress has employed it, to describe certain activities made criminal by statutes, such as treason, enlistment to serve against the United States, and the like. In some contexts, however, the government has used the term to denote activity that is not criminal but is nevertheless disfavored by those in high office.

In 1940 — the year the FBI officially commenced its "investigation" of plaintiffs — the Justice Department responded to public concern, generated by testimony of J. Edgar Hoover to a congressional appropriations committee, that the FBI was relying on the more expansive definition of the term "subversive" in order to "investigate" critics of government policies. The Justice Department assured Congress and the public that any concern was groundless. A

Special Assistant to the Attorney General stated that:

"... the phrase 'subversive activities, or any activities that are possibly detrimental to the internal security of the United States' was used by Mr. Hoover in his testimony in that narrow sense as being limited to activities that constitute violations of statutes that are now on the books. It was not used in the tenuous, nebulous sense in which it is sometimes employed."

'Subversive activity'

The government is now basing its defense in this lawsuit on precisely the "nebulous" definition of "subversive activity" and "national security threat" that demarcates a set of beliefs and/or activities that are *not* criminal, yet are disfavored by the authorities. The government now asserts that the SWP has engaged in activities that, "while [they] may not violate a specific law" are nonetheless "subversive."

It is these "subversive" acts that the government claims the Executive has the power to deter, and if possible, "prevent" — not by criminal prosecution before judge and jury, but by open-ended "investigation." The Executive thus arrogates to itself the power, constitutionally reserved to Congress, to decide what acts are to be forbidden or penalized.

The Executive's list of "subversive acts" is nowhere made public, so that even one seeking to avoid such penalties can never know what is allowed and what proscribed. (The sole example given by the defendants of "an activity which while it may not violate a specific law, is a subversive act" is the attendance at "secret meetings" of the Fourth International.

The government commits the very abuses warned about by Attorney General (later Supreme Court Justice) Robert Jackson in 1940:

"Activities which seem helpful or benevolent to wage earners, persons on relief, or those who are disadvantaged in

the struggle for existence, may be regarded as 'subversive' by those whose property interests might be affected thereby; those who are in office are apt to regard 'subversive' the activities of any of those who would bring about a change of administration. Some of our soundest constitutional doctrines were once punished as 'subversive.'"

The true expanse of the "national security" powers claimed by the Executive can be measured by the fact that the government explicitly defends Cointelpro as a proper exercise of this authority.

As plaintiffs have demonstrated, the disruption programs that in the 1960s were captioned "Cointelpro" were not a departure from the goals of the overall "investigation." Rather, Cointelpro was simply a more bureaucratized (and therefore more fully documented) version of existing policy and practice to prevent, disrupt and punish lawful political activity.

The former Assistant Director of the Intelligence Division of the FBI testified at trial that an essential component of a "counterintelligence" investigation of the kind aimed at the SWP and YSA was "to take measures necessary to assure they won't attain their objectives [,] . . . to prevent their being successful by instituting disruptive practices or any other legal means permissible."

Cointelpro, the defendants claim, was a valid "response to the perceived national security threat of the SWP and YSA." The government blandly states:

"In furtherance of its national security functions, the FBI adopted the technique of disrupting groups perceived to be a threat to the national security. . . . The authority to engage in these techniques was implied in the Presidential directives to the FBI to conduct national security intelligence investigations beginning with those of President [Franklin] Roosevelt. . . . Presidents and Attorneys General were aware of the use of disruptive activities, and they did not question its legality or propriety."

The fact that Presidents and Attorneys General acquiesced in the disruption operations does not make these acts lawful. If anything, the evidence of complicity at the highest levels in the FBI's wrongdoing increases the need for this Court to issue the injunctive relief plaintiffs are seeking. To do less would be to grant the Executive the very powers against which the First Amendment was enacted as a barrier.

Whatever the President's "national security" powers might be, they cannot include the power to authorize the disruption of lawful activities of opposition parties. The Supreme Court has "not been slow to recognize that the protection of the First Amendment bars subtle as well as obvious devices by which political association might be stifled." *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware Co.* (1982).

The defendants are now asking this Court to go beyond all existing judicial precedent and legitimize, in the name of the "national security," open-ended disruptive "investigations" against politi-

Continued on next page

Political Rights Defense Fund

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is the organization that raises funds for and publicizes the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against the U.S. government.

- ☐ I would like more information about PRDF.
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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK	
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, et al., Plaintiffs,	73 Civ. 3160 (TPO)
- against -	
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, et al., Defendants.	
<p>SECRET POLICE ON TRIAL</p> <p>PLAINTIFFS' POST-TRIAL MEMORANDUM OF FACTS AND LAW</p>	

Reagan's new ally against Nicaragua

Continued from Page 5

gan administration's constant military threats against the Sandinista revolution.

If you believe Pastora, the Sandinistas inherited a Garden of Eden, which they have proceeded to run down due to "mismanagement" and their obsession with building "a large and costly military establishment."

Nicaragua was a desperately poor country before the Sandinista revolution. Three years later, working under the extremely adverse conditions men-

tioned above, it remains poor. But Nicaragua's working people have made substantial gains that Pastora conveniently neglects to mention to American readers.

Among the biggest gains have been the massive literacy campaign carried out after the revolution, and the extension of the educational and health-care systems to the urban poor and rural populations.

In addition, the agrarian reform has been a tremendous success. As the authoritative *Latin American Regional*

Reports stated in its June 4 issue, "The agrarian reform has made impressive advances." The *Report* points out that "in the post-revolutionary period the consumption of basic grains has soared."

The prices of basic foodstuffs have been subsidized to protect the workers and peasants from inflation. Taxes on the rich have been increased to provide funds to build the economy and social services.

In 1981, despite all the obstacles, the Nicaraguan economy grew by 8.7 percent. Its performance has been far better than any of its neighbors. In Guatemala the economy grew by only 1 percent, in Honduras by 0.5 percent, in Costa Rica it fell by 1.5 percent, and in El Salvador it fell by 9.5 percent.

Pastora's real complaint about the Sandinista leadership is that the Sandinista government is building an economy based on the interests of the workers and peasants rather than those of the rich. This is what he really means by the "hostile environment for the private sector."

He laments that the Sandinistas have "scared off foreign and local investors." He cries about the "expropriations" of the properties of the rich.

Interestingly, in Costa Rica, from which Pastora issued his initial blast at the Sandinistas, the probusiness government has carried out all the programs Pastora advocates in his article. Yet that country is now literally bankrupt. It cannot pay even the interest on its foreign debt, and the government is carrying out programs that are causing

a sharp drop in the living standards of Costa Rican workers and farmers.

Pastora laments that "thousands of well-trained entrepreneurs" and professionals are leaving Nicaragua.

That is true. Many of the leading figures of the big-business circles have left or are leaving. They simply do not want to live in a society run by the overwhelming majority, the workers and farmers.

When people like that leave Nicaragua, it shows that a real revolution is taking place, that the revolutionary process is deepening.

Many sectors of society had united around the aim of getting rid of the corrupt Somoza dictatorship. But they differed on what kind of society to build in its place. As Onofre Guevara wrote in the July 19 issue of the FSLN newspaper *Barricada*, "The days when it seemed there could be a harmonious consensus of classes around the revolution are already long gone; the classes become ever more widely separated as the passage of time makes it increasingly clear that there is a difference between a true revolution and the attempt to limit it to a simple change in the people in power."

The Sandinistas are determined to carry out a "true revolution," to set up a government and society that act in the interests of the oppressed and exploited. Pastora cannot stand this, so he left.

But that reaction is not surprising. As Augusto César Sandino, Nicaragua's revolutionary hero, said many years ago, "Only the workers and peasants will go all the way."



Intercontinental Press/Jane Harris

Miskitu Indians are under attack from counterrevolutionaries supported by the U.S. government. These Miskitu are among those who were moved to new home which is more protected from these murderous raids.

Socialists answer government in historic lawsuit

Continued from previous page

cal organizations that are suspected of no criminal plans or activity.

To be sure, the courts have recognized that a "national security" investigation may have as its purpose prevention, rather than prosecution, of acts which Congress has made punishable as crimes, such as espionage, sabotage and treason.

No court, however, has ever held or suggested that wholly lawful First Amendment activity — favored activity, which is entitled to special constitutional protection from even subtle attacks and incidental impairment, let alone from outright disruption and "prevention" — may provide the basis for such an investigation.

There is no authority today for the proposition that lawful advocacy of a political ideology poses a "threat to the national security" which the government may seek to "prevent."

Defendants seek to strengthen their "national security" claim by alleging that the plaintiffs pose some kind of "foreign" threat, thus bringing the FBI's actions into the area where the Executive's powers are greatest. Defendants assert that the SWP and YSA "have a significant connection with a foreign power," presumably the Fourth International.

Yet defendants fail even to attempt to show that the SWP's relations with the Fourth International, or with any foreign government, bring them within the reach of any possibly applicable standard for "foreign intelligence" or "foreign counterintelligence" targets.

This Court must reject the "national security" rationale for the decades-long FBI operation against the plaintiffs.

If the advocacy and actions of the SWP and YSA created a reasonable basis for belief that a crime had been or was about to be committed, an investigation by the FBI (though not a punitive and disruptive one lasting forty years) might have been justified as a law enforcement action. But if the FBI actions against the SWP and YSA cannot be justified on the grounds of enforcement of criminal statutes, they cannot be justified at all.

With regard to the fundamental Fourth Amendment issues posed by this case, defendants, ironically, seek an advantage from the fact that the FBI's spying on the SWP and YSA had no basis in criminal law enforcement. They attempt to parlay the "national security" rationale into a sweeping exemption to the strictures of the Fourth Amendment. While conceding that the bugs, wiretaps, and burglaries admittedly carried out against the plaintiffs would be forbidden by the Fourth Amendment if the SWP and YSA had been reasonably suspected of criminal wrongdoing, the defendants assert that because no such predicate for the FBI intrusions existed, they were allowable under the Fourth Amendment.

This rationale is contrary to law and to logic. Whatever the Court's conclusions may be on the justification for the FBI investigation as a whole, it must independently find that the Fourth Amendment has been massively and repeatedly violated by the FBI's actions in this case.

As plaintiffs pointed out in their opening statement at trial, "For the past forty years, the defendants have made a decision to pursue their efforts to weaken the SWP and YSA, not through indictment, but through what is in many ways the far more damaging course to the plaintiffs of permanent investigation, and public stigmatization."

For forty years, the SWP and YSA were denied the right to present evidence on their own behalf, to examine their accusers, and to seek judicial review of the constitutionality of the government's position that their Marxist views and organizing activities are not protected by the First Amendment.

On the basis of the trial record amassed in this case, plaintiffs believe that this Court can now resolve that fundamental First Amendment question. In addition to their request for monetary and injunctive relief, they seek a declaration from this Court that their activities, as demonstrated by the record in this case, are fully protected by the First Amendment.

In responding to this request, the gov-

ernment complains that "[i]n effect plaintiffs seek a verdict from the court of 'not guilty'" In this brief remark, defendants revealed more than was prudent about their true position.

It would be foolish indeed for the SWP and YSA to ask this Court for a verdict of not guilty: For, although the government seems to have forgotten it, the fact is that *plaintiffs stand accused of no crime*. Not since 1941 has there been a single prosecution, let alone conviction. *Plaintiffs are indeed not guilty, and need*

no declaration to establish that fact.

However, as this case has made abundantly clear, it is not enough to be "not guilty" to be free from government spying and harassment. That is why, nine years ago, plaintiffs initiated this action, to seek judicial relief from the oppressive acts of the government.

Granting plaintiffs the relief they seek will be a vindication not only of their rights, but of the basic rights and liberties of the American people as a whole.

Further reading on Latin America revolution



Sandinistas Speak

Speeches, writings, and interviews with leaders of Nicaragua's revolution.

By Tomás Borge, Carlos Fonseca, Daniel Ortega, Humberto Ortega, and Jaime Wheelock.

160 pp. \$4.95

Fidel Castro on Chile

Education for Socialists

158 pp., \$5.00

The U.S. War Drive and the World Economic Crisis

Speech by Fidel Castro to the Tenth World Trade Union Congress in February 1982.

30 pp., \$.75

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

Grenada: a beacon in the Caribbean

Continued from Page 11

Racism is against the law. When I think about all the things you can be locked up for in the U.S., I don't know one way you can be locked up for being a racist or for discriminating against women.

There's a massive nutrition program now in Grenada that is sponsored by the National Women's Organization. Again, prior to the March 13 revolution, there was gross malnutrition in Grenada.

Now there's a program sponsored by the NWO to not only do away with malnutrition, but to make sure that everyone has an abundance of nutritious food so everyone can participate in the building of the country.

Grenada has one of the most fertile soils in the whole Caribbean basin. But prior to 1979 they were not able to even plant the kind of crops they needed to feed themselves. They were almost a one-crop country. The same happened in Africa, where most nations were cash-crop nations, where someone else living outside a nation would determine what you would raise and export to meet someone else's needs.

Now in Grenada they are raising foodstuffs to meet their own needs first.

Also, the mass organizations carried out an adult literacy program. Now in the various provinces and zones across the nation, there is a government-sponsored adult literacy program, where in the short period of 18 months, you now have people in their 50s and 60s reading for the first time in their lives. A concrete benefit of the transformation of that society.

Youth organization

Another mass-based organization in Grenada is called the National Youth Organization (NYO). Young people are a vital part of the continuing revolutionary process. Young people are not looked at as some appendage to the struggle, but as a vital component.

There are young people who are members and leaders of the New Jewel Movement. Some ministers are in their twenties. Maurice Bishop, the prime minister, is in his mid-30s. Sixty percent of the population of Grenada is under 40.

I don't know of any progressive movement in the U.S. that puts adequate attention on youth. And I think that if we are to achieve what we need to achieve in this society, we better involve more youth at all levels of our struggle.

Grenada's budget

In conclusion I want to talk about the budget of Grenada. In the United States, the president, the folks he hires, Stockman and those, write the budget with no chance for the people of the U.S. to be involved.

Whoever determines how the dollar is spent or how the budget is expended, will determine what the priorities of that particular society will be.

The majority of our economy goes to the military because that's where the priority of the U.S. is right now: to maintain military superiority over the rest of the world. It goes to maintain the multinational corporations around the world, because that's its priority.

The free-enterprise system is a free system to exploit, not a free system to work for one's own labor.

But in Grenada it's very interesting that the national budget does not start in the prime minister's home. The budget-discussion process starts at what's called zone councils. And that's where the different parishes are broken down into different zones.

The budget was actually submitted at the zonal level, then went to the parish level.

Now I'm talking about a democratic discussion. I'm talking about a democratic construction of what the will of the people really is.

The question is, Why is it that a nation that is relatively young like Grenada can have that kind of people's participatory democracy at the grass-roots level. While here in the U.S. — with all the mass communications, with all the television, with all the cable, with all the radio, with all the news — the people aren't involved in the budget-determination process.

You might say, Well, we elect congressmen to represent us and debate the different budgets. You check out how the congressman in your district votes. You check it out, and see if those votes are in line with your will.

We do not have the type of system they have in Grenada. If there is democracy in this country, I can only call it bourgeois democracy. If I had to describe it, I'd be certain of the bourgeois, but I'm not too certain about the democracy.

Black nationalism

Grenada, while we talk about it being Black power in the Caribbean, understands an internationalist perspective. The Grenadians got the spark from the Black power movement in the U.S. They were devout Black nationalists. Because there's nothing wrong with being a Black nationalist, number one. And number two, to be a Black nationalist is a developmental thing.

You can't jump out here and call yourself whatever you want to call yourself, I don't believe, if you don't go through some of these steps and really know who you are and how that has affected your own history and culture.

While they began as staunch Black nationalists — there's nothing wrong with that — they developed. Because they understood that if they were to maintain an authentic, accountable, responsible revolution in the interests of their people, it would be necessary for them to make linkages, concrete linkages, with other peoples who have gone through a revolutionary transformation of their economy.

In other words, in the world today, there is really but one struggle: between those who would exploit and the exploited, between those who would oppress and the oppressed themselves, between those who would be in favor of the insurance of human rights for all people and those who are the gross violators of human rights of other people.

And there really is no middle ground. There is no middle ground. And I know, particularly in my own community, in my own race there are many brothers and sisters who would like to ride that imaginary fence. But it is an imaginary fence. If you're not a part of the solution, you're automatically a part of the problem.

The brothers and sisters in Grenada in a mass sense have decided that they're going to be part of the solution to their historic problems. That is why Grenada today stands as a beacon light, not only for Black power, but for People's power; not only for Black power, but for the progressive forces of the world.

And that is why they have built fraternal ties with the people of Nicaragua. That is why they have built fraternal ties with the people of Cuba. That is why they have built fraternal ties with brothers and sisters in Angola, in Mozambique, in Zimbabwe, and other places where there has been a revolutionary transformation of society in a continuing sense.

And that is what the internationalist perspective really boils down to.

With an internationalist perspective, there comes a time to decide where one comes down. As a minister I want to fully say that God requires me to be on the side of the oppressed. God requires me to be on the side of those who have made up their mind that they're tired of injustice and are going to do something about it. I believe that the Lord helps



Militant/Baxter Smith

"Grenada, while we talk about it being Black power in the Caribbean, understands an internationalist perspective." May 23 rally in Grenada to welcome Mozambique President Samora Machel (center, at microphone). To left of Machel is Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

those who help themselves. I believe God's a god of justice, of liberation.

How we can help

In closing, the people of Grenada told us, If you really want to help the worldwide struggle, if you really want to help the peoples outside the U.S. struggling for freedom, then take care of business here in the U.S. Because so much of the struggle, so much of the suffering of the rest of the world, emanates from here.

It is in our own interests to struggle

here in the U.S. But it is also in the interests of the peoples of the world. If we can stop this madness of the military-industrial complex of our nation, if we can stop the imperialist designs of those who control its economy, then we can turn around the trends toward very real fascism in this land. Then we not only help preserve ourselves for future life, but I believe we'll make a contribution to the rest of the world.

That is the lesson and the message from Grenada. But more important, it's the lesson and the responsibility for us today.

Black self-determination in the United States

Continued from Page 11

say that we're going to fight for freedom within the context of the transformation of U.S. society?

We believe that the character of our struggle must be that of a national liberation struggle.

We've heard of many national liberation struggles, particularly in Africa and some parts of the Caribbean. And we can learn from those struggles.

But I believe that the national liberation struggle that Black people must wage inside the United States must be fundamentally different from all others, because the situation of living in capitalist America is different from living anywhere else in the world. We must study our situation, we must develop adequate strategies and a methodology that can succeed.

Most of us don't study enough. I don't think you can transform that which you don't understand.

We need more forums. We need more organizing activities. We need more giving of the meager resources that we have toward the movement. We need to raise the consciousness of more people higher, and pay special attention to our youth.

We need to write more. We need to study more. Everybody ought to have a book in their briefcase — if you've got a briefcase. And read. And debate.

Black culture

While I'm discussing the need for a national liberation struggle in the context of the United States, I want to raise the question of culture.

The African liberation leader Amilcar Cabral, writing on February 20, 1970, said this on the question of culture in relationship to the national liberation struggle:

"History teaches us that in certain circumstances it is very easy for the foreigner to impose his domination on a people. But it also teaches us, whatever the material aspects of this domination, it can be maintained only by the per-

manent, organized repression of the cultural life of the people concerned."

Carbral went on to say:

"The value of culture as an element of resistance to foreign domination lies in the fact that culture is the vigorous manifestation on the ideological and idealist plane of the physical and historical reality for the society that has been oppressed and condemned."

In other words, resident within 30 million Black people in this country has been a culture that has been repressed, that needs to be resurrected in a revolutionary sense.

Too often, people see culture as being something separate and away from the overall political organizing and political education of one's people. But at least African history has shown that culture is such a vital link.

Political parties

Also under the banner of the national liberation struggle, I believe that we need some political parties that are committed to the transformation of this society.

Recently, I've come to the position that one party is not going to do it all. I think there has to be a mass-based party that is committed to organizing the masses of our people. I also think there has to be a vanguard party that is committed to leading the people in the correct revolutionary direction.

The vanguard party and the mass political party need not have separate, counterposed objectives. In fact, they should be complementary. One point further, I believe membership in the vanguard party ought to be predetermined by one's work in the mass-based party.

Let me be bold enough to suggest tonight that I don't see any progressive motion forward unless Black people in this country take a greater vanguard position. History has shown that this country has never tilted in a progressive direction until Black people were angry enough and were organized enough and got tired of waiting on whites to do it,

Continued on next page

The speeches of Fidel Castro on Chile

Fidel Castro on Chile. An Education for Socialists bulletin. 158 pages, 8½ by 11 format, \$5. Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, New York 10014.

BY JACQUIE HENDERSON

The electoral victory of the Popular Unity (UP) coalition in Chile in November 1970 inspired millions throughout Latin America and around the world. The UP's victory reflected a broad radicalization of the Chilean masses. It was seen as the most significant blow to imperialism in Latin America since the Cuban revolution.

The UP government was a coalition that included the strong Socialist and Communist parties, along with the smaller bourgeois Radical Party. During its first year in office, it initiated important reforms.

Foreign holdings in the copper, nitrate, iron, and coal industries were nationalized, as were many banks and textile mills. A significant increase in

BOOK REVIEW

wages was mandated, and children were assured half a quart of milk per day. Steps to implement a land reform were taken.

The UP also took some key foreign policy stands that infuriated imperialism — especially its opposition to U.S. intervention in Vietnam, and the opening of diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba.

Even before UP leader Salvador Allende was sworn in as president, the imperialists attempted to overthrow him. During the three years of UP rule, Washington acted continuously to sabotage the Chilean economy and destabilize the country. On September 11, 1973, the imperialist campaign culminated in a bloody coup and the installation of a military dictatorship that remains in power to this day.

From the beginning, the Cubans had enthusiastically greeted the UP victory and defended the UP government against imperialism. In 1971 Fidel Castro went to Chile at the invitation of Allende and

spent three weeks traveling throughout the country. He spoke with hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants, and students in mass meetings and individually.

Fidel expressed the support of the Cuban people for the struggle in Chile. He exposed and condemned the role of imperialism — whose sabotage he witnessed during his visit. And he explained the Cuban experience, where reliance on the mobilization of the workers and peasants was key to the success of the revolution.

In Chile, too, the mobilization of the workers and peasants was essential to the defense and extension of the anti-imperialist gains they had made. But the UP was caught in a contradiction on this score.

Pressure from the masses pushed the UP to take measures against imperialism. But at the same time, the UP government included bourgeois parties and forces — even some army generals — who feared the mobilization of the masses. The top UP leadership sought to limit the struggles of the workers and peasants in order to maintain their coalition with capitalist forces.

The crushing defeat of the Chilean masses in 1973 echoed throughout Latin America and opened up a discussion on the lessons of this experience that continues today. *Fidel Castro on Chile*, which reprints a collection of speeches and interviews from Fidel's 1971 tour, is an important contribution to this discussion.

What were the ideas that Fidel presented when he visited Chile?

First of all, he welcomed the UP victory as an important opportunity for the working masses. As he explained to the Executive Board of the Chilean Workers Confederation: "The electoral victory was like a door slightly ajar. But it was, nevertheless, a breach, an opening, a little slit, if you wish."

At the same time, Fidel warned, "It would be absurd to think that the road that lies ahead is an easy one; it would be absurd to think that the interests which have been affected are going to stand idly by and do nothing."

The main danger, Fidel said, was U.S. imperialism. "You can be sure that all the reactionaries, the

oligarchs, the fascists and their like are nothing without the support of U.S. imperialism. The people would crush them within 24 hours. . . .

"And I repeat that in Cuba, in Vietnam or in any country in Latin America, U.S. imperialism has been, is and will continue to be the principal enemy."

Fidel also stressed the central role of the working class in the revolutionary process. Comparing the revolution to a child, he said: "It's up to the working class to take care of the baby, because nobody else is going to do it."

At the end of his tour, Fidel spoke to a rally of 60,000 in Santiago. He warned once again of the coming confrontation, saying, "No social system ever resigned itself to disappearing from the face of the earth of its own free will. No social system ever resigned itself to revolution."

Repeating that "there is no case in history in which the reactionaries, the exploiters, the privileged members of a social system, resign themselves to change, resign themselves peacefully to change," Fidel asks:

"Who will develop more awareness faster? The exploiters or the exploited? Who will learn faster from the lessons of this process? The people or the enemies of the people?"

When the crowd answers "The people!" Fidel asks, "Are you absolutely sure . . . are you completely sure that you have learned more than your exploiters have?"

And when they answer yes, he says, "Then, allow me to say that I don't agree this time with the masses."

Fidel pointed to the divisions among the masses in Chile and to the relative weakness of the mass mobilizations there. "I said that it would take two hours for us [in Cuba] to get together 10 times as many people as there are here now. And I also say that we can mobilize 600,000 men in arms in 24 hours!"

Fidel went on to explain that the kind of social mobilization he was talking about meant breaking out of the capitalist framework. "What is it that gives our people this deep motivation in their unity against danger from the outside? The fact that, when it comes to defending our country, that country is not divided between millionaires and paupers, between wealthy landowners with all the privileges in the world and miserable peasants without land or work, living a life of poverty. . . . Our country is not divided between the privileged and the dispossessed."

Shortly before the military coup, in a letter dated July 29, 1973, Fidel wrote to Allende. He quoted the letter in a speech in Havana — the last piece in this book — following the coup.

He had urged Allende, "Don't ever forget the extraordinary strength of the Chilean working class and the firm support it has always given you in difficult moments. In response to your call when the revolution is in danger, it can block those who are organizing a coup, maintain the support of the fence-sitters, impose its conditions, and decide the fate of Chile once and for all if the need arises. The enemy must realize that the Chilean working class is on the alert and ready to go into action. Its power and fighting spirit can tilt the scales in the capital in your favor, even though other circumstances may be unfavorable."

Allende did not mobilize the working class in this way, but as Fidel told the Cuban people upon his return from Nicaragua in July 1980, one result of the bloody defeat in Chile was that "the peoples learned their lessons and saw that there was only one road to liberation: that of Cuba, that of Grenada, that of Nicaragua."



Right: Fidel Castro in Chile with the late President Salvador Allende.

The Black struggle for self-determination in the U.S.

Continued from previous page

and took the first step.

I really think this is important. Because sometimes people on the left — particularly whites on the left — get uncomfortable when they see Black people come together. I think they ought to celebrate when Black people come together. Because Black people coming together ultimately will help white people come together.

I'm proud to be working with the one party today that is committed to building a mass-based party for Black people in the United States. I'm talking about the National Black Independent Political Party.

Goals of NBIPP

The National Black Independent Political Party aims to attain power to radically transform the present socioeconomic order — that is, to achieve self-determination and social and political

freedom for the masses of Black people. Therefore, our party actively opposes racism, sexism, imperialism, and capitalist exploitation.

NBIPP is a national organization, in that we seek to organize Black people in every state and region in this country. Our party is Black, in that we seek to organize people of African descent first and foremost. It is independent, in that we draw our source of support, strength, and direction from Black people in accordance with a belief in the value and dignity of our history and culture, with consideration and respect for all other peoples.

Our party is political in the sense that it reflects that multifaceted nature of the socioeconomic and political power which must be organized to challenge the many forms of oppression arrayed against the masses of Black people.

Lastly, NBIPP is a party, because we establish goals, identify our interests, problems, and priorities, and formulate

projects and programs to achieve and defend our interests as a people.

As a political organization we strive to prioritize the needs of our people and unite them around a concrete program. We will synthesize the aspirations of our people and define political programs and develop an ideological framework for mass political action.

NBIPP in practice

The NBIPP's responsibility is to put all of that into some kind of practice. And I want to report to you that in various parts of the country that is happening.

We have a chapter of the party in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, that consistently provides political education for brothers and sisters who live in Winston-Salem. A lot of them work for Reynolds Tobacco Co.

The party in Winston-Salem is also feeding people. We've organized a farm-

to-market program. We organize Black farmers, who have almost been shut out of business because of agribusiness, or because when they raise their produce they have nowhere to sell it. So we've organized Black farmers to bring their produce to certain parking lots every weekend, where they're able to sell their produce, provide jobs for people on the farms, and allow people in the city to get fresh fruit and vegetables at a price they can afford.

I think that is an example of what the party must do, of what NBIPP must continue to do if it's to live out its calling.

I invite all African people who are here tonight to study what NBIPP is about, learn what the party is about.

We don't claim to have the total plan for Black freedom. But we believe that if we work together we can find it. We believe that if we work together we can make a progressive step forward that would be in the interests of all oppressed people.

Progress report — Those concerned about educational cutbacks will be gratified to learn that Texas A&M bought



Harry Ring

100 new automobiles for use by members of the athletic department.

Trickle downers at play — As we write these lines, Reagan cabinet members and their corporate cohorts are gathered at the Bohemia Club in the California redwoods for R&R. The club excludes women as members and employees. This was upheld by a federal judge concerned with not inhibiting members' practice of urinating when and where they please.

At least under capitalism — "A Large Wheat Crop Isn't Necessarily Good News." — Headline.

Bone crushers — The Agriculture Department will permit meat processors to stop listing ground up bones as an ingredient in hot dogs, etc. Instead they can simply list the calcium content. The research director of the Community Nutrition Institute likened this to labelling tobacco "protein."

Like Reagan's budget — The toy version of GI Joe is back, this time as part of an "antiterrorist" team. Each of the 11 figures retail for under \$3. But the complete set — including jeeps, tanks and missiles — adds

up to nearly \$200.

To store your life savings — A handcrafted Ron Jar, to hold jelly beans, is available at \$19.50. Or, if you prefer something sartorial, there's the \$15 jelly bean necktie. (Check with the White House for a better price. They get them in quantity for \$10).

Extending the crackdown? — No more Mister Nice Guy. Those roach traps they used to advertise as "roach motels" are now being plugged as "roach prisons." A reader suggests that maybe they're for roaches that

stole towels from the motels.

What are we coming to? — A drop in sales compelled Neiman-Marcus, the plush Dallas-based department store chain, to hold its first clearance sale ever. But it was done Neiman-Marcus style. They rented the San Antonio convention center.

Thought for the week — "The atomic bomb is a marvelous gift that was given to our country by a wise god." — Women's rights opponent Phyllis Schlafly.

Minnesota farmers discuss debt crisis

Continued from Page 32

come the financial bind of farmers.

The spokesman for the National Farmers Organization (NFO) blasted the Farm Home Administration, the government agency that is supposed to make loans available to farmers when private banks and loan associations won't risk it, for tightening up its credit policies and foreclosing more and more farms. "The challenge today is to improve the rural economy," he said, adding that the strategy needed "after all the political speeches get shaken out, is collective bargaining for farmers."

Pat O'Reilly, representing the AAM, pointed out that although "65 percent of all new wealth comes from agriculture, farm debt today is 200 billion."

He said, "Unity between farmers, labor, industry . . . is needed to get parity in the economy."

No one spoke for the Farmers Union or Farm Bureau. Dave Ostendorf, who spoke representing the Iowa Farm Unity Coalition, said that "to achieve parity and a moratorium on foreclosures, we need to organize."

"Land concentration here is not much different than Central America. . . . It's time to organize for peace and economic justice," Ostendorf also reported that plans were under way for an October 2 demonstration against low farm prices.

The Iowa Farm Unity Coalition includes the U.S. Farmers Association, NFO, Iowa Farmers Union, AAM in Iowa, and Rural America.

Dr. John Wefald, president of Southwest State University, was the top-billed speaker at the fairgrounds. Today, he said, "farmers grow from fence to fence for little or nothing, but if farmers got a fair return on investment, in two years the \$1.1 trillion rural economy would turn around."

Appealing to the general dissatisfaction of people over government policies, Wefald, whose speech received a standing ovation, said, "Neither Democrats nor Republicans in power the last 30 years have made any difference to farmers."

He said the best time for farmers was



under the Truman administration. Then, he said, "we had full production, full employment, and a balanced budget."

Bill Onasch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate and an electrical worker, campaigned throughout the day with garment worker Carole Lesnick, the Socialist Workers candidate for lieutenant governor.

They distributed hundreds of statements that gave support to Wayne Cryts

and to the 20 southeastern Minnesota farmers who are suing the bankrupt Kern Elevator Co. for \$750,000 worth of their grain.

At the end of the speaking program, Onasch addressed the grandstand crowd briefly along with Paul Wellstone, Democratic Farmer-Labor-endorsed candidate for state auditor, and Marlene Johnson, Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor.

Onasch said, "We need unity but it

cannot be based on the interests of everybody. My campaign claims only to represent the interests of workers and farmers, not bosses and bankers.

"To advance the struggle today against massive unemployment and the destruction of the family farm, farmers and workers must fight against the same enemies.

"We need a new political party based on the unions, that can fight for workers and farmers alike."

NEA convention takes up war question

BY JEFF MACKLER

LOS ANGELES — Opposition to Washington's war policy and deep anger at the massive and continuing assault on public education were at the center of the annual convention of the 1.7-million-member National Education Association (NEA), held here July 1-6.

On the first day of the convention, delegates from more than 25 states met to form the NEA peace caucus, an unofficial body, which adopted a three-point statement of purpose:

- A commitment to world peace and

opposition to nuclear war.

- Support of the right of oppressed peoples to self-determination, and opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Guatemala.

- A rechanneling of military expenditures to public education and other social services.

During a convention recess on July 5, the peace caucus, with the support of the NEA leadership, organized an antiwar rally at the convention center, which attracted more than 6,000 delegates. The rally featured disabled Vietnam veteran leader Ron Kovic, who brought virtually everyone to their feet when he implored the delegates: "Don't ever send your kids to El Salvador to fight in a war we have no business in. We had no right to be in Vietnam and we have no right to do the same thing in El Salvador or anywhere else."

Carlos Ugalde, speaking as the representative of the Los Angeles chapter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, described the plight of teachers and other unionists in that country.

Also speaking at the rally were Jorge Chinchilla, an exiled Guatemalan teacher, and Teresa Rayburn, a participant in Nicaragua's national literacy campaign.

The rally also included NEA President Willard McGuire and the union's executive director, Terry Herndon.

The following day, delegates held a march for public education through the streets of downtown Los Angeles. Carry-

ing handmade placards, many saying "Books not bombs," an estimated 7,000 to 9,000 teachers marched against government spending priorities that have dealt unprecedented blows to teachers and public education.

In other convention actions, delegates, by more than a 90-percent majority, passed new-business items calling for "an immediate, universal nuclear weapons freeze."

A resolution was also adopted calling on the U.S. government "to refrain from any U.S. plan for overt or covert action that would destabilize Nicaragua or would adversely affect that government's successful campaign against illiteracy."

Jeff Mackler, a member of the Hayward Unified Teachers Association, was a delegate to the NEA convention.

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‘Independent Black Political Action: 1954-78’

***Independent Black Political Action 1954-78: The Struggle to Break with the Democratic and Republican Parties*, edited by Mac Warren. An Education for Socialists publication, published by Pathfinder Press, New York, 1982; 72 pages, \$3.50.**

BY MIKE TABER

“There is greater interest today in independent working-class political action than at any time since the 1940s” Mac Warren and Malik Miah write in

BOOK REVIEW

their introduction to this new Education for Socialists publication. Referring to the U.S. rulers’ all-round attack on working people at home and abroad, they point out, “More and more workers — Black, white, and Latino — are coming to understand that these anti-working-class and racist policies are a bipartisan effort of both capitalist parties; that the Democrats and Republicans offer no other solution to the crisis of world capitalism except austerity and war.”

For this reason, the publication of this bulletin could not have come at a better time. *Independent Black Political Action 1954-78* is a collection of articles and documents from the *Militant* and other socialist publications tracing the Black movement’s

fight since the 1950s to break from the capitalist parties and chart an independent working-class course. It is divided into nine sections that cover some of the most important chapters in this struggle and that present the Socialist Workers Party’s stance toward it.

Much of this bulletin is devoted to several of the important formations in the Black movement that did embark on the road to independent political action. These include the Michigan Freedom Now Party, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, the Black Panther Party, and the National Black Political Assembly.

Through contemporary articles, we are able to trace the development of these groups: their formation and growth, their electoral efforts, and the problems and obstacles they faced. Key programmatic documents of most of these groups have been included.

The experiences of these pioneer efforts contain many important lessons for today’s new generation of fighters. One of these is how the capitalist government has attempted to sabotage, derail, and destroy every movement by Blacks toward genuine independent working-class political action. In each case, an important role in these attacks was played by the Democratic and Republican parties, including Black elected officials in those parties.

Another important aspect of the bulletin is the conclusions drawn of what independent political action is and why socialists support it. Articles by SWP lead-

ers Farrell Dobbs and Jack Barnes explain the working-class axis of the fight for independent Black political action, and point to the importance of program as a decisive criterion.

Other articles explain how independent Black political action sets an example for the labor movement to follow. One important document that is included is the Socialist Workers Party’s 1967 resolution, “The Case for an Independent Black Party,” which summarizes the revolutionary dynamic embodied in such a development.

As its introduction states, this bulletin is a companion to another recent Education for Socialists publication, entitled *The National Black Independent Political Party: An Important Step Forward for Blacks and Other American Workers*, by Nan Bailey, Malik Miah, and Mac Warren. Reading about the earlier attempts to form a Black party provides a better appreciation of the NBIPP’s significance.

The central component of this latter bulletin is the report to the August 1981 convention of the SWP, which explains the stance of the SWP toward the NBIPP.

Given the growing disgust of working people with the Democratic and Republican parties today, an increasing number of people are looking for a political alternative. Both these Education for Socialists publications will be valuable resources for those trying to build such a genuine alternative for Blacks and all working people.

‘We Dig Coal’: a portrait of three women miners

***We Dig Coal: A Portrait of Three Women.* A documentary produced by State of the Art.**

BY CLARE FRAENZL

Marilyn McCusker, Bernice Dombrowski, and Mary Louise Carson were three of the over 3,500 women who fought their way into coal mining jobs since 1973. Like most other miners, they were driven into the pits by economic necessity.

We Dig Coal is their story — and more. With sometimes comic, sometimes bawdy, sometimes tragic simplicity, the film records the struggle of these unwitting pioneers. It also records the reactions of male

for it.” She has also applied for a job at Rushton. “I don’t think they could take two Dombroskis down there,” Bernice laughs at her daughter.

McCusker, Carson, and Dombroski did have to sue to get their jobs. It took three years. They also had to deal with a company doctor who suddenly discovered all three had back problems after they won their suit.

One of the most interesting aspects of the film is the reactions of other miners to the three women. “Times change,” one retired miner states. “These women work in factories. It gets sweaty hot. They make \$3 or \$4 an hour. Why shouldn’t they come into the mine where it’s cool? They get dirty. But they make \$7 or \$8 an hour,” a young union officer explains.

“A woman just don’t belong in the mine. That’s all,” states Harry Koptchak. “It’s just not feminine,” says his wife.

Harry Koptchak was working with McCusker the day she was killed. Koptchak’s uncles and father were killed in the mines. Two months after his father died in a roof fall, he was called to work at Rushton. They assigned him to the same section in which his father died.

“When Marilyn was killed, he came home and cried and cried. Then he started drinking,” Koptchak’s wife recalls. “He wanted to quit the mine.” Harry didn’t think women should work in the mine. But he was Marilyn’s buddy and her friend.

The film makes clear that, whatever their opinions, few miners hassled the three pioneers. When a few tried, the women were ready for them.

“Marilyn and I worked together a lot,” Carson explained. “After she died, two of my buddies ganged up on me. They threw a rock at my foot. I got bruised up pretty bad. I coulda caused them a lot of trouble. But I didn’t.”

Carson grins. “I told them I’d beat ’em up with my hammer.”

Despite constant company harassment, the women continued to work in the mine. “They gave us every dirty job they could . . . to discourage us,” Dombroski says. The women rockdusted. They set timbers and canvas. They helped bolt. Dombroski caught her hand on a roof-bolting wrench. She broke two fingers, ripped her waist open and cracked two ribs. After that, she finished the shift.

They were union activists, too. “They were real good on the picket lines, better than some men. They stood behind the union.” the UMWA local president comments. That was not surprising. Carson had been fired from a sewing factory for leading a strike against the sweatshop conditions there.

We Dig Coal is our story — the story of working women who won’t go back, who can’t go back to when women were excluded from higher-paying jobs and told they belonged in the kitchens and sweatshops.

Women like McCusker, Dombroski, and Carson are not trying to be crusaders or heroines. They are simply trying to make a living to support themselves and their families. In the process, they are bringing profound change to every nook and cranny of the American social fabric — with guts, with humor, and with incredible tenacity.

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Halt U.S. aid to Somali regime

The Reagan administration has begun airlifting \$20 million worth of arms to the east African country of Somalia to help prop up the dictatorial regime of President Mohammed Siad Barre.

The State Department, in a July 24 statement, tried to justify this move with the claim that Somalia is the victim of military attacks supported by the government in neighboring Ethiopia. The official Somali radio has accused Ethiopian troops, backed by Cubans, of being behind a recent upsurge of antigovernment actions within Somalia.

But the dispatch of U.S. arms to Siad Barre has nothing to do with defending Somalia. They are part of Washington's aggressive intervention in the region — known as the Horn of Africa — that was stepped up shortly after the outbreak of the 1974-75 Ethiopian revolution and the overthrow of the U.S.-backed monarchy there.

In 1977, tens of thousands of Somali troops invaded Ethiopia, with Washington's encouragement. The aim of that invasion was to roll back the gains of the Ethiopian revolution: a deepgoing land reform, widespread nationalizations of domestic and imperialist companies, a literacy campaign, and other social programs that benefited Ethiopia's workers and farmers.

That invasion was defeated in early 1978, when thousands of Cuban volunteer troops helped the Ethiopian government drive the invaders out.

Since then, Washington has sought to maintain Siad Barre in power. It has increased direct U.S. involvement in Somalia as a means of applying pressure against the Ethiopian regime, which has maintained an anti-imperialist stance.

The Somali port of Berbera is being expanded for U.S. naval use, and may eventually be staffed by between 500 and 1,000 U.S. troops. Last November, U.S. troops landed in Somalia during the massive "Bright Star" military maneuvers in the region.

Despite the defeat of Siad Barre's 1977-78 invasion of Ethiopia, regular attacks have been mounted against that country by the so-called Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF). The WSLF claims to be fighting on behalf of the oppressed Somali people in Ethiopia's Ogaden region, but in fact is little more than a cover for the regular Somali army. Even CIA testimony in Congress has stated that troops from three regular Somali battalions were involved in the fighting in the Ogaden.

Red Cross officials have charged that U.S. relief aid to Somalia is being channeled directly to the Somali army and the WSLF.

Siad Barre's repressive and proimperialist policies have been coming under increasing opposition from the Somali population. Since the defeat of the 1977-78 invasion of Ethiopia (which was opposed by sectors of the Somali army), Siad Barre's regime has been rocked by a series of troop mutinies and urban upsurges.

Earlier this year, uprisings swept the northern towns of Hargeisa and Burao, which were put down only after Somali troops massacred more than 100 demonstrators and arrested thousands.

This unrest has been fueled by Somalia's extreme poverty, a high inflation rate, and sharp declines in real wages. All of the political organizations opposed to Siad Barre also demand scrapping of the treaty granting Washington access to the Berbera base.

The main coalition fighting against the Siad Barre regime is the Somali Democratic Salvation Front, which enjoys some support from the Ethiopian government. It has claimed credit for the fighting within Somalia.

In rushing military aid to Somalia, Washington has signaled its continued hostility to the Ethiopian government and its readiness to defend yet another dictatorial regime against its own people.

Hiroshima & nuclear test ban talks

On the anniversary of the August 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki antiwar and antibomb sentiment in this country, and internationally, is at an unprecedented peak. The June 12 march of one million was a powerful repudiation of these weapons of mass destruction.

Yet the capitalist rulers of this country are as ready to use the bomb today as they were in 1945.

The recent decision of the Reagan administration to end negotiations for a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing is one more confirmation of this.

It was announced July 20 that there would be no further talks with the Soviet Union and Great Britain for an end to underground nuclear testing. The three-way negotiations had begun in 1977, but Washington shelved the talks in November 1980.

In declaring that Washington would not resume the talks, Reagan aides argued there is no adequate means of verifying present test limitations, no less new ones.

Even the *New York Times* was moved to comment that this is pure bunk.

A July 23 editorial pointed out: "The Soviet Union has gone further than ever before in agreeing to American-controlled monitoring boxes where Washington wants them and to the idea of an on-site inspection on challenge."

Washington did offer a second reason for icing the talks: its intention to continue testing new weapons. That, of course, is the real reason.

Scrapping any talk of a ban on tests is consistent with Washington's bold insistence that it reserves the right to first use of the bomb.

It is consistent with its declared policy of preparing

to wage "protracted" nuclear war. (That is, for more than a few days.)

It is consistent with the threats — made more than a dozen times since World War II — to use the bomb against other countries.

It is consistent with the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

And it is consistent with the needs of the current U.S. war drive.

Two days before the announcement of the scrapping of test-ban talks, the Pentagon let it be known that the armed forces have begun to "rebuild" the covert forces used to conduct secret assaults, sabotage and other forms of "unconventional" warfare.

A "Defense Guidance" directive issued by secretary of war Weinberger declared:

"We must revitalize and enhance special operations forces to project United States power where the use of conventional forces would be premature, inappropriate, or infeasible."

Such covert operations are already being carried out. The victims include the liberation forces in El Salvador and Guatemala, as well as the governments and peoples of Nicaragua and Iran.

Cuba has long been the target of such "unconventional" warfare, and revolutionary Grenada has been added to the hit list.

The Army, Navy, Marines, and Air Force all have special units dedicated to this kind of dirty war. And now the Pentagon is saying they must be prepared to use these forces anywhere on earth.

It is that reactionary determination to try to stamp out revolutionary struggles, on any continent, by any means necessary, that is the greatest threat to world peace.

Because they recognize the consequences of their brutal policy, the U.S. rulers insist on being on the nuclear ready.

They recognize that their dirty "little" wars can swiftly escalate, and they are fully prepared to resort to their steadily expanding nuclear stockpile.

That's the hard fact. U.S. imperialism is pouring billions into the manufacture of these weapons for the very simple reason that, when deemed necessary, it intends to use them.

There are those who advise the antinuclear forces to press for a mutual U.S.-USSR weapons freeze. We believe the record demonstrates that this is a dangerous diversion from the real source of the nuclear danger — Washington, D.C. That is where our demands for nuclear disarmament should be directed.

The world will be guaranteed there will be no more Hiroshimas and Nagasakis only when this imperialist monster is disarmed.

Evelyn Reed on three women in the news

Twenty years ago, the August 27, 1962, *Militant* ran an article by Evelyn Reed on the effects of capitalism on women. Below are excerpts from that article, "Three Women in the News."

On August 8 the separate fates of three American women hit the headlines.

That day the body of Marilyn Monroe, famous actress-suicide, was buried at Westwood Memorial Park, Los Angeles. Alongside this news story the press announced that Dr. Frances Kelsey, mother of two daughters, who worked in the Food and Drug Administration, had been awarded the nation's highest civilian-service medal.

That same day Mrs. Sherri Finkbine, mother of four, and star of an award-winning children's TV program in Arizona, was undergoing "mental tests" in Sweden to determine whether she should be delivered by abortion of bearing a baby without arms or legs. [Finkbine had used the drug thalidomide during her pregnancy.]

These three women — living in different parts of our country, of different ages, occupations and out-

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

looks on life — did not know one another personally. But they were linked together by their own special involvements in the physiological and psychological mutilations of our times brought about by the profit system.

The world shuddered at the news that thalidomide, a new drug first marketed in West Germany and taken by pregnant women in many other countries, had resulted in an "epidemic" of deformed babies.

It was then disclosed that for 14 months Dr. Frances Kelsey had waged a one-woman resistance against the powerful Wm. S. Merrell drug company here, blocking its mass sale of thalidomide on the American market. The *Drew Pearson* column on Aug. 8 hinted: "the full story hasn't been told of the pressures that the Merrell Co. brought to bear upon her."

The most shocking fact, according to another *Pearson* column, was the Merrell Company "neglected to withdraw the thalidomide samples until four months after their use had been stopped in Germany . . . [It] left the thalidomide pills on the Canadian market until March 2 [nearly 4 million ten-cent pills were sold in Canada] and didn't call upon American physicians to stop their experimental use until March 20. As late as June 11, the Merrell Co. described the birth abnormalities as 'alleged effects . . . mere speculation.'"

When tens of millions of Marilyn Monroe's fans throughout the world grieved about her suicide, many were identifying her hidden inner wounds with their own.

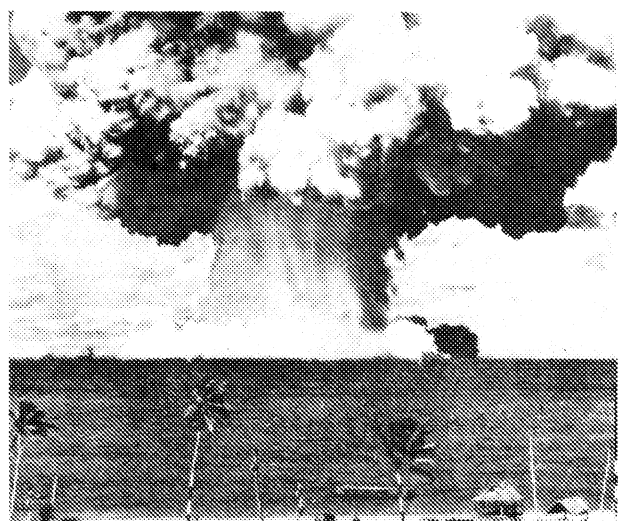
Hollywood publicity agents create false images of their box-office commodities which conceal the real characters of the individuals. Nevertheless many sensed that behind the glamor-girl was a warm-hearted, generous, sensitive person. The Aug. 3 issue of *Life*, presenting a last interview with Marilyn, confirmed this opinion.

This child of the poor, who once worked for five cents a month washing dishes, embodied a social conscience rarely retained in those who "come up from way down" as she did, and who often prefer to forget their past.

"We human beings are strange creatures and still reserve the right to think for ourselves," Marilyn told the *Life* reporter. "Once I was supposed to be finished — that was the end of me. When Arthur Miller was on trial for contempt of Congress [during the McCarthyite witchhunt], a certain corporation executive said either he named names and I got him to name names or I was finished. I said, 'I'm proud of my husband's position and I stand behind him all the way, and the court did too.' 'Finished,' they said, 'You'll never be heard of.'"

In her last interview Marilyn protested against those who kept trying to reduce her to a saleable commodity. ". . . This sex symbol," she said, "I always thought symbols were those things you clash together! That's the trouble, a sex symbol becomes a thing." She resisted as long as she could. But at 36, unable to reconcile her own needs and aspirations with the crushing demands of commerce in flesh, she succumbed.

The life-and-death struggles of the movie star, the medical official, the pregnant mother — each in its own way — reveals the enormous damage inflicted upon human beings by this money-mad society. It also reveals the heroic capacity of women to resist — and protest against the mutilators.



Open letter hits union paper attack on Nicaragua

BY MIKE FRIEDMAN

NEW YORK — In the May 1982 issue of *TWU Express*, the Transport Workers Union's paper, an article appeared based on a story in the March issue of the AFL-CIO *Free Trade Union News* concerning alleged repression in Nicaragua.

The article in the *TWU Express*, "Shocking Tale of Genocide By Nicaraguan Marxists," repeats the U.S. government slander that the Sandinistas are committing "genocide" against the Miskitu, Sumo, and Rama Indian population in Nicaragua.

The "evidence" cited comes from Steadman Fagoth Muller, a former agent of the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship, which was overthrown by the Nicaraguan workers and peasants in 1979. Fagoth claims

Organization; Kathy Andrade, education director, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; David Dyson, director, Union Label Department, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; and others. It takes up the AFL-CIO and Fagoth's slanders one by one.

Starting with the July 1979 popular insurrection of workers and farmers that overthrew the hated Somoza dictatorship, the open letter points out that since then the Nicaraguan people "have been subjected to armed attacks by 4-5,000 former members of Somoza's National Guard, operating from bases in Honduras. This necessitated the relocation of more than 7,000 Indians from their villages along the border to 5 new settlements 90 miles south."

The open letter cites a letter written to the *New York Times* by Bishop John Wilson of the Moravian Church, the predominant religion of the Miskitu Indians, and Sixto Ulloa, the director of international relations of CEPAD, a powerful ecumenical group in Nicaragua. Their letter makes it clear that the evacuation of the Indians was carried out to protect their lives.

In addition the open letter cites numerous other statements made by prominent individuals such as U.S. Congressman Tom Harkin and Roger Wilkins, former assistant attorney general and editorial board member of the *New York Times*, *Washington Star*, and *Washington Post*, which corroborate the Nicaraguan government's humanitarian treatment of the Indian population.

It explains that "After the Somoza regime was overthrown, the first measure carried out by the new popular government was a literacy campaign. . . .

For the first time, the native peoples were taught to read and write in their own languages. . . . Dozens of schools have been built in the region. . . . Clinics have been constructed. . . .

"Indian land is not being confiscated. In fact, the indigenous communities have been granted legal title to their lands for the first time. . . .

"The Sandinistas have encouraged and promoted the formation of every type of popular organization, from trade unions to peasant associations, including traditional forms of organizations in the indigenous communities, to ensure the involvement of the people in running their country."

With regard to Fagoth, "so called Indian leader," the letter exposes him as a former "informer for Somoza's secret police" who sought to foment a split between the Sandinistas and the Indian population.

"It is precisely Fagoth's cohorts . . . who have murdered, abducted, and intimidated the Indians, driving many into Honduras."

The letter concludes with a resolution drafted by a delegation of Native Americans from the American Indian Movement and the American Indian Treaty Council as a result of their visit to Nicaragua in December.

The resolution reads in part, ". . . we demonstrate our support for the positive initiatives taken for the indigenous communities. . . . We denounce and condemn the economic blockade, the sabotage and terrorist acts as part of the intention to destabilize the revolutionary process in Nicaragua."

Mike Friedman is a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100.

UNION TALK

that numerous Indians have been killed and displaced from their homes, and that the Sandinistas are destroying the Indians and their culture.

In response to this slander, a number of transit workers in New York — together with Casa Nicaragua, which carries out educational activity on Nicaragua — initiated an open letter to the *TWU Express*. Copies of the letter are being circulated at the various transit barns in New York City, and it has been submitted to the *TWU Express*.

The letter was signed by William Yost, vice-chairman, Section 46 of Transport Workers Union Local 100; Rev. Ben Chavis; Gregory Pardlo, president of Newark Cluster, Professional Air Traffic Controllers

LETTERS

Grand jury

The grand jury has claimed yet another victim. Ricarte Montes García, a teacher from Ciales, Puerto Rico, and father of five children, was summoned to a Federal Grand Jury in San Juan last June to testify about an attack on four U.S. Marines in Puerto Rico last March.

Responsibility for the action was claimed by the independentist guerrilla group Macheteros. In order to justify the summons, the FBI claims that a witness saw Montes García get off a car near the place where the Marines, who had participated in "war games" in the Puerto Rican island of Vieques, were attacked.

But the fact is that at that time Montes García was chairing a public meeting in Ciales. Hundreds of Cialeños saw him.

Nevertheless, Montes García was incarcerated for refusing to testify against himself. He was imprisoned without benefit of trial, without being charged with any crime. He has been put in jail for at least 18 months.

To make things worse, Montes García is jailed, not in Puerto Rico, but in New York. He was put in a cold, dark cell, and is rarely allowed to go out to take a shower as all other prisoners are.

Now he has been notified that he will not be allowed visitors, but could get out of jail if he agreed to become a stool-pigeon for the cops. Meanwhile, his wife and children are left with no support.

Roberto Kopec
New York, New York

Wants Castro speech

I read an excerpt from Fidel Castro's speech in the May 21, 1982, issue of the *Militant*. I would like to read the entire speech. It is the speech he gave to the Association of Third World Economists on April 26, 1981.

If you have a copy, or know where I can get one, please send me the price.

I already have your book, *Fid-*

el Castro Speeches, and I would like to know more.

Mark Koral
Pittsford, New York

(In Reply: The entire text of the issue was carried in the June 8, 1981, issue of *Intercontinental Press*. It is available for \$1.25 from Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.)

Don't send 'Militant'

Please do not send me any more copies of your publication the *Militant*, or any such related material.

Frankly, I do not believe in your form of revolution to instigate change. The world already has enough hatred and revolution, and I do not care to contribute.

Joel Listobin
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

'We support PLO'

A picket of nearly 100 people protested the Israeli invasion of Lebanon at the Old Federal Building in downtown Louisville June 29. The militant picket organized by the Organization of Arab Students included members of the American Muslim Mission, local peace and solidarity groups such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Louisville Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and the Louisville Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Spirited chants included: "Reagan! Begin! You Should Know, We Support the PLO!"; "Israel Out of Lebanon!"; "Money for U.S. Poor, Not for Zionist Wars!"; and "Long Live Lebanon! Long Live Palestine!" Palestinian and Lebanese flags led the picket.

The event was covered by two TV stations and the *Courier-Journal*. Further support activities for the peoples of Lebanon and Palestine are planned.

Bronson Rozier
Louisville, Kentucky

Oppose Israeli War

Two hundred and fifty supporters of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples marched in downtown Atlanta on July 17. About half the marchers were Palestinians. There was also a contingent of about 40 Black Atlantans who are followers of Islam. Popular chants included, "Stop the murders, stop the crimes; stop Begin's evil mind." "Reagan, Begin, you must know; we support the PLO." Signs in the crowd, mingled with many large Palestinian flags, read, "Self-determination for the Palestinian people," and "Stop U.S. Aid to Israel."

At the site of the Israeli consulate, the crowd was addressed by Robert Joseph, president of the National Association of Arab-Americans. He said, "Without U.S. aid, the Israelis could not carry out their invasion. This is costing \$100 million a day, \$3 billion to date. Where is it coming from? From us, the taxpayers of the United States."

Later that evening, a fundraising dinner and auction was held to benefit the Lebanese victims in the war.

During the march, about 20 copies of the *Militant* were sold. Three Palestinian demonstrators came to the Militant Labor Forum that night dealing with "How to Stop Union Busting and the War Drive."

Michael Pennock
Atlanta, Georgia

Becoming radical

I am enjoying my three-month trial subscription to the paper very much, and it sure is a *must* for me, who has become a good deal more radicalized over the past year, due to events here and abroad.

You may be sure that I shall renew for a year. I will be backing the N.Y. Socialist Workers Party election campaign by all means.

Keep up your good work. Your material means a lot to me.

Donald Sawtelle
New York, New York



Tom Flannery The Baltimore Sun

Wants 'Militant'

You're right. I do want to keep getting the *Militant*. Right now about the only value the other newspapers in Utah have is their Help Wanted classified ads. And of course they print job information while supporting the same system that keeps jobs so scarce and wages so low. Keep up the good work.

A reader
Salt Lake City, Utah

'10,000 Day War'

Just a note on Steve Bride's review of the *10,000 Day War* in the July 16 *Militant*.

Steve says that the moratorium was held a few months after the Tet Offensive. Tet was in 1968, the Moratorium was in the fall of 1969. The fall 1968 elections made any large protests impossible, too many people running after peace candidates, etc.

Steve also says, "Finally, in January 1973, the United States was forced to sign a treaty and began pulling out for good." Well, yes, in a larger sense, that was what happened. But it was the Vietnamese who were forced to sign that treaty at that time. They were forced by the unprecedentedly vicious Christmas bombing campaign.

These are minor points in an otherwise fine article. But considering the current disgusting propaganda campaign against the Vietnamese and the bourgeois media's attempt to totally rewrite history, I think we should strive to get every fact accurate.

Seth Wigderson
Detroit, Michigan

Correction

On page six of the July 16 *Militant* there was a photo of repression in Guatemala which was not credited. The photo was taken by Christian Poveda.

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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

Striking Nebraska meat-packers face army of cops in bitter battle

BY DELBERT MAXWELL

DAKOTA CITY, Neb. — One tough union is in a serious fight here with the country's largest meat processing company.

The strike by workers at Iowa Beef Processors (IBP) made national news when the company attempted to reopen the plant with scab labor on July 20. In several battles with about 100 state troopers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 222 were gassed, manhandled, chased, Maced, and arrested for the "crime" of defending their picket line.

By July 23 the cops had let up, though several pickets were arrested that morning for violating the state law against mass picketing. This law says you can have only two pickets every 50 feet.

Outwardly, things were cooler, but the strikers were burning over the attacks by what one of them called "that tax-paid army over there." As state patrol cars drove by, union members explained the issues of the strike to the *Militant*.

The company, which is owned by Occidental Petroleum, has demanded a four-year wage freeze, an end to all cost-of-living raises, and the right to hire an

extra gang of new workers at lower pay and without benefits.

IBP also wants to establish a 38-hour "weekly guarantee," which means the company can lay workers off or work them overtime at will, as long as they average 38 hours per week over six months.

In negotiations, the union offered to take a two-year wage freeze and to suspend their cost-of-living raises for three years. But this wasn't enough for IBP, which last year made \$57.8 million in net profits.

So on June 7, the 2,450 members of the union voted to strike.

"We had to strike. They want to take everything away from us," said Sandy Kroll, who has worked in the plant seven years.

A union steward noted, "If we take this contract, then four years from now we'll be back where we were four years ago."

The workers are especially angry at Republican Governor Charles Thone, who has used the state patrol to break the strike, and who has talked about bringing in the National Guard. On Tuesday, one picket said, "The IBP raised hell down at Lincoln [the state capital] because the state patrol was late getting up here."

She said that on Wednesday, as she and her friends were walking up the road to reinforce the picket line, "the cops yelled, 'get out of here, you bastards,' and they threw tear gas and started chasing us. The girl behind me got arrested for going too slow, but she couldn't have gone any faster without walking over me. Another guy being interviewed by a TV station was grabbed and arrested."

Several pickets have been injured by Thone's uniformed gun thugs.

"Thone just supports the big companies," said Shirley Johnson.

And IBP is a big company. It kills approximately 24.5 percent of the fat cattle in the United States (5.8 million head) and boxes 40 percent of the nation's beef.

As one union steward put it, "We have a big load on our back, because if this big union here goes, the others will be



Militant
State police after attack on strikers at Iowa Beef Processing, country's largest meat processor.

right behind. We're the biggest union this company has."

Not only is it the biggest, it is clearly one of the most militant. The workers here have struck IBP four times in the last 15 years, including once for 15 months in 1977-78. The workers are mostly under 30, and about half are women.

Their strike is solid. Pickets estimate that not more than 300 scabs are crossing the line. There is no sign that the company and the government have intimidated anyone with their violent tactics. The union has held large membership meetings of 1,800 to 2,000 workers to discuss the issues and vote on the contract offer, and has taken out ads in local papers to explain the issues of the strike to working people in northeast Nebraska and Iowa.

Since the union has already made big concessions in the negotiations, Sandy Kroll said, "we're really striking for nothing as far as wages go."

But the company "would like to get rid of the union," Shirley Johnson pointed out.

The union is the workers' basic defense against the greed and gouging of IBP. Workers told us of constant dangers and frequent injuries on the job. "If you didn't know what it was, you'd think it was an insane asylum in there," Johnson said. "The noise and speed

drive you crazy."

Bob Lewis, a welder, said he had worked in other plants where Occupational Safety and Health Administration inspections took place regularly.

"When I got to IBP, I couldn't believe my eyes," he said.

Three cleanup workers have been killed in the plant since the last strike. One picket showed the scars he got from falling off a catwalk without a guardrail. Another still had no feeling in his foot from a knife cut in the leg.

While Governor Thone has spent workers' and farmers' tax money to break the strike, and Democratic gubernatorial candidate Robert Kerrey has remained silent, Socialist Workers Party candidate Joe Swanson has visited the picket lines twice this week.

In a statement released to the news media July 22, Swanson called on Governor Thone to withdraw the state patrol from the plant gates.

"The company," he pointed out, "by bringing in scabs, and the government, by attacking the workers' picket lines, are to blame for the violence in Dakota City."

Swanson, a rail worker, got a good response to this statement and to his election campaign materials. Workers who live in Nebraska readily signed petitions to get him on the ballot in November.

Governor sends in National Guard

DAKOTA CITY, Neb., July 27 — Gov. Charles Thone is sending two National Guard units, one an 80-member unit from Fremont and the other from Grand Island, to "maintain order" in the strike here against Iowa Beef Processors.

The announcement that guards would be used was made following an attack with tear gas yesterday by State Patrol members on 300 pickets, 22 of whom were arrested.

Members of unions at other meat-processing companies, viewing this strike as an important industry-wide test, have joined the picket lines here against IBP.

Minn. farmers discuss debt, bankruptcy crisis

BY JOHN GAIGE

MONTEVIDEO, Minn. — Over 500 people, mostly farmers and their families, gathered here at the Montevideo Fair Grounds on Sunday afternoon, July 18, for a barbecue pig roast, music, and political speeches.

Farm debt, depression-level farm in-



American Agriculture News
Wayne Cryts, jailed by government for retrieving his own grain in Missouri.

come, and the alarming rate of bankruptcies and farm foreclosures heated the discussion.

Farmer activists in the American Agriculture Movement (AAM) put together this event under the name "Citizens Concerned About Farming and Jobs."

Underneath the friendly picnic atmosphere, the mood was sober and militant. John Carins, a farmer from Appleton, Minnesota, and an AAM member, spoke with the *Militant* at the literature tables beneath the grandstand.

"By fall," he said, "there will be a great many more foreclosures. . . . Farmers will bail out to save what they have."

Archie Froland, another Minnesota farmer, told the *Militant* that "the whole economy is dying." He added that "the tax cuts help only the very rich, like Rockefeller." In his view, the war budget is now a waste because the Pen-

tagon has the capacity to blow up the world 40 times over.

Wayne Cryts, the AAM member and Missouri farmer who was jailed for rightfully recovering his soybeans from a bankrupt grain elevator in February 1981, recounted his story to an eager audience.

Cryts, who had been jailed for refusal to tell the federal court names of the farmers who helped him remove his crop, has been on a national tour to explain his case.

Cryts explained he had a right to his property, his stored beans. This was his 1979 crop, representing two years of equity since he lost his 1980 crop in a drought.

"Until someone stood up," Cryts said, "there was no opportunity to change" what farmers across the country face: crops stuck in elevators going bankrupt, and the farmers unable to remove and sell their grain because federal legislation protects the claims of banks and creditors over the farmers.

Cryts said that in the past he couldn't understand farmer protests. But the protests spurred him to check his own farm records since 1956. He learned what he was sure was true for most farmers — "that around 1974 I started going downhill . . . substituting credit for profit."

Three thousand farmers going out of business every week is not caused by the inefficiency of farmers, Cryts told the crowd, but by "the cheap food policy of the government, trade embargoes, keeping prices below the cost of production."

"If farmers were getting a profit, American agriculture could prosper and put people back to work," Cryts argued. He concluded by saying there is a "need for the farmer to get off his knees and stand up. It doesn't take violence. We must convince the man in Detroit he's on layoff because the farmers aren't making a profit."

Other farm organization representatives offered various proposals to over-

Continued on Page 28