

Canadian strikers press Chrysler for wage hike



Angry strikers march out of Chrysler plant in Windsor, Ontario.

BY JON OLMSTED
AND ELIZABETH ZIERS

WINDSOR, Ontario — As the last Dodge Mirada rolled off the assembly line at Chrysler Plant Number 3 here, workers wrote, "Iacocca take off, eh!" on a shipping crate, held it up, and marched out on strike at 10:00 a.m. November 5. As they surged out of the plant gate, a picket captain shouted into his bullhorn, "We've worked our last hour for \$9.07!"

Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca had sent a last-minute letter poor-mouthing the giant corporation's financial situation and warning workers to keep on working for \$9.07. "We will take a strike if necessary," he threatened, "even though we are aware it could put us out of business." Many of those letters provided fuel for a bonfire on the picketline.

The picketline quickly grew to a march through the streets of Windsor with chants of "We want parity" (with General Motors and Ford workers) and "On strike!" One leader of the march was naked except for a barrel, despite the subfreezing temperature. He carried a sign that said, "I have nothing more to give."

The mood on the line was militant and angry. "We loaned them money, and now that we ask them to pay it back, they kick us in the face," said one United Auto Workers Local 444 official.

The Chrysler workers at this plant are among 10,000 who have shut down the auto makers' six Canadian plants. Five of them are in the Windsor area.

The strike will also have a big effect on Chrysler's U.S. operations. Two thousand-five hundred workers at 15 Chrysler parts plants were laid off on November 8 as a result of the strike, and further layoffs are expected. In addition Chrysler's Ajax, Ontario, plant is the exclusive supplier of some types of trim in North America.

The Canadian Chrysler workers, for the first time in 17 years, are negotiating a separate contract from the U.S. Chrysler workers. But Chrysler is offering its Canadian workers the same contract that U.S. workers turned down by a 70 percent majority three weeks ago. The proposal not only refuses to give back the wages taken in concessions over the past three years, it offers no immediate raise at all. In addition, it would impose stricter work rules.

In a move to try and blackmail workers to return to work, Chrysler announced, at the end of the first day of the strike, that it will not make a new offer to its Canadian workers until it reaches a settlement with

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Nicaragua declares military emergency

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Responding to daily attacks along the northern border of the country with Honduras, the governing Junta of National Reconstruction here declared the entire region a zone of military emergency on November 4.

The decree gives the Sandinista People's Army full authority to use whatever means may be necessary to defend the population.

At the same time, and for the same reasons, the Junta extended the nationwide state of emergency through May 30, 1983.

These steps were taken as the Reagan administration confirmed details of a November 8 *Newsweek* feature, which described how the U.S. Embassy in Honduras directs the military attacks on Nicaragua.

A news conference held here November 3 used facts, figures, photographs, and slides to document what *Newsweek* magazine's "America's Secret War" only began to detail.

Commander Lenin Cerna, head of Nicaraguan State Security, told reporters that between August and October of this year, counterrevolutionary units based in southern Honduras had:

- Violated Nicaraguan air space 58 times;
- Attacked border posts 37 times;
- Conducted five ambushes against the Sandinista People's Army;
- Attacked three towns along the border; and
- Carried out 33 incursions or infiltrations into Nicaraguan territory.

These attacks — which the Reagan administration has described as mere small-scale "hit and run" operations — have claimed the lives of 37 Sandinista soldiers and wounded 38 others. An additional 47 Nicaraguans, mostly peasants, have been kidnapped and placed in forced-labor brigades to build the counterrevolutionaries' camps inside the country. Few have survived this ordeal.

One aim of last July's U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers, Cerna said, was to prepare for this escalation of the secret war. The maneuvers served as cover for the air delivery of some 4,000 tons of equipment for the Honduran army. Part of this went directly to the counterrevolutionaries.

New joint maneuvers, originally set to begin December 5, have been postponed to January. The aim of the new maneuvers is to practice establishing a beachhead on Honduras's Caribbean coast — which is essentially identical to the region known in Nicaragua as the Atlantic Coast. Additional plans involve strengthening the counterrevolutionary camps located directly across from the Nicaraguan provinces of Nueva Segovia and Madriz. These camps are staffed by ex-National Guardsmen who were originally recruited from those provinces.

One purpose of the attacks over the last three months, Cerna said, has been to create a diversion to allow some 600 to 800 counterrevolutionaries to slip into Nicaragua.

Another aspect of Washington's growing involvement noted was that the standard rifle now used by the Honduran army is the U.S. M-16. Older weapons are rapidly being turned over to the counterrevolutionaries.

Further proof of collaboration between the ex-guardsmen and the Honduran army came to light in a list Nicaraguan State Security discovered and made public that

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Jobless need aid now

BY HARRY RING

The continuing rise in unemployment — 10.4 percent and still climbing — is taking a brutal toll in hunger, sickness, and death. Meanwhile, the major party politicians are offering working people sympathy and, at a maximum, band-aids and aspirin.

The 10.4 percent figure tells only part of the story. For "blue collar" workers — the people who work with their hands — the figure is 15.9 percent. In the construction industry it's 23 percent. For steelworkers the figure is 24.6 percent.

It's not exaggerating to speak of hunger among the jobless. For instance, a front-page feature story in the *New York Times*, October 24, said that voluntary agencies and community groups in New York reported a marked increase in the number of people who said they have no money to buy food.

"In poor neighborhoods, and relatively affluent ones," the paper found, "adults and children are lining up in growing numbers for hot meals ladled out at soup kitchens."

The director of one social agency said, "When we talk about the hungry, people think we're talking about the homeless. People don't realize that the person next door may not have eaten for three days. The people who call us are desperate."

But "action" is being taken to alleviate hunger in New York. The *Times* reported: "Next month, a program called City Harvest will begin distributing to emergency centers food that is edible but has been discarded by supermarkets, restaurants, and other establishments."

Just think about what your local supermarket would rather discard than sell and you'll have an idea of what the hungry can expect.

Health care scandal

The devastating layoffs have also sparked a new health care scandal.

As a result of current unemployment, more than 16 million people in this country have lost health insurance coverage and many of them are putting off necessary medical care.

Eight million workers who have lost their jobs, have also lost their medical coverage. (The rest didn't have any to lose.) Taking into account that usually at

least one other family member is covered by health plans, the government estimates that more than 16 million are now deprived of necessary medical care.

Most company insurance plans terminate a month after you lose your job. Some offer the option of continuing them on your own. But the cost is usually more than \$100 a month.

According to the papers, the leaders of both big business parties in Congress see the election results as a message to do something about unemployment. And, they say, they are trying to do something.

But not right away.

"We have to take some firm and decisive action," declared House Democratic Majority Leader Jim Wright of Texas. But, he added, don't expect the coming lame-duck session of Congress to do anything.

So, tighten the belt another notch and wait until they get back from the Christmas-New Year's holiday.

The Republicans have gone so far as to say that if the Democrats present a jobs program, then they'll offer one which, if and when passed, could offer up to 200,000 jobs nationwide. That's less than 2 percent of those who need jobs.

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Coal miners vote for change

BY JOHN HAWKINS

PITTSBURGH — By a ratio of more than two-to-one, members of the United Mine Workers of America voted November 9 to make Richard Trumka the next president of the coal miners' union.

According to unofficial returns, the "Why Not the Best" slate, headed by presidential candidate Trumka, vice-presidential candidate Cecil Roberts, and candidate for secretary-treasurer John Banovic, defeated the slate headed by incumbent Sam Church in heavy voting during the union's nationwide presidential elections.

In defeating Church's bid for reelection, miners voted to reject the policies followed by the union officialdom over the past three years.

At issue in the elections were the high jobless rates among coal miners, close to 20 percent nationwide; the union's re-

sponse to increasing attacks by the mine owners on health and safety; organizing of nonunion miners; and the conduct of the union leadership during the last two rounds of contract negotiations.

In the course of the election campaign, Trumka, Roberts, and Banovic blasted the Church administration for its lack of performance on the issues and promised a new course for the union.

Church responded by attacking the "radicalism" of Trumka and his running mates. In a last-minute attempt to shore up his sagging reelection effort, Church launched a nationwide red-baiting campaign in the media. Like previous attempts at red-baiting by Church, this one fell flat with miners, who refused to be diverted from the issues.

Trumka, Roberts, and Banovic are to take office December 22.

Canadian strikers press Chrysler on wages

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U.S. workers. U.S. talks between the UAW and Chrysler are not scheduled to begin until January.

The company proposal would be an even worse economic deal for the Canadian workers than for their counterparts in the United States. The official inflation rate in Canada is 11 percent, about twice what it is in the United States, and the Canadian dollar is worth 20 percent less than the U.S. dollar.

For Chrysler this is a good deal. At the present rate of exchange it pays Canadian workers only \$7.34 in U.S. dollars. Furthermore, it sells its U.S.-made cars in Canada to take advantage of the exchange rate. Consequently, Canadians pay \$1,000 to \$2,000 more for Chrysler cars.

In the United States auto companies pay for medical insurance as an employee fringe benefit. While Canadian workers have more comprehensive medical coverage through a government-run plan, they pay for it through much higher income taxes than their U.S. counterparts pay.

With no raise since March 1980, Canadian Chrysler workers have lost more than

25 percent of their real wages from inflation. In Canadian currency a case of beer today is \$15.00, a pack of cigarettes is \$1.75, and a gallon of milk is \$2.70 in Windsor. More than 700 workers in the Windsor plants have lost their homes due to skyrocketing mortgage interest rates.

"Chrysler is bankrupting us," said one assembly worker who is now paying 18 percent interest on his home loan.

The strike is a fundamental challenge to the new high in "givebacks" that employers on both sides of the border are demanding. For this reason the big-business media in Canada is vigorously campaigning against the strikers. For example, Toronto's *Globe and Mail*, in a November 4 editorial, called the pending strike "beyond reason." It contemptuously asserted that "like lemmings rushing to the ocean they seem to have an uncontrollable urge to hurry to the unemployment lines."

The strikers also are being threatened by government officials. On the day before the strike began, the labor minister in the Ontario provincial government, Russell Ramsay, announced that discussions were underway in his department on the possi-

bility of imposing back-to-work legislation against the strikers.

As one union steward on the picketline in Windsor explained, "They always change the laws when they want them to go their way."

All of this had little impact on Chrysler's workers. As one striker told the *Militant*, "We will go back tomorrow if we get a decent contract, but we are prepared to stay out til February, or longer, if necessary."

CBC television interviewed one worker who stated, "I can't meet my mortgage payments with another wage freeze. Neither can a lot of the fellows in the plant. If we're going to go under, we're going to make damn sure the company does too."

But Chrysler's offer to restore the Cost-of-Living Allowance (COLA) and a pay raise tied to profits was seen as an insult here. Like their American brothers and sisters, Chrysler Canadian workers want some money "up front" — not tied to down-the-road profits.

Many workers simply don't believe Chrysler's claim that it will go down if they don't take more concessions.

They point to the \$266 million profits

Chrysler has registered this year.

Others believe the company might fold. "Let it go down," said a quality inspector. "I'm going down. Then somebody will have to take care of us and feed us. I can't afford to work there any more."

Workers on the picketline saw a difference between the Canadian and U.S. UAW officials.

Unlike in the United States, where top UAW officials, such as union president Douglas Fraser, campaigned for the contract, officials in Canada, including UAW Canada president Bob White, have opposed it.

"Fraser jammed U.S. workers to get them to accept concessions three times," said one. "The first thing you should do at your convention in May is see that no UAW official ever sits on the [Chrysler] board again."

Fraser's election to Chrysler's board in May 1980 was hailed by employers as a major hallmark in getting labor to collaborate with management.

Under the impact of the membership's historic rejection of the contract proposal he campaigned for last month and of the strike in Canada, Fraser has stepped down from Chrysler's board until the company signs a new labor contract. In a letter to Iacocca, Fraser stated that he was "temporarily suspending my attendance at board meetings, and my involvement in board deliberations, until our current collective bargaining disputes in Canada and the U.S. are resolved."

He told reporters he was "concerned about the perception some people might have had" about a conflict of interests in his twin roles as union leader and company board member.

The strike is receiving solidarity from Chrysler workers in the United States and from other auto workers on both sides of the border.

Canadian employees of Ford agreed to contribute \$40,000 to help the strikers. The 4,000-member Ford Local 200 in Windsor approved a dues increase of \$10 per month per member to help the strikers. Ray Lebert, secretary-treasurer of the local said, "If the strike goes on more than a month, they'll pay \$20 more a month."

Larry Leach, president of Sterling Stamping Plant Local 1264 in Detroit told the *Militant*, "We stand in solid support of our Canadian brothers and sisters. That is what solidarity is all about."

On the picketline in Windsor one striker explained that a victory for the strike in Canada will be a big gain for workers in the United States. "Whatever we can force out of Chrysler," he said, "will only help the American workers in their negotiations. Chrysler will have a hard time telling them no if we get something out of them," he said as he stopped moving for only a minute in the freezing wind and snow.

The jobless need emergency aid now

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And, to get really bold and innovative, they're weighing the idea of permitting people to collect several months jobless checks in a lump sum so they can move elsewhere to look for work, or maybe open a small business. (An apple stand?)

How about the top union officials? What are they doing about the unemployment problem?

Apart from putting money down the tube to help elect "friends of labor" who do less than nothing for labor, the most concrete thing that we've seen is an announced plan by Region 9A of the United Auto Workers to open a string of storefront centers in the Northeast to aid the jobless.

Explaining this was needed because the government is doing so little, a UAW official said employed members would be asked to contribute to help with emergency food and fuel assistance for unemployed members and that the storefront places would try to help people find jobs.

How they hope to do this is a mystery. In Connecticut, for example, 34.1 percent of the union's members have been laid off from plants that are still operating.

Poor substitute

And while it's good that the union wants to help members with food and fuel emergencies, the \$250,000 to \$500,000 they hope to raise for this is obviously a drop in the bucket.

Clearly, what's needed is not such pitiful stopgap measures, but a meaningful governmental program to aid the jobless. The unions should be mobilizing their members, employed and unemployed, to fight for this, not diverting efforts into unworkable substitutes.

Emergency aid should be demanded and fought for.

Instead of cutting back on the food stamp program, the government should greatly expand it so no one need miss a meal.

Legislation should bar banks from foreclosing unpaid home and farm mortgages. No jobless person should be dispossessed for inability to pay rent.

And now is the time for the government to assume its long-overdue responsibility to initiate a comprehensive program of public medical care for all.

Unemployment compensation should be for the entire period a person is out of work. It should be union scale, enough to live on adequately. Those just entering the job market should not be penalized. Unemployment compensation should be open to first-time jobseekers.

And, certainly, there should be a big, crash program of public works to provide meaningful jobs for all those who want and need them.

Moreover, this is surely the time for a further shortening of the workweek. Time was when working people in this country

put in 60, 70, and 80 hours a week. A stubborn fight by organized labor eventually reduced it to the present 40 hour week.

Legislation to shorten the workweek, with no reductions in pay, would make many more jobs available and would mean a better life for all working people.

All of this sounds unrealistic? Expensive?

It is — if you accept the proposition of the two big business parties that profits come before people.

But it could be done. It would mean scrapping the war budget, which threatens the very existence of humanity, and putting those trillions to a useful purpose. And it would mean, for the first time, seriously taxing the huge profits the corporations extract from the labor of working people.

Obviously neither the Republicans nor the Democrats would ever consider such a program. But that only points up the need for a new party, a party of labor built in unity with farmers, the Black and Latino communities, and the movement for women's rights.

Such a union-based party — concerned with people, not profits — could carry forward the fight for such a program. That fight would necessarily pose the question, who is going to run this country — the business interests who have brought us to the present critical situation? Or the working people who keep this country running?

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Editors: CINDY JAQUITH

DOUG JENNESS

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

Editorial Staff: Connie Allen, Nelson González, William Gottlieb, Suzanne Haig, Arthur Hughes, Margaret Jayko, George Johnson, Frank Lovell, Harry Ring, Larry Seigle.

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Militant/Ernest Harsch

Workers continue to demonstrate despite harassment from police and military.

Polish workers continue to support Solidarity and oppose martial law

'Militant' correspondent visits Gdansk

BY ERNEST HARSCH

GDANSK — "Solidarity! Solidarity!" The chants cut through the chilly fall air as thousands of people rallied just outside the Lenin Shipyard here November 1.

With units of the ZOMO, Poland's motorized riot police, stationed just around the edges of the crowd, it marked an open expression of defiance of the martial-law authorities.

It was All Saints Day, an important holiday in Poland, when people throughout the country commemorate their deceased relatives and friends. But just a week-and-a-half before the November 10 general strike to protest the banning of the Solidarity union movement, it was also an occasion for working people to again display their support for the union and their opposition to the government's repressive policies.

The same day's issue of *Głos Wyrzeza*, the regional newspaper of the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), stressed that it was also the 100th anniversary of the founding of Poland's first independent workers organization in 1882, Proletariat. The paper claimed that the PUWP was "the continuation of the best traditions of Proletariat" and other Polish workers organizations.

Such claims just bring laughter from working people in Poland today. They know, from their own experiences, that the PUWP does not represent their interests, but those of the privileged bureaucracy that governs the country and that bars the workers from exercising political power.

The one organization that can lay claim to resting on the "best traditions" of the Polish workers movement over the past 100 years is Solidarity. And that is why working people continue to rally around its banner.

Since the morning, thousands of people from throughout the tri-city area of Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot had been coming to the square just outside the shipyard's Gate No. 2, the main site for public demonstrations in Gdansk. It was here that workers and their families rallied during the August 1980 occupation strike at the shipyard that led to the rise of Solidarity. And it was here, just three weeks ago, that people again gathered during the October 11-12 strike at the shipyard held to protest the banning of Solidarity.

Dominating the whole square is the monument to the workers killed by police during the 1970 strikes on the Baltic Coast, composed of three tall crosses linked by anchors at the top and bearing at its base steel plates depicting scenes of the Polish workers struggle. Originally erected following the 1980 strike, it has since become a symbol of the Solidarity movement.

The area around the foot of the monument was soon filled with flowers and candles. People pressed in close, quietly saying prayers or looking up at the scenes on the monument. Earlier, someone had climbed up and placed flowers on one of the steel plates, at the feet of a group of workers marching under a banner bearing the word "Solidarnosc." Someone else had put up a small portrait of Lech Walesa, Solidarity's national chairman, who has been in detention since the declaration of martial law in December 1981.

Within the shipyard gate, facing the square, the authorities had tacked up a poster, displaying a hand with a rock breaking a plate of glass, behind which was Poland's official emblem. The slogan read, "Enough!" It was part of the government's propaganda campaign aimed at portraying Solidarity supporters as hooligans.

But the people here did not look like

hooligans. They were workers and students, young people and old, entire families with their children at their sides or with babies in carriages. One legless veteran of World War II came in his wheelchair.

It was not an organized demonstration. No one officially called it and there were no speakers. People were constantly coming and going. But it was a demonstration nevertheless.

During the first hours of the action, the mood was solemn. Older women carefully arranged the flowers at the foot of the monument, and people laid their candles in various patterns: a cross with an anchor at its base (a symbol of resistance) and two large "Solidarnosc" logos. One young boy, perhaps four years old, looked at the candles and carefully spelled out the word. Having deciphered it, he happily hopped around, shouting "Solidarity!"

People were also clustered in groups elsewhere, by a smaller bronze statue of a worker next to the shipyard wall and by a bronze plaque at the shipyard gate marking the very spot where some workers were shot down in 1970.

Small groups of ZOMO walked through the crowd. Although the ZOMO are known for their brutal beatings of strikers and

demonstrators, they chose not to attack this time. Yet their presence had an intimidating effect. Seeing this reporter taking photographs, one man came up and whispered, "Be careful, the police." Some plainclothes officers of the Security Service tried to mingle with the demonstrators inconspicuously. But they were easy to spot.

By mid-afternoon, the crowd had grown substantially larger — and more confident. Several thousand people were now assembled at any one time. A few workers walked around boldly with Solidarity badges on their lapels, something that is now illegal. A young woman had a pin on her coat proclaiming, "I am a free Pole."

Someone took out a Solidarity flag and hung it up on the monument. In white and red — the Polish national colors — it was clearly visible above the heads of the demonstrators.

By the statue at the shipyard wall, bunches of flowers with dedication ribbons were deposited. One read, "To the workers slain in 1956, 1970, 1976, and 1980-82 for fighting in our interests," signed by the workforce of the Budimor enterprise in Gdansk. Another declared, "Remember to pray for the souls of our sisters and brothers shot down by the government

while on their march toward freedom."

The ZOMO stopped walking through the crowd and withdrew a good distance away. Very few were still visible.

The crowd began to spontaneously sing national and religious hymns. A core of workers and students close to the monument led in the chanting of slogans. "Without Solidarity, there is no freedom!" they called out, and then the rest of the crowd picked up the chant. Hands were thrust into the air with V-for-victory signs.

The demonstrators then started to repeatedly chant, "Free Lech! Free Lech!" This led to a particularly popular refrain, "Lech's our brother, Wojciech's an executioner!" referring to Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the prime minister.

Although it began to get dark by around 5:00 p.m., many people remained into the evening, singing hymns, interspersed with more slogans.

The candles arranged in the word "Solidarnosc" looked particularly bright. One man, a worker at a small machine parts enterprise in nearby Tczew, watched their flickering. "It's ours," he said. "And it's still here," he gestured by bringing his hand up to his breast. "They can't take it away."

Jury finds Irish freedom fighters not guilty

BY WILL REISSNER

Five Irish-Americans who had admitted supplying arms to the Irish Republican Army (IRA) were found not guilty on gun-running charges after a six-week trial in Brooklyn Federal Court. The jury's November 5 verdict was greeted with cheers and shouts of "Up the IRA" by spectators.

The defendants — Thomas Falvey, 54; George Harrison, 67; Martin Flannery, 80; Patrick Mullin, 45; and Daniel Gormley, 33 — were arrested in 1981 by agents from the FBI's International Terrorism Squad after Harrison purchased weapons from undercover FBI agent John Winslow.

All five were charged with conspiring between December 1980 and June 1981 to transport weapons for use in the IRA's fight to end British rule over Northern Ireland. Harrison, Falvey, and Mullin were also charged with possession of unregistered weapons.

In an opening statement, the lawyer for George Harrison told the jury that Harrison not only admits shipping weapons to the IRA, he "asserts it with pride." Attorney Frank Durkan added that Harrison has "supplied arms to the rebels in Ireland for a quarter century."

Martin Flannery told the jury that he was a member of the IRA during the 1916 Easter Rising against the British and was captured by them on several occasions. He spent 28 days on a hunger strike while in prison from 1922 to 1924. Since 1927 Flannery has lived in the United States.

Flannery admitted giving Harrison nearly \$17,000 to purchase weapons from FBI undercover agent Winslow.

Defense attorneys argued that the U.S. government knew for decades that Harrison was shipping arms to the IRA, but used up to 50 FBI agents to set up the defendants for arrest in 1981 because of pressures from the British government.

Attorney Durkan argued that the problems for the defendants began after protests forced the State Department in July 1979 to stop licensing sales of U.S.-made weapons to the British police in Northern Ireland.



Militant/Lou Howort

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey (left) testified on discrimination against Irish in Northern Ireland. She detailed support that George Harrison (right) has given to other freedom struggles.



Militant/Lou Howort

When the British government complained, Durkan maintained, Washington decided to prosecute these defendants to appease London.

Key to the defense's argument was its claim that arms dealer George DeMeo, who sold weapons to Harrison and Falvey for two decades, had been involved in numerous CIA-sponsored arms shipments to various countries, and therefore the government knew of the defendants' activities.

The defense also contended that the accused had reason to assume DeMeo's sales had government approval since he continued to sell guns with a federal license even though he was arrested five times in the period of his dealings with Harrison.

Throughout the trial the government and DeMeo denied any connection between DeMeo and the CIA. The defense, however, pointed to 1967 and 1969 FBI memos showing that the FBI was investigating

DeMeo's possible CIA connections, despite CIA denials.

The most damaging testimony to the government's case came from gun dealer Earl Redick, a veteran of more than seven years in military intelligence.

Redick, who now resides in Paraguay, said DeMeo approached him in the early 1960s to procure guns for Ireland, stating that the CIA "was paying for them, and that agents would safely see them on board ship."

Redick added that DeMeo also discussed other CIA operations. In one case, DeMeo had blueprints of Haitian dictator Duvalier's castle and asked Redick to determine how an assault could be mounted. DeMeo told him that this was a \$3 million government-sanctioned operation.

Twice when Redick and DeMeo were arrested for arms violations, charges were

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Ala. suit against U.S. Steel upheld

BY JOHN STUDER

An important legal victory has been won on behalf of the *Militant* newspaper and two of its distributors, Nelson Blackstock and Eric Flint. On October 19 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, located in Atlanta, reinstated a \$2 million lawsuit filed by the paper and the two salespeople against U.S. Steel corporation.

On June 7, 1979, Blackstock and Flint drove to U.S. Steel's Concord mine outside Birmingham, Alabama, to sell the *Militant*. Less than 15 minutes after they arrived, a company-organized goon squad attacked the two. Twenty-five thugs, armed with baseball bats, pipes, and wrenches punched, kicked, and beat the salespeople.

Blackstock, a former managing editor of the *Militant* and long-time civil rights activist, suffered a fractured and dislocated hip socket. Flint, a member of the International Association of Machinists at the time, was badly bruised.

Blackstock and Flint filed a lawsuit in federal court charging that the attack was led by foremen and other supervisory personnel from the mine. Evidence had come to light that U.S. Steel's mine management was directly involved in directing the attack. Supervisors at the mine held up the mantrip — which miners ride into the mine — for the day shift, to allow time to organize and carry out the beatings.

Blackstock's camera, which he had with him, was stolen. It turned up the next day in the office of William Myers, general superintendent of U.S. Steel's Southern District mining operations, 12 miles from where the attack took place. He refused to explain how it got there.

The lawsuit filed by Blackstock, Flint, and the *Militant* charged U.S. Steel officials with conspiring with the 25 thugs to carry out the attack. It charged them with conspiring "with the purpose of directly and indirectly depriving plaintiffs, advocates of civil rights, union rights, and socialism, of their rights to equal protection" under the constitution.

The lawsuit charged that Owen Laymen, a superintendent of the U.S. Steel Southern District Mines, J.C. Logan, a superintendent of the Concord Mine, and other management personnel knew about the planned attack and did nothing to stop it.

In addition, the lawsuit charged U.S. Steel and its goons with assault and battery, stealing Blackstock's camera, and interfering with the right to sell the *Militant*. It demanded a court order to "enjoin each and every one of the defendants from unlawfully interfering with plaintiffs in the exercise of their civil rights."

The lawsuit explained that the attackers were motivated by hostility to Blackstock

and Flint for their "advocacy of civil rights and socialist ideas, their opposition to anti-Black terrorism by the Ku Klux Klan and their sale of the *Militant* newspaper."

The goon-squad attack came in the context of escalating anti-Black violence by the Klan. It happened only two days before a march scheduled by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference against Klan violence. The issue of the *Militant* they sold was headlined: "Alabama Blacks hit KKK Attacks."

The beatings immediately met with protests from miners, unionists, and civil rights fighters from all over the country. Gerald Cornette, president of a mine workers' local on strike in Harlan County, Kentucky, wired U.S. Steel, "Your responsibility for this assault is clear. The democratic right to sell a newspaper is not subject to the approval of your company. The *Militant* has my complete support in its struggle for free speech against U.S. Steel corporation."

Bill Worthington, president of the miners' Black Lung Association, protested, "Especially in the current atmosphere of Ku Klux Klan terrorism, we hold U.S. Steel responsible for the beating of these two individuals. The Black Lung Association supports their right to free speech through sales of their paper."

On March 24, 1980, the federal court in Alabama threw the case out of court. Judge J. Foy Guin ruled that Blackstock, Flint, and the *Militant* didn't have a case.

Guin let U.S. Steel off the hook by shifting the blame onto the workers. He ruled that "it is within this court's knowledge that coal miners are clearly anti-communist, anti-socialist, etc." Therefore, he argued, the attack must have been carried out by the miners, not U.S. Steel, and must have been "spontaneous."

Over two and one-half years later, the U.S. Court of Appeals has reversed Guin's decision and ordered the lower court to reopen the case.

Blackstock called the decision a big vic-

tory for political rights. "What is at issue here," he explained, "is the right of socialists, union organizers, and civil rights activists to distribute literature outside the factories and mines of this country free from company attack."

Blackstock said that the next step in the lawsuit is for his lawyers to file a new complaint against U.S. Steel and its thugs. "Then we'll try to force out the full story of U.S. Steel's involvement in the attack," he explained.



Nelson Blackstock, socialist victim of U.S. Steel-inspired attack outside Alabama mine in 1979.

Labor conference discusses fightback

BY NORTON SANDLER

TOLEDO — The Ohio Labor Conference on Full Employment, Safe Energy, and Military Spending, held here October 29-31 was marked by a lively discussion with many different perspectives presented on how the labor movement can fight back against mounting attacks by the employers.

This gathering was an outgrowth of the national Labor Safe Energy and Full Employment Committee that hosted conferences in Pittsburgh and Gary in 1980 and 1981.

The Pittsburgh meeting attracted 1,000 participants, including more than 100 coal miners. The Gary conference was attended by 400 people with the largest delegation again from the United Mine Workers.

The meeting this year was planned as an Ohio state conference, not a national conference like the earlier two.

A total of 246 people attended, including 187 trade unionists from 36 different unions. The largest delegation came from the International Association of Ma-

chinists, (IAM) and its president, William Winpisinger, was the keynote speaker at the meeting. Other union delegations included 40 members of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), 15 auto workers, 10 Latino members of the Ohio-based Farm Labor Organizing Committee, and 4 coal miners.

In his introductory remarks, Jerry Gordon, assistant to the director of Region 4 of the UFCW and National Coordinator of the Labor Committee for Safe Energy, said that the background for the conference was the "overall human calamity" brought about by the economic crisis.

Winpisinger struck two themes. He said that military spending does not create jobs and that Democrats must be elected in the 1982 elections.

Following Winpisinger's speech, a panel discussion was held on "A Labor program to fight the recession." Lewie Anderson, head of the UFCW packinghouse division, said that U.S. industry was mismanaged. He cited as examples, "low amounts of capital investment" and workers using "outdated machinery." He also urged workers to reject corporate concessions, which he said drive down the standard of living of all workers.

Another panelist was Anthony Mazzocchi, former head of the health and safety division of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) and unsuccessful candidate for president of the union, in the last elections.

Mazzocchi called for intervention by the unionists in the managerial process. He demanded workers' control of investment policies, a halt to overseas investments, and an end to corporate mergers unless approved by two-thirds vote of the union members involved. To implement this program he called for the formation of an "independent workers party."

A third panelist Jean Tussey, a member of Typographical Union Local 53 in Cleveland, received applause when she called for a massive public works program, a drastic reduction in the workday, and the formation of a labor party as the way to fight the recession.

Workshops were organized on jobs and military spending, imports and jobs, labor and safe energy, how to fight plant closings, labor and the unemployed, and other topics.

A wide range of opinions was reflected on such issues as restricting imports, the labor movement's electoral strategy, and military spending. The discussions reflected serious thinking on the part of un-

ionists fighting attacks on their democratic rights and their standard of living.

Workshop panelists included Ed Mann, former president of Local 1462 of the Steelworkers in Youngstown; Marion Anderson, director of Employment Research Associates and author of several pamphlets on jobs and military spending; and Jim Benn from the Mon Valley Unemployed Committee near Pittsburgh.

In the final plenary session, the report from the imports and jobs workshop sparked further discussion. Jack Tool from the Lorain, Ohio, Council of the United Auto Workers [UAW's political action council] urged workers to back the "content laws" to restrict imports into the United States. Content laws are designed to guarantee a high percentage of U.S.-made parts on cars sold in the United States. This, according to Tool, "will save American jobs." An alternative view put forward was that imports do not steal jobs, but protectionist measures could lead to trade wars and higher prices for all goods.

Tom Fiske, a member of the IAM Lodge 709 B at the Lockheed, Georgia, plant reported from the military spending and jobs workshop. Fiske explained that 15 members of his union had been fired by Lockheed. They had been involved in building the 1980 Labor Safe Energy Conference.

Fiske said that a major theme of the workshop was that the unions had to fight against U.S. intervention in wars like the one going on in El Salvador as a key part of fighting military spending.

Campaign literature for many Ohio Democrats was distributed at the conference. Participating in the event as well as campaigning there were Kurt Landefeld, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Ohio, and Sue Skinner, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 9th District in Toledo.

Skinner, a member of OCAW local 7-346, speaking in the final session, urged union members to form "a fighting labor party — one that can help the Chrysler workers in their fight with their employer, one that can aid the miners the next time they go out on strike."

She said that the labor movement must defend women and Blacks' right to jobs. She added that "we must begin to defend the working class youth who have not registered for the draft because they don't want to fight in El Salvador and Guatemala when they can't get a job here."

A total of 26 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold along with \$21 of socialist literature.

Victimized unionists get good hearing

The fight against company and government spying and interference in the labor movement got a good response at the Ohio Conference on Full Employment, Safe Energy and Military Spending. Twenty unionists and antinuclear activists signed endorser cards demanding the jobs back for fired members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodges 709 at Lockheed-Georgia and 837B at McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis.

These machinists were fired because of their union activities and political views. They and their IAM locals were the victims of extensive corporate spying. The Georgia unionists have filed a lawsuit in federal court against Lockheed demanding their jobs back. In St. Louis, Lodge 837B is fighting the victimization of two of its members in arbitration.

Among those who joined the campaign to reverse the firings were Anthony Mazzocchi, former national health and safety director, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; Robert Burlage, directing business representative, IAM District 57; Joe Lindenmuth, president, United Steelworkers Local Union 2265; Betty Straub, vice-president, District 59 of the IAM; Raymond Grafton, recording secretary of the United Mine Workers from Blairsville, Pennsylvania; and Anna Gyorgy, from the Public Citizen/Critical Mass Energy Project in Washington, D.C.



Tom Fiske won support at labor conference for fellow Lockheed workers fired for political views.

Militant/Harry Ring

Should socialists back demand to recognize Israel?

BY CINDY JAQUITH

The Reagan administration is pressing ahead in its efforts to roll back the Palestinian struggle for self-determination. A major part of this drive is pressuring the Arab regimes and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to recognize the state of Israel. This has been a longstanding goal of U.S. foreign policy under both Republican and Democratic administrations.

U.S. workers have an obligation to oppose Washington's intervention in the Mideast. Our demands must be for immediate withdrawal of Israeli and U.S. troops from Lebanon, along with the French and Italian forces; no aid to Israel; and self-determination for the Palestinians, including their right to return to their homeland.

Two currents in the U.S. workers movement, however, are giving aid and comfort to Washington's objectives by promoting the "right" of the Israeli state to exist. These currents are the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) and the Communist Party.

The DSA National Executive Committee adopted a resolution on the Mideast last June, in the opening weeks of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. That resolution calls for "negotiations based on the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people . . . and on the right of the state of Israel to a secure existence."

Two aggressors?

According to the resolution, there are two aggressors in the Mideast, the Israeli government and the Palestinian fighters. While calling for a ceasefire and withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, and condemning Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the DSA resolution states:

"We also condemn the intransigent position of the Palestinian organizations in refusing to openly accept the right of Israel to exist or to renounce terrorism."

Based on this line, the resolution forbids DSA members to participate in Mideast protest actions unless they occur "under circumstances where our support for both Palestinian self-determination and the right of Israel to a secure existence is made clear" (emphasis in original).

The DSA proposes a politically contradictory course. Its resolution gives lip service to Palestinian rights, but it demands that Palestinians accept the Israeli state, which denies them their rights, even the right to live in their own country. Some self-determination!

On top of this, the DSA resolution charges the Palestinians with "terrorism" — in the middle of a war where Israeli forces carried out the worst carnage and destruction seen since Vietnam.

Who the real terrorists in the Mideast are was decisively demonstrated when Lebanese Phalangists, in league with the Israeli high command, slaughtered Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Shatila camps in mid-September. Shortly thereafter, on September 29, the New York DSA held a forum on the Mideast.

Rather than presenting an uncompromising defense of the Palestinian liberation struggle, the meeting was an occasion to justify Israel's long history of aggression against the Arab peoples. One of the featured speakers was writer Irving Howe, a member of DSA's National Executive Committee.

According to an account in the *New York Democratic Socialist*, the local DSA newsletter, "The conflict in the Middle East involves two rights, Howe argued, but those on one side have pledged annihilation of the other side consistently."

Howe rewrites history

The newsletter reports, "Howe linked early Zionism with the traditional socialist ideal." While he criticized the Zionists for

an "incapacity to deal with the Arabs," he argued that prior to the establishment of Israel, the Zionists "showed a readiness to compromise on the boundaries of the state, to make room for a Palestine."

It was the Arabs, in Howe's version of history, who blew everything up. "All the efforts to compromise were rejected and Arab leaders from 1948 onward clung to the aim proclaimed by Nasser 'to drive the Israelis into the sea,'" the newsletter says.

Howe's description of what happened — pinning the blame squarely on the Arab nations for war in the Mideast — is utterly false. It's an unabashed recital of the racist propaganda used by every Israeli government to justify its territorial expansion. Moreover, Howe presents an outright lie on the stand of the Palestinians toward Israeli Jews. We'll return to that question later.

What are the facts? The state of Israel was established in 1948 in order to build a beachhead for imperialism in the Mideast. It was set up by forcibly driving the Palestinians out of their country, stealing their land, and establishing a brutally discriminatory system against those Arabs who remained.

The imperialists and Zionist leaders cynically manipulated many Jewish victims of Nazi terror, convincing them to immigrate to Palestine to create a new state where they were told they would be safe from persecution.

In 1947 there were 1.25 million Arabs in Palestine, and 600,000 Jewish settlers. The Jews owned 6 percent of the arable land.

After the Israeli state was set up, and a war of terror unleashed against the Arab inhabitants, one million Palestinians were forced out and Israeli Jews took over 81 percent of the land.

The Zionist leaders don't deny what happened. As Moshe Dayan, the Israeli war minister for many years, said in 1968, the Arabs "take us to be foreigners, invaders that took an Arab country and turned it into a Jewish state. And they are right about it."

Dayan explained, "Every solution [to the Arab-Israeli conflict] faced the alternative of either making allowances for the views and desires of the Arabs and putting an end to Zionism, or carrying on with immigration, land purchase and settlement while denying the right of the Arabs of Palestine to determine the future of their country."

Dayan lays it right out: preserving the state of Israel and granting self-determination to the Palestinians are mutually exclusive.

What is Zionism?

Zionism is not — and never has been — a national liberation movement, much less a movement that has something in common with socialism, as Howe claims. It is a consciously led political movement developed for the purpose of establishing a colonial-settler state in Palestine.

Nor is the issue "two rights" to self-determination — one for the Palestinians, the other for Israeli Jews.

The right of self-determination is not an abstract or moral question. It must be examined concretely. It is true that Jews have historically suffered discrimination and oppression around the world. Anti-Semitism, in fact, is increasing as the capitalist system goes into deeper crisis.

But the persecution of Jews internationally is not the same thing as the position occupied by Jews in Israel today. There, because of the nature of the Israeli state and the way it was established, Israeli Jews are the oppressor nationality; Palestinians, the oppressed nationality.

The national oppression of Palestinians is systematically carried out through discrimination in jobs, denial of their right to land, restrictions on where they can live, and even on their right to elect their own local governments.

This pervasive discrimination based on



Palestinians being driven out of Israel. In drive to weaken struggle for Palestinian self-determination, Washington is demanding acceptance of Israeli state.

nationality and religion is maintained and enforced by the Israeli state.

Under these conditions, the workers movement can no more call for self-determination for Israeli Jews than it can advocate self-determination for white settlers in South Africa or for Protestants in Northern Ireland.

This is not simply a theoretical question: it has major practical implications. To advocate self-determination for Israeli Jews, and therefore the need for an Israeli state, means accepting the Zionist argument that Jews are threatened by their Arab neighbors. That position makes it impossible to take a clear stand on the shooting wars that have and will continue to break out in the Mideast. The logic is, you end up being "neutral" on the side of Israel and its U.S. backers.

The DSA resolution's prohibition against joining demonstrations that don't raise both self-determination for Palestinians and "the right of Israel to a secure existence" means in practice they have opposed the recent demonstrations against the Israeli-U.S. war in Lebanon.

Such a stand also makes it impossible to offer a clear political perspective to Israeli Jews, who are more open today than ever to a working-class solution to the Mideast crisis. What the DSA offers them, however, is a line that can only mean more wars.

PLO and anti-Semitism

DSA leader Howe falsifies the stand of the PLO on Israeli Jews precisely because it does offer the road to peace.

Neither the PLO nor any of its central leadership, including Yassir Arafat, called for driving the Israeli Jews into the sea. In fact, the PLO has been outspoken on the need to oppose anti-Semitism.

In his speech before the United Nations in 1974, PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat delivered a lengthy denunciation of anti-Semitism: "We deplore all those crimes against the Jews; we also deplore all the real discrimination suffered by them because of their faith."

In an interview printed in the July-August 1982 issue of *The Link*, published by Americans for Middle East Understanding, Inc., Arafat scored the hypocrisy of the Israeli government: "They say we want to drive them into the sea. This is their guilt speaking, for having driven us from our lands — into the desert."

The PLO has made it quite clear that the democratic, secular state of Palestine it is fighting for would protect Israeli Jews from discrimination. As Arafat explained in his 1974 UN speech:

"Ours is also a revolution for the Jew as human being. . . . We are struggling so that Jews, Christians, and Moslems may live in equality, enjoying the same rights and assuming the same duties, free from racial and religious discrimination. . . .

"When we speak of our common hopes for the Palestine of tomorrow, we include in our perspective all Jews now living in Palestine who choose to live with us there in peace and without discrimination."

Like the DSA, the U.S. Communist Party (CP) defends the right of the Israeli state to exist, arguing this will lead to peace in the region.

The *Daily World*, which reflects the views of the CP, ran a scandalous editorial October 27, calling for a campaign to win recognition of Israel.

"Israel's Arab neighbors are ready to recognize it — if Israel withdraws from lands seized in the 1967 war," the editorial claimed. "By accepting the Arab League proposal, Israel would become a fully recognized state. . . . As a result Israel could live in peace and security. It could regain acceptance in the world community."

This is a truly astounding statement for a party calling itself communist. Why — especially after the Lebanon war — would any party claiming to speak for the interests of the world working class want to promote "acceptance" of the bloodsoaked Israeli state?

In reality, the CP is to the right of many of the Arab regimes. The editorial's statement that the Arab League has decided to recognize Israel is not true. The *World* dishonestly utilizes the statement of one of the most proimperialist Arab leaders, King Hassan of Morocco, to make this claim. It is designed not only to falsify the stand of the Arab regimes, but by implication, the PLO as well.

The PLO has never called for recognition of the state of Israel. As Arafat explained in the interview in *The Link*, "The Zionists are the aggressors. The Zionists are the occupiers. Why are the victims of this aggression asked to 'recognize' the occupiers?"

The PLO calls for a democratic, secular Palestine. As a step toward that objective, it also favors the establishment of a Palestinian state in any part of Palestine that Israel is forced to withdraw from.

Who threatens Israeli Jews?

This is a far cry from advocating Israel as a "fully recognized state" so that Israel could "live in peace and security." That formula reeks of the Zionist propaganda used to justify every aggression against the Arab peoples since Israel was formed: we need "secure" borders, so we must go to war again.

It is not the PLO or the Arab governments who have threatened the "peace and security" of Israeli citizens, but the expansionist policy of the Israeli government, which can only maintain itself through continued war against the Palestinians and the Arab peoples as a whole.

The *Daily World* editorial is in fact an attack on the Palestinians and their determination to deepen the struggle for a democratic, secular Palestine. The *World's* advice to Palestinians and their supporters around the world is, resign yourself to Israel and the way things are today.

But the best aid U.S. working people can give the courageous Palestinian fighters is our unconditional solidarity and total rejection of Washington's campaign to ram the state of Israel down their throats.

New facts surface on U.S. plan to overthrow Nicaraguan gov't

BY HARRY RING

Newly available information flatly refutes the Reagan administration's claim that its secret war against Nicaragua is limited to organizing small-scale hit-and-run raids intended only to harass the revolutionary Nicaraguan government, not overthrow it.

For nearly a year, Washington has trained and equipped counterrevolutionary exiles operating from at least 10 camps on the Honduran border with Nicaragua.

Most of the exiles are from the national guard of Nicaragua's former dictator, Anastasio Somoza.

From the Honduran border camps, they have conducted a series of raids into Nicaragua, bombing bridges and other installations, murdering, raping and kidnapping civilians, and engaging in direct conflict with Nicaragua's armed forces.

From the outset, the *Militant* has tried to break through the curtain of silence surrounding this sinister operation. Finally, a mass circulation magazine, *Newsweek*, decided to treat what was happening as the story it is. Its issue of November 8 featured a nine-page cover story, "America's Secret War — Target: Nicaragua."

It was in response to the *Newsweek* story that the administration admitted its involvement but tried to lull the American people into believing that it was a limited operation.

The attacks across the Honduran border have been so extensive, that on November 4 the Nicaraguan government in Managua was compelled to declare the entire border region a zone of military emergency.

The scope of the U.S.-organized operation was confirmed in a November 6 dispatch to the *New York Times* from Tegucigalpa, capital of Honduras.

The *Times* report said:

"Nicaraguan exile groups seeking the overthrow of the Sandinist government have sharply improved their military performance in the last six months because of stepped-up United States aid, according to Honduran and foreign officials here."

A Honduran army officer said, "There used to be a few improvised gangs scattered along the border. Now they have well-armed columns of up to 1,000 men penetrating deep into Nicaragua."

This was confirmed by a UPI dispatch November 5 from La Manzanilla, a Honduran town near the Nicaraguan border. The UPI reported:

"Nicaraguan rightist rebels using United States arms and equipment freely train and operate from bases inside Honduras in their campaign to overthrow the leftist government in Managua, according to border residents."

The Honduran government has also made direct attacks on Nicaragua. It was reported November 9 that two Honduran warships had sailed into Nicaraguan waters and shelled a Nicaraguan patrol boat. There were no injuries.

The *New York Times* report from Tegucigalpa also said that one of the coun-

terrevolutionaries rejected for enlistment in Washington's war against Nicaragua is Edén Pastora, who gained attention as a Sandinista guerrilla fighter "Commander Zero," but later broke with the revolution.

Pastora's defection was widely proclaimed in the U.S. capitalist media, but according to the *Times* dispatch, talks between Pastora and Washington broke down "because an offer of help required him to work with some exile groups linked to the former Nicaraguan dictator, Anastasio Somoza Debayle."

Meanwhile, Pastora himself sees a full military attack on Nicaragua in the making, but predicts it will be another "Bay of Pigs."

The U.S.-organized 1961 invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs was smashed in 72 hours. Pastora said that while the invasion of Nicaragua might last 72 days instead of 72 hours, it would also end in disaster for the invaders. He said this was because the national guard is so hated by the Nicaraguan people.

Now based in Costa Rica, Pastora told this to a *Miami Herald* reporter November 5.

"Pastora projects himself as a moderate alternative to the former guardsmen," the *Herald* commented, "but acknowledges he lacks the wherewithal to match their fight."

The article said Pastora had asked the Hondurans for permission to operate from their border, but Honduras "insists that Pastora make common cause with the former guardsmen."

Meanwhile, Washington's cynical use of Honduras for its counterrevolutionary activity is intensifying hardship and repression in that country. Although Honduras supposedly returned to civilian rule a year ago, it's agreed that the top dog in the country is Gen. Gustavo Alvarez, the U.S.-backed chief of the armed forces.

With unemployment mounting and hardship spreading in impoverished Honduras, social unrest is reported on the rise.

But so is army-promoted right-wing terrorism coupled with virulent anticommunism.

In an October pastoral letter, Honduran Catholic bishops spoke out against "terrorism, disappearances, the mysterious



U.S. officer gives orders to Honduran troops during recent joint military maneuvers.

discovery of bodies, assaults, thefts, kidnappings . . ."

This charge was echoed by the Honduran Human Rights Commission which spoke of "clandestine jails, disappearances, and torture."

Ex-Somoza butchers and totalitarian thugs in military garb. These are the forces Washington must of necessity rely on in its reactionary drive to save Nicaragua for "democracy" — that is for capitalism and restoration of imperialist domination.

Nicaragua declares a military emergency

Continued from Page 1

showed which Honduran army unit works with which counterrevolutionary camp.

Describing one of the camps inside Nicaragua that was broken up, Cerna used slides to point to two things imported by U.S. advisers from their experience in Vietnam. Bamboo was used extensively in the construction of camp facilities — a practice almost unknown in Central America.

Also discovered were compact cells of the kind known as "tiger cages" during the Vietnam War, in which the South Vietnamese forces would jail prisoners and hold them for weeks on end in hope of extracting information, only to kill them af-

terwards.

Beside one of these cages at the Wina camp in Jinotega lay clothing and skeletons of peasants who had lived nearby and had been kidnapped by the counterrevolutionaries.

Other slides shown by Cerna revealed how well the counterrevolutionary camps had been constructed — solid, two-story facilities capable of housing 80 men plus officers. The counterrevolutionaries took advantage of the mountainous, unmapped, sparsely populated Wina River of Jinotega to kidnap peasants and force them to build the camps. Most were later killed.

Plans found at the Wina camp revealed

a plot to blow up the San Antonio sugar mill, Nicaragua's largest; to destroy several electric substations; to attack undefended towns; and to harass small Sandinista army and militia units.

Twenty-eight boxes of dynamite were found as well as other weapons, clothing, hammocks, and freeze-dried food rations — all "Made in U.S.A."

On November 8, 42 coffee pickers were kidnapped by counterrevolutionary bands in the northern department of Nueva Segovia, less than three miles from the Honduran border.

The *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) selected the youngest workers as victims. Their aim — besides terrorizing the population — is to try to disrupt the coffee harvest, scheduled to begin in two weeks.

However, workers at the coffee plantations have pledged to continue working, even if it means fighting the *contras*.

From Intercontinental Press

Groups in U.S. denounce secret war

BY SUZANNE HAIG

Opponents of U.S. intervention are speaking out in response to *Newsweek* magazine's revelation that Washington is waging a war against Nicaragua from bases in Honduras.

In New York, Casa Nicaragua issued a statement that said: "We call upon the American people to organize in solidarity with the Nicaraguan people and to protest U.S. intervention against Nicaragua through Honduras."

"We call upon the American people to demand that Washington stop the lies about Nicaragua, stop the spy planes, and the overt and covert intervention."

Heidi Tarver, national coordinator of the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES), told the *Militant*,

"This information is confirmation of what has been very clear for a number of months. It is a further indication of a very dangerous situation that exists because of the Reagan administration's policy, which is provoking a regional war."

"We strongly believe as North Americans — both as individuals and organizations it is necessary to strongly oppose and denounce the Reagan administration's policy toward Nicaragua, as well as toward El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras," she said.

"Don't forget that Sandino was killed and the U.S. was involved in Nicaragua 30 to 40 years ago," said Kathy Andrade, education director of Local 23-25 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Andrade was referring to Nicaraguan patriot Augusto César Sandino, who fought against a U.S. Marine invasion of his country earlier in the century.

Andrade told the *Militant* that "more information needs to be given the American public about what is going on in Nicaragua. More organizations need to publicize the facts about Nicaragua as well as El Salvador."

Peter Swavelly, research associate at the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, noted that, "Honduras is Reagan's point man in Central America and a center for CIA operations." He linked this to an increase in the use of death squads by the regime there.

The Reagan administration, he said, has adopted an "aggressive policy of confrontation, ignoring every call for negotiations" from countries in Central America.

Is Washington's secret war against Nicaragua just harassment to stop an alleged arms flow to El Salvador? No, said Marta Tanenhaus, a staff member of Nicaraguan Network. "We don't believe that the objective of U.S. activities is, as they say, to stop the 'arms flow,' and that needling the Nicaraguan government is secondary. Their aim is the total destruction of the Nicaraguan government."

If you'd been reading 'Intercontinental Press' . . .

then the exposé of Washington's secret war against Nicaragua in the November 8 *Newsweek* would be no surprise to you. We've been reporting the facts on the war direct from our bureau in Managua, Nicaragua, for months as shown by the cover of our March 22 issue. Keep up with the story by taking out a subscription to *Intercontinental Press* today.

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What kind of political action will advance women's rights struggle?

BY MARGARET JAYKO

At the recent conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW), which took place October 8-10, the question of women taking political action in the electoral arena was a central topic of debate.

The line of NOW's national leadership was to intensify concentration on raising money for and working to elect Democratic Party candidates at all levels of government.

Political Action Committees

Central to this perspective was the goal of strengthening the NOW Political Action Committees (PAC), which projected raising \$3 million to help finance Democratic Party campaigns in the 1982 elections.

The conference debated what criteria NOW should use in deciding which candidates to support. The national NOW leadership put forward a motion that an individual candidate's stand on the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), abortion rights, lesbian rights, and minority rights would be weighed, but only "within an overall political strategy recognizing the importance of the political power structure, the balance of power and realistic expectations that will continue to further the goals of equality for women."

This motion passed, over the objections of many delegates who saw it as further compromising NOW's goals by supporting candidates who act against the interests of women. In an effort to counter the NOW leadership's perspective, many delegates tried unsuccessfully to get the following resolution adopted:

"The NOW National Board shall not recommend to the National PAC the endorsement of or financial contributions to any political candidate whose stands on ERA, Reproductive Freedom, Lesbian Rights, or Minority Rights are inconsistent with NOW's overall stands on these issues."

Most supporters of this resolution saw it as a way to block the erroneous political course NOW is on.

But this resolution does *not* offer an alternative to the increasingly conservative course of the NOW leadership. It fails to break out of the framework of support to the two parties of big business, the Democrats and Republicans. As such, this resolution and all similar proposals should be opposed by women's rights fighters.

What are women's concerns?

Examined just on its wording alone, the resolution is obviously lacking something. Are the ERA, abortion rights, lesbian rights, and the rights of Blacks and Latinos the only political issues women have a stake in? What about day care, affirmative action, or maternity benefits?

For that matter, what about war, and labor rights? This resolution doesn't rule out NOW endorsing candidates who favor arming the Salvadoran junta to the teeth, sending marines to Lebanon to aid the regime that slaughters Palestinians, or busting unions like the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization.

Even the criteria it does enumerate are open to many interpretations. For example, there's virtually no prominent Democrat or Republican who says they're against



Militant/Elizabeth Ziers

The 3,200 women at 1982 national NOW conference debated how to advance fight for women's equality.

"minority rights" (even George Wallace!). But how many are for enforcing busing orders or affirmative action quotas? How many speak out against cop brutality?

These questions only point to the bigger problem. You could add 10 more criteria to this resolution and still not solve the fundamental problem NOW faces. You could even find some Democrat who would have the correct formal position on each question; but supporting him or her would still be an obstacle to advancing the fight for women's equality.

Individuals, parties and classes

That's because the heart of the problem of political action in the electoral arena — for women as well as for Blacks or trade unionists — is *not* the individual candidate or the individual election planks. It's the party the candidate belongs to and the class interests that party represents.

The capitalist electoral process is designed precisely to cover up the class question. This takes many different forms, although the essence is the same. Unionists are urged to elect "friends of labor" — usually Democrats. Blacks are told things will change if more Black Democrats are put in office. This year we had a spate of "peace" candidates, usually Democrats who jumped on the bilateral nuclear freeze bandwagon.

And the NOW leadership often describes its goal as electing "feminist" candidates. In this election they put a special emphasis on voting for "anti-Reagan" candidates.

All of these terms are ways of obscuring the fact that the two ruling parties in this country represent the interests of the capitalist class, which are totally counterposed to the interests and needs of the vast majority of the population. The program they carry out, regardless of what is in their party platform, is whatever will best defend the profits and prerogatives of those who own the factories, mines, mills, and banks of this country.

In order to advance our interests, women's rights fighters need to break out of this two-party trap and adopt a fighting perspective that is *independent* of the two parties and their policies.

But the resolution that came before the NOW conference failed to take up this problem. It didn't take a stand against NOW working to elect Democrats or Republicans, because like the NOW leadership's approach, this resolution also assumes political action is only realistic within the confines of the two-party system.

Miseducation, not clarification

Thus the resolution miseducates, rather than clarifies, on the nature of the Democrats and Republicans and the nature of the political problem NOW faces. It promotes the idea that women have some viable choice within the framework of these two parties and their various candidates, and points in the direction of relying on the capitalist class to achieve women's liberation.

The two-party shell game has been used for a longtime to prevent struggles for social progress from breaking with capitalist

politics. Anytime you get disgusted with one party, the ruling class offers you the other party. If one party runs a staunch foe of women's rights, the other party can run a little-less-staunch foe. The rulers have gotten away with this because there's no mass party representing working people and all the oppressed to provide an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

On all the fundamental questions — such as war and driving forward on attacking the working class to improve the profit rates of big business — the Democrats and Republicans are in agreement. They collaborate in a bipartisan way on city councils, state legislatures, and in Congress to defend the system responsible for war, racism, and discrimination against women.

That's why kicking Republicans out of office won't do away with "Reaganism," or women's oppression.

In reality both the NOW national leadership's proposal and the resolution put forward as counter to it have the same starting point — fighting for women's rights within the framework of what is possible under capitalism. One opts for what could be called lesser-evilmism, the other, for greater-goodism. Neither brings the women's rights struggle a step closer to its goals.

How social change comes about

There's another aspect of the two party scam that is relevant to this discussion. It's the idea that social progress comes about through the actions of legislators, who are supposedly governed by the will of the majority.

Not only do they *not* represent the majority — if they did, we'd have the ERA — but what happens in the legislatures is not determined by those individual politicians. It depends on the clash of big class forces in the factories, on the picket lines, in the streets, and on battlefields all over the world.

The legalization of abortion by a U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1973, for example, came about as a result of several interrelated political developments in the class struggle at that time: the huge influx of women into the labor force, the changes in consciousness influenced by the then-new women's liberation movement, the social turmoil produced by the Vietnam war and the civil rights struggle.

Concession bargaining

The NOW leadership's perspective for the women's rights struggle is so ineffective and unrealistic because it ties the fate of women's equality to what the capitalist class is willing to deliver, rather than mobilizing masses of women to wrest their rights from the rulers.

The liberal approach of the NOW leadership *confines* the struggle for women's liberation to the ever-narrowing framework of what capitalism can offer today. They accept the rationalization that the social and economic pie is shrinking and so we must be "practical" and make trade-offs in order to have a "better tomorrow."

It's the same kind of concession-bargaining that the auto union leadership is trying to impose on auto workers.

At the workplace, concession-bargaining means accepting the idea that improving the profits of the bosses — by taking a wage cut or accepting speedup — will save jobs.

The problem with concession bargaining, whether by the unions or the women's rights movement, is that it has the wrong starting point. It begins with giving a helping hand to the employers to save the system, the company, or the country, as opposed to defending and extending the rights and living standards of women and working people.

If your starting point is that women's rights can be achieved through cooperating with and aid to the ruling class, you end up capitulating. If you think it's not "realistic" for Congress to restore Medicaid funding for abortion, then why fight for it? Instead, keep silent. Don't irritate the politicians in the legislatures, and maybe they'll leave women's rights alone for a while.

That's the essence of concession bargaining: women, Blacks, working people make the concessions, and the bosses and their government get the bargain!

Political action is key

Does this mean women should not be involved in politics?

No.

Women do have to be politically active and are increasingly so.

But the only realistic political course is for women to build a movement that puts the interests and needs of women *first*. A movement that fights for women's rights no matter who doesn't like it, no matter whose toes get stepped on, and no matter where it leads.

This is the kind of movement that NOW should be about the business of building. One that unites millions of women in struggle, that champions the demands of the most oppressed sisters — Blacks, Latinas, and other women of the oppressed nationalities.

This movement would be largely composed of and led by working-class women, who suffer the most from the oppression of women and who have the most to gain by breaking those chains.

This kind of movement would constitute a powerful anticapitalist battering ram. It would not only come up against the employers who discriminate against women. It would also come smack up against the power of the capitalist government, which legislates away women's rights and lives.

Thus it would be a powerful force to work with the unions to form a new party, a labor party.

A party based on a fighting trade union movement would have a program that champions the interests of women, oppressed nationalities, and working people as a whole.

It would have lots of women candidates.

Its goal would not be simply to get elected, but to struggle for a new kind of government, a workers and farmers government, which could begin the task of building a humane society based on equality.

It's along this road of independent struggle that the fight for women's rights can be effective and successful.

IN THE NAME OF POLITICAL PRAGMATISM I WILL SELL OUT;

- ☐ Equal Rights Amendment
- ☐ Reproductive Freedom
- ☐ Lesbian Rights
- ☐ All of the Above
- ☒ NONE OF THE ABOVE

This sticker was distributed at NOW conference by those who favored supporting "feminist" Democrats. But this perspective, like the NOW leadership's, is an obstacle to effective fight for any women's rights issue.

Fall Militant/PM Sales Goal



WEEK 6: 42,496 sold to date

How to boost sales

BY SANDI SHERMAN

Last week we reported that Philadelphia socialists sold 1,072 papers in the first week of our 10-day preelection sales and campaign mobilization. We thought our readers would be interested in how they accomplished this and what they learned from the experience. So we asked Mark Emanation, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party in Philadelphia to explain it.

"Last spring," Emanation told us, "the 8 or 10 of us who sold regularly on Saturday thought that a sale of 35 papers was pretty good. But on the first weekend of the drive this fall, we went out and sold 165 papers on Saturday alone. This was a big surprise to us. We discussed it and decided to raise our weekly goal from 150 to 220."

What accounted for this change? Emanation says one factor was the experience of petitioning last spring to put the SWP candidates on the Pennsylvania ballot. "When we petitioned in 1980, we would appeal to people to help put a worker on the ballot, and that worked. But in 1982, all the capitalist candidates were saying they were for working people, for jobs. We had to explain that we were for

a different kind of government, a workers and farmers government.

"The success we had with this approach carried over to the sales drive," he reported. "We began to sell the paper in a different way, by stopping people and having discussions with them. We explained what the paper was for — that it wasn't only a paper that tells the truth and exposes the government and the capitalist system, but that it also explains how working people can organize to take power."

"Sixty percent of the population in Philadelphia is Black. Unemployment is high and people are fed up. On a streetcorner in North Philadelphia, if you don't say that this is a *revolutionary* paper, you might as well be talking about the Democratic Party."

The Socialist Workers campaign used the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* as its main election campaign literature. The campaign committee used its meetings to organize campaign supporters to sell along with members of the SWP and YSA. One woman joined the SWP as a result of her experience introducing other people to the socialist alternative.

So, as election day approached, Philadelphia socialists decided that the best way to spend the last

10 days of the campaign was to sell even more papers. They took on a goal of 1,000 for the 10-day mobilization. The 30 members of the SWP and YSA in Philadelphia decided that each of them would participate in a sale every day of the mobilization.

"We really went all out," says Emanation. "Those of us who were unemployed sold for three or four hours every day. Working members of the SWP and YSA sold on their lunch hours, and we all spent three or four hours each Saturday and Sunday selling the press. We each took on a personal goal of how many we aimed to sell in the 10 days."

"Everybody got into the act. Our oldest member, Bill Rosen, who's 70, staffed the bookstore every day, selling books and papers and answering the phone. During the last 10 days of the campaign, at least a couple of people called every day for more information after they'd found out about our campaign in the *Militant* or *PM*."

In the course of this effort, the socialists found out more about their city. They found new places to sell *PM* to Spanish-speaking workers. They also explored new ways to talk to industrial workers about the *Militant* and *PM*'s perspectives for fighting back.

"We realized that a weakness of the first part of the drive for us was that we weren't selling much at plant gates. So, during the mobilization we targeted 35 workplaces to sell at. We sold 92 papers at plant gates and to our own co-workers, and 300 at unemployment offices."

The results so far of the fall sales campaign in Philadelphia tell the story best. Five people have joined the YSA or SWP. More and more people recognize the *Militant* and *PM* on the streets of Philadelphia.

SALES SCOREBOARD

| Area | (Militant issue #41, PM issue #20) | | | |
|----------------|------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----|
| | Militant Goal/Sold | PM Goal/Sold | Total Goal/Sold | % |
| Seaside | 45/95 | 5/7 | 50/102 | 204 |
| Philadelphia | 200/388 | 20/60 | 220/448 | 204 |
| St. Louis | 200/325 | 0/0 | 200/325 | 163 |
| San Jose | 90/140 | 20/36 | 110/176 | 160 |
| Oakland | 100/150 | 10/19 | 110/169 | 154 |
| Piedmont | 90/137 | 0/0 | 90/137 | 152 |
| Wash., D.C. | 160/223 | 25/28 | 185/251 | 136 |
| Los Angeles | 125/100 | 40/118 | 165/218 | 132 |
| Tidewater | 90/115 | 0/0 | 90/115 | 128 |
| Harrisburg | 50/64 | 5/5 | 55/69 | 125 |
| Phoenix | 120/160 | 55/59 | 175/219 | 125 |
| Birmingham | 110/134 | 0/0 | 110/134 | 122 |
| Louisville | 80/95 | 0/0 | 80/95 | 119 |
| Milwaukee | 185/225 | 15/11 | 200/236 | 118 |
| Boston | 135/157 | 15/19 | 150/176 | 117 |
| Dallas | 45/46 | 30/42 | 75/88 | 117 |
| San Antonio | 60/47 | 50/82 | 110/129 | 117 |
| Indianapolis | 90/103 | 0/1 | 90/104 | 116 |
| Seattle | 105/121 | 5/6 | 110/127 | 115 |
| San Francisco | 100/124 | 30/26 | 130/150 | 115 |
| Twin Cities | 195/224 | 5/0 | 200/224 | 112 |
| Miami | 85/103 | 15/7 | 100/110 | 110 |
| Cincinnati | 90/97 | 0/0 | 90/97 | 108 |
| Denver | 100/108 | 10/10 | 110/118 | 107 |
| Brooklyn | 175/169 | 50/72 | 225/241 | 107 |
| Iron Range | 50/53 | 0/0 | 50/53 | 106 |
| Morgantown | 85/90 | 0/0 | 85/90 | 106 |
| Pittsburgh | 225/234 | 0/0 | 225/234 | 104 |
| Schenectady | 100/104 | 2/2 | 102/106 | 104 |
| Portland | 60/62 | 0/0 | 60/62 | 103 |
| Salt Lake City | 90/92 | 5/5 | 95/97 | 102 |
| Newark | 145/137 | 45/56 | 190/193 | 102 |
| Kansas City | 90/96 | 5/0 | 95/96 | 101 |
| Baltimore | 300/300 | 0/0 | 300/300 | 100 |
| Charleston | 70/70 | 0/0 | 70/70 | 100 |
| Cleveland | 105/113 | 10/2 | 115/115 | 100 |
| Gary | 65/63 | 5/7 | 70/70 | 100 |
| Lincoln | 60/60 | 0/0 | 60/60 | 100 |
| Tucson | 35/43 | 25/17 | 60/60 | 100 |
| Atlanta | 120/123 | 5/0 | 125/123 | 98 |
| Albuquerque | 55/53 | 10/7 | 65/60 | 92 |
| Houston | 90/82 | 25/22 | 115/104 | 90 |
| Detroit | 90/86 | 10/4 | 100/90 | 90 |
| Chicago | 140/116 | 20/21 | 160/137 | 86 |
| Price | 55/42 | 5/7 | 60/49 | 82 |
| New Orleans | 100/80 | 0/0 | 100/80 | 80 |
| Toledo | 70/51 | 0/1 | 70/52 | 74 |
| Manhattan | 300/207 | 100/82 | 400/289 | 72 |
| San Diego | 65/32 | 15/23 | 80/55 | 69 |
| Totals | 5,390/6,039 | 692/864 | 6,082/6,903 | 114 |

Michigan paper endorses Socialist Workers ticket

The *Lansing Star*, a student newspaper published every two weeks at Michigan State University, endorsed Michigan Socialist Workers Party candidates, Tim Craine for governor and Elizabeth Ziers for lieutenant governor.

The endorsement appeared in the *Star's* edition dated October 21-November 3 in an editorial headlined, "Tim Craine speaks to real human needs." The editorial follows.

In a gubernatorial campaign thus far highlighted by an incredibly venal Republican trading insults with the bland and smug Democratic front-runner, it is easy to become more and more disenchanted with the choices being offered us by the two major political parties. Jim Blanchard has done all he could to try to mask over his past record of support in the U.S. Congress for budget cuts in the area of social services and federal funding of abortions; his approval of Reagan's militarist priorities is well documented in The Congressional Record. Simply hauling Martha Griffiths out of retirement to symbolize his new "commitment" to social and women's concerns *doesn't* make it real.

The directions for setting better conditions in place for the *people* rather than the institutions of the state of Michigan, in our view, are presented most clearly and impressively by Tim Craine, the Socialist Workers candidate for governor. A 38-year-old math teacher from Detroit, Craine holds the view that the welfare of working people must be placed above business and corporate interests when economic belt-tightening is called for.

The fundamental right to a job and a decent standard of living — Craine's plans to

make this ideal a reality would include public works programs for schools, roads and housing, a shortening of the work week *without* worker pay concessions and the imposition of a highly graduated income tax to ease the burden on low income groups. As the situation stands today, unions find themselves hardpressed to withstand pressures for concessions due to the combined influence of government working hand-in-hand with business.

We applaud Craine's stand on the need to nationalize key industries like the auto, steel and health care monoliths and place them under the control of publically-elected and citizen-controlled governing boards. The re-channeling of these staggering corporate profits back into the beleaguered human services sphere is long overdue — a realistic and humanistic appraisal of the fruits of our capitalistic

economic structure to date calls for nothing less.

It is also difficult to separate Michigan's plight from the perverse social, economic and foreign policies held dear by our federal government. The use of our tax dollars to promote U.S. intervention in Latin America and support militarist ventures like Israel's invasion of Lebanon denies adequate funding in this country of education, Social Security and other programs aimed at the general welfare. Craine calls for a massive shifting in the dollars now thrown into the military establishment back toward more productive social efforts and the creation of jobs.

The *Lansing Star* endorses the candidacy of Tim Craine for governor and Elizabeth Ziers for lieutenant governor on the Socialist Workers Party ticket — make yourself heard on November 2.



Militant/L. Paltrineri

Elizabeth Ziers

Voters oppose U.S. aid to El Salvador

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

On November 2, voters in a number of U.S. cities approved ballot initiatives against U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran junta.

In Multnomah County (Portland, Oregon) nearly 76 percent voted "yes" on Ballot Measure Seven, which asked, "Shall the people of Multnomah County request the United States government to end all military aid to the El Salvador government?"

The statement of purpose accompanying the measure also called for withdrawing United States military personnel from El Salvador.

The ballot measure was initiated by the El Salvador Initiative Coalition and was endorsed by a broad array of organizations. These included the Pacific Northwest Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and

Textile Workers Union; Columbia River District of International Longshoremen's, Warehousemen's and Inlandboatmen's Union; National Organization for Women, Tri-county chapter; Multnomah County Democratic Party Central Committee; Citizens Party; Portland Black United Front; Portland Central America Solidarity Coalition; and Socialist Workers Party.

When antiwar activists began collecting the required 12,500 signatures to get the measure on the ballot, they were warned by the county that their petition would not be accepted. Activists went ahead and turned in over 17,300 signatures.

When the county clerk refused to accept the petition, activists took the county to court. They were able to win the backing of three of the four county commissioners, and the Multnomah Circuit Court ruled that the initiative should be on the ballot.

Both the *Oregonian*, the largest Portland daily, and the *Williamette Weekly* endorsed the initiative. During the campaign, supporters of the initiative handed out 200,000 copies of a brochure describing human rights violations by the Salvadoran regime. The brochure also highlighted the nearly ten percent unemployment rate in Multnomah County, demanding that rather than military aid for the junta, money should be used to create jobs.

In Burlington, Vermont, voters passed a similar measure against Salvador aid, 4,378 to 1,500; as did residents of St. Albans, another town in Vermont.

In Santa Cruz, California, the Santa Cruz Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Central America placed Measure E on the ballot, which also called for an end to U.S. military aid to El Salvador. This measure passed 8,006 to 3,969.

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Fifth year of the Russian Revolution

A speech by James P. Cannon

Introduction

We are celebrating the 65th anniversary of the October 1917 Russian Revolution by reprinting a 1923 speech describing the revolution in its fifth year. The speech was given by communist leader James P. Cannon during a five-month speaking tour of the United States in 1923. It was published in pamphlet form in the same year by the Workers Party of America (WPA).^{*} Cannon was national chairman of the WPA at the time.

The speech was republished in a pamphlet with another speech by Cannon on the Russian Revolution by Pioneer Publishers in 1944. It is now available in *Speeches for Socialism* by Cannon, published by Pathfinder Press in 1971.

Cannon spent seven months in the Soviet Union in 1922. During that period, he served on the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) and its presidium. He also participated in the work of the executive body of the Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern). He attended the June meeting of the ECCI, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International (Comintern) in November and December, and the fifth anniversary celebration of the October 1917 revolution.

Cannon's description of Soviet Russia in its early years will sound familiar to readers who have been following closely the revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, especially those fortunate enough to have visited those countries and seen the revolutionary process first-hand.

The imperialist military threats and economic blockades, and the difficulties of economic development in the face of severe backwardness, are problems working people in these three countries have in common with their predecessors in revolutionary Russia.

Another common feature of these revolutions are the mobilizations of working people in defense of their interests. Cannon described the mass meetings by Russian workers to say no to the demand of European capitalists to return the mines, factories, and railroads the workers had expropriated. He also witnessed a mass demonstration against the attempt by counterrevolutionary forces to use the trial of Social Revolutionaries as an international rallying point against the workers and peasants government.

Trial of the Social Revolutionaries

The Social Revolutionary Party, which had considerable influence among the peasantry before the October Revolution, split in 1917. The Left SRs participated as a minority in a coalition government with the Bolsheviks for a few months following the October 1917 revolution. They broke with the workers and peasants government over their opposition to the Brest-Litovsk treaty ending hostilities with Germany and to measures supported by the Bolsheviks in mid-1918 that deepened the class struggle between rich and poor peasants in the countryside.

In July 1918, the Left SRs organized the assassination of the German ambassador to the Soviet republic in an attempt to foment war between Germany and Russia. As part of a scheme to trigger an antigovernment revolt, two top Bolshevik leaders were assassinated and Lenin was nearly killed by a Left SR assassin in the summer of 1918.

Despite the counterrevolutionary activities of many of its members, the Left SRs, like the Mensheviks, were permitted to function as parties, with some restrictions, until early 1921. In March of that year, the Mensheviks and Left and Right SRs supported the counterrevolutionary revolt in Kronstadt. As a result, the Soviet government took firmer measures against the antigovernment activities of these parties. Many of their members were urged to leave the country; others were tried and imprisoned.

The two-month trial of 34 leaders of both the Right and Left SRs occurred in this political context. When the trial was announced in February 1922, it became the focus of an international anti-Soviet propaganda campaign in the capitalist press. The reformist and centrist social demo-

crats eagerly jumped on the bandwagon. The Bolsheviks had exposed them before the world working class for their betrayals during and after World War I; they now sought to use the trial to step up their efforts to undermine working-class support for the Soviet republic.

In April 1922, the matter was raised at a meeting in Berlin between representatives of the Comintern, the Second International, and an international organization of centrists led by Karl Kautsky. The social democrats and centrists demanded that the Soviet government permit them to send international representatives to the trial and to agree in advance that the death penalty not be imposed. The Comintern representatives, including Karl Radek, Nikolai Bukharin, and Clara Zetkin, conceded to these demands. Lenin, upon learning of this decision, publicly criticized it in the Bolsheviks' paper, *Pravda*. His article, entitled, "We have paid too much," attacked these conditions as a violation of the right of the Soviet government to conduct its own internal affairs. The agreement was "nothing more than a political concession on the part of the revolutionary proletariat to the reactionary bourgeoisie," Lenin wrote. Nonetheless, he said, the Soviet government would not tear up the agreement.

So Emile Vandervelde, a social-patriot who had served in the capitalist cabinet in Belgium during World War I and its aftermath, appeared as the principal counsel for the accused. The trial opened June 8 and continued until August 7. The accused were tried for organizing or carrying out specific acts of terror, sabotage, and collusion with imperialist regimes against the Soviet republic. A few of the 34 were acquitted; most were sentenced to different terms and degrees of imprisonment. Fourteen were sentenced to death, but a decision of the Soviet government specified that "the punishment would be carried out only if their party continued its criminal policies towards Soviet Russia by risings in the countryside, by espionage and attempts at murder. . . ." They were not executed.

'An incomparable school'

For Cannon, like leaders of other fledgling communist parties throughout the world, the Comintern, founded in 1919, was a school for learning Marxist strategy and politics from the Bolsheviks. Like many early communists, Cannon had been influenced by syndicalism and went through a process of shedding this legacy on the road to becoming a Leninist. Before joining the Communist Party in 1919, Cannon had been an active member of the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World for nearly a decade.

Many years later, in a 1954 letter to historian Theodore Draper, Cannon recalled his experiences of 1922 in Moscow. "This was my first view of the functioning of the Comintern," Cannon wrote, "and my first chance to see the great political leaders at work in discussion and decision on questions of the world movement. I was well satisfied to sit quietly, to listen and try to learn. I really think I learned a lot in this priceless experience. . . ."

"All the important parties had permanent delegates in Moscow," he wrote. "They presented periodic reports on new developments in their respective countries and joined in the discussion."

"The decisive lead was taken by the Russian delegation assigned to permanent work in the Comintern. These were [Grigori] Zinoviev as chairman, Radek, and Bukharin. As a member of the presidium, I saw these leaders at work and heard them speak on an average of about once a week during the entire period of my stay in Moscow. There was never any question whatever of the leading role played by the Russian representatives. This was taken as a matter of course and was never questioned. But the reasons for it were entirely just and natural."

"They were the veterans who were schooled in the doctrine and knew the world movement, especially the European section of it, from study and first-hand experience in their years of exile. In addition, they had the commanding moral authority which accrues by right to the leaders of a victorious revolution. The delegates of the other parties, like myself, were mainly apprentices of a younger generation. I think all of us, or nearly all, felt that we were privileged to attend an incomparable school, and we tried to profit by the opportunity." (*The*

Continued on next page



James P. Cannon (left) with Big Bill Haywood, leader of Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), in Moscow in 1922. Cannon arrived in Soviet Russia in June 1922 for a seven months' stay. He returned to United States the next year and reported on progress of Russian Revolution in its fifth year.

^{*}The Workers Party of America was established in 1921 as the legal form of the Communist Party. Its name was changed to the Workers (Communist) Party in 1925 and to the Communist Party, U.S.A., in 1929.

Continued from previous page

First Ten Years of American Communism, Cannon, Pathfinder Press)

While Cannon was in Russia, Lenin did not attend any sessions of the ECCI or its presidium. He had suffered a stroke shortly before Cannon arrived and was convalescing until October. Cannon did hear him speak once, at the Fourth Congress. Lenin's speech, "Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution," is available in *Speeches to the Congresses of the Communist International* by Lenin. (Progress Publishers, 1972)

In an unpublished interview in 1973, a year before he died, Cannon recalled that Leon Trotsky, head of the Red Army and one of the principal reporters at the Fourth Congress, appeared before the presidium of the ECCI on several occasions. One such time was when, on behalf of the Russian Communist Party, he presented the report on the trial of the Social Revolutionaries.

The movie *Reds*, which made a big splash last year and undoubtedly gave most viewers a favorable impression of the October Revolution, suggested that Zinoviev and other Comintern leaders were intolerant and bureaucratic in their relations with representatives from other countries.

Cannon, however, had a different view of those early years of the Comintern. "Those were the good days of the Communist International," he wrote in his letter to Draper, "when its moral authority was the highest and the wisdom of its advice to the young parties from the various countries was recognized and appreciated by all."

He illustrated this point by describing how the Comintern helped resolve an important dispute among U.S. communists. The issue was whether or not the American party should function as a legal party or underground. At the time, it was principally an underground party.

The Workers Party had been established in December 1921 as an experimental legal wing, and Cannon spoke for forces within the CP that wanted to get rid of the underground organization altogether and make the WPA the official organization. Those favoring a legal organization recognized that revolutionary parties sometimes must function underground. But, they argued, the political situation in the United States in 1922 did not warrant it. The witch-hunt launched by President Woodrow Wilson's administration in 1919 and 1920 had subsided. Following the inauguration of President Warren Harding in 1921, socialist leader Eugene Debs had been released from the federal penitentiary in Atlanta. Other antiwar socialists and radicals jailed during World War I were also released. The supporters of an underground organization contended that the question was a matter of principle.

Following a meeting with Trotsky, who indicated support for getting rid of the underground organization, Cannon defended his position in front of the American Commission. He explains that "the Russians showed their decided interest in the question by sending a full delegation — Zinoviev, Radek, and Bukharin — to the Commission.

"Nothing was hurried. There was a full and fair debate, in a calm and friendly atmosphere. Nobody got excited but the Americans."

The Russian leaders vigorously opposed the undergroundist position.

"They especially castigated the tendency to transplant mechanically the Russian experiences under the tsar, where all forms of political opposition were legally proscribed, to America which still retained its bourgeois democratic system intact and where the Workers Party was already conducting a satisfactory communist propaganda without legal interference."

The result of the discussion in the American Commission was the unanimous decision to recommend that the American party establish itself as a legal party. The majority of communists in the United States accepted this proposal and the WPA was recognized as the official party.

Fighting for Comintern's continuity

Following his 1922 visit, Cannon was to visit Soviet Russia four more times as a leader of the American communist movement. He attended the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in March-April 1925; the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February-March 1926; the eighth plenum of the ECCI in May 1927; and the Sixth Congress in July-September 1928.

At the 1928 world congress he served on the program commission. There he obtained a copy of a counter-resolution to the draft submitted by Bukharin and Stalin. The counter-resolution, entitled "The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals," was submitted by Leon Trotsky, who had been expelled from the Soviet Communist Party and the ECCI in 1927 and deported to a remote area of the USSR.

This document described the political degeneration of the Comintern since 1923. It showed how the proletarian internationalism adhered to by the Comintern during its first five years had been dumped. Basing itself on the resolutions and documents of those formative years of the Comintern, Trotsky's document became a rallying point for communists throughout the world, like Cannon, who



V.I. Lenin in his study in the Kremlin. Though recovering from illness, Lenin addressed November-December Fourth Congress of Communist International at which Cannon was a delegate.



Grigori Zinoviev, chairman of Communist International. Unlike the depiction in movie *Reds*, Zinoviev and other leaders of Russian Revolution led International through their moral authority and not bureaucratic methods.

were committed to defending Bolshevism-Leninism.

Cannon and his supporters were expelled from the Communist Party in November 1928 and founded the Communist League of America. In 1938 Cannon was a founder of the Socialist Workers Party and a leading participant in the founding conference of the Fourth International.

The program of the Socialist Workers Party today traces its continuity to the program of the Bolshevik-led Communist International during its first five years. We are still absorbing and reabsorbing, in the light of new experiences, what the Bolshevik leadership of the Comintern attempted to teach the newborn and inexperienced communist parties in the early 1920s.

The revolutionary proletarian leaderships that have emerged in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada also trace

their political continuity to the early years of the Comintern and are attempting to learn everything that its Bolshevik-Leninist leadership had to teach. They, like the revolutionary communists whose continuity with the Comintern comes through the Fourth International, are striving to learn from that experience of 60 years ago in order to more capably build revolutionary working-class parties to throw out the capitalist rulers and begin the transition to socialism.

Russian revolution still lives

The growth of a bureaucratic caste that governs the USSR today has hobbled the march of the Soviet workers toward socialism and weakened the world's first workers state. Despite this fact, the imperialists in 65 years have not been successful in restoring capitalism there or stopping the extension of the socialist revolution opened in 1917. This fact is of momentous importance for the working people of the world.

It is precisely because of the change in the relationship of forces between the imperialist rulers and the toiling masses brought about by the October Revolution, that imperialism has been unable to crush the Chinese, Cuban, and Indochinese revolutions, which at crucial moments have received decisive military and economic aid from the Soviet workers state.

During World War II, when the German imperialist army was driving deep into Soviet Russia, Cannon, in a speech celebrating the October Revolution's 25th anniversary, declared:

"The fact that we are celebrating the revolution and not announcing its funeral shows that we are still fighting. We are fighting for a revolution that is still living." Forty years later the funeral bells have still not tolled for the October Revolution. We are still celebrating the revolution that continues to live and — as we have seen in Indochina, Central America, and the Caribbean — to spread.

By James P. Cannon

The story of Soviet Russia for the first four years after the revolution was a story of desperate struggle against tremendous odds. The fight of the Russian workers did not end with their victory over the bourgeoisie within Russia. The capitalist class of the entire world came to the aid of Russian capitalism.

The workers' republic was blockaded and shut off from the world. Counterrevolutionary plots and uprisings inside of Russia were financed and directed from the outside. Mercenary invading armies, backed by world capital, attacked Soviet Russia on all sides. On top of all this came the terrible famine which threatened to deal the final blow.

In those four years Soviet Russia indeed went "through the shadows." But now, after five years of the revolution, we can tell a brighter story. In 1922 Soviet Russia began to emerge from the shadows and started on the upward track. The long and devastating civil war was at an end and the counterrevolution stamped out. The great famine was conquered. The last of the invading foreign armies — except the Japanese in the Far East — had been driven from Russian soil; and the workers' government, freed from the terrible strain and necessity of war, was enabled for the first time to turn its efforts and energies to the great constructive task of building a new Russia on the ruins of the old.

While I was yet in Russia the Red Army drove the Japanese out of Vladivostok and set up the soviets again. And before the Fourth Congress of the Communist International was ended, we had the joy of hearing Comrade Lenin say that all the territory of Russia was at last living in peace under the red flag of the Soviets.

I reached Moscow on the first day of June [1922]. Signs of recuperation from the long travail were already noticeable. The streets and sidewalks were being repaired and buildings were being painted, for the first time in five years, they told me. During the war all resources and all energies went for bitter necessity; everything else had to wait. Even the buildings in the Kremlin got their first coat of paint this year.

I was riding on a Moscow streetcar, one day soon after my arrival, with a comrade who had once been in America and who now holds a responsible position in the Soviet government. I spoke of the good appearance and condition of the car; it had just been newly painted, and looked very pretty. They know more about blending colors than we do; and they care more about it, too. He told me that the Moscow streetcar system had been greatly improved during the past year. The number of cars in operation had been greatly increased, the trackage ex-

tended, and a fairly reliable schedule maintained. The Moscow streetcar workers were very proud of their achievement; especially so because the improvement in the service had brought with it a corresponding improvement in their own living conditions.

Imperialists demand property back

The famous Genoa Conference¹ was still alive at that time; the conference which Lloyd George called to settle the problems of Europe, but which didn't succeed in settling anything except the career of Lloyd George. France and Belgium, you will remember, were demanding that the property in Russia, which had been confiscated by the revolution, should be restored to the original foreign owners. Russia had not yet given her final answer, and I asked my friend in the streetcar what he thought it would be.

He said, "Most of the big industrial plants in Russia, and even a part of the railroad system, belonged to foreign capitalists before the revolution. Russia was practically a colony of European capitalism."

"Do you know," he asked me, "who used to own the streetcar system in Moscow? It belonged to the poor Belgian capitalists, and they are trying to get it back at Genoa."

I asked him what chance the poor Belgian capitalists had to get their streetcars back. He answered, "No chance at all."

He told me that as soon as that demand became known the Moscow streetcar workers — as well as the workers in the other important industries — called meetings and passed resolutions to this effect: "The foreign capitalists tried for four years to take these industries away from us by armed force, and they couldn't succeed. Now, we are certainly not going to let them talk us out of them at the diplomatic table."

Before I went to Russia I had read much about the impending collapse of the Soviet government. A story of this kind used to appear on an average of about once a week in *The New York Times* and other capitalist newspapers; no doubt you have all read them. Here, lately, the capitalist press has dropped that story and the Socialist Party and the IWW papers have taken it up. I spent seven months in Russia and I assure you that I looked diligently for the signs of this famous "collapse," but I couldn't find it. On the contrary, the more I investigated, the more I saw of the attitude of the Russian workers, the more I became convinced that the Soviet government, under the control of the Communist Party, is firmer and stronger now than at any period in its history.

Power of Communist Party put to test

I saw the power of the Russian Communist Party tested by an historic conflict with another party which challenged its control. The occasion was the trial of the leaders of the so-called Social Revolutionary Party.

These Social Revolutionaries were brought to trial before the proletarian court. When I was in Moscow I was present, with an interpreter, on the day it opened in the Labor Temple, and at many of the other sessions. It was a fair trial — nothing like it ever occurred in America. The defendants were allowed to talk as freely and as much as they pleased. There was no restriction whatever on their liberty to speak in their own defense. The trouble with them was that they had no defense. The Soviet government had the goods on them. A number of the prisoners had repented of their crimes against the revolution, and they testified for the Soviet government.

The case was clear. The leaders of the SR Party, defeated in the political struggle with the Communist Party, resorted to a campaign of terror and assassination. They murdered Uritsky and Volodarsky.² They dynamited the building which housed the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party and killed fourteen people. They had Trotsky and Zinoviev marked for assassination. It was an SR bullet that brought Lenin down and from

1. The Genoa Conference was held in April and May 1922 in Genoa, Italy. Initiated by British Prime Minister Lloyd George, the conference brought together top leaders of the big imperialist powers in Europe to discuss questions of economic reconstruction. It was the first general post-war conference to which Germany and Russia were invited. The imperialist powers demanded that Soviet Russia pay compensation for the foreign properties expropriated by the workers and farmers government. The Russian delegates rejected this, but offered long-term concessions if foreign capitalists wanted to make investments in Russia. A separate treaty (the Rapallo Treaty) was signed at the time of the conference between Germany and Russia re-establishing diplomatic relations between the two governments. More favorable trade relations were also established and Germany agreed to drop its claims to expropriated property in Russia.

2. Moisei Uritsky, a Bolshevik leader and the first head of the Cheka (the Soviet security police) in Petrograd, was assassinated by a Social Revolutionary in August 1918, shortly before the assassination attempt against Lenin. V. Volodarsky, a Bolshevik leader and commissar for press, propaganda, and agitation, was assassinated by a Social Revolutionary in June 1918.

The Fifth Year of the Russian Revolution

A Report of a Lecture

By JAMES P. CANNON

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN WORKERS PARTY AND DELEGATE TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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Cover of Cannon's 1923 speech printed by Workers Party. Cannon was national chairman of party and later a founder of Socialist Workers Party.

which he still suffers today. They went even further than that. They went to the point that all the opponents of the Soviet system go to in the end. They collaborated with the White Guards and they took money from the French government to do its dirty work in Russia. All this was clearly proven in the trial; most of it out of the mouths of men who had taken active part in the campaign.

While the trial was in progress there occurred the anniversary of the assassination of Volodarsky, one of the most beloved leaders of the revolution, who had been shot down by the SRs; and the Communist Party called upon the workers to honor his memory by a demonstration for the Soviet government and against the SR Party. The Communist speakers went to the factories and requested that no worker march except of his own free will.

I stood in the Red Square and watched that demonstration. Practically the whole working-class population of Moscow marched that day, carrying banners which proclaimed their solidarity with the Soviet government and the Communist Party and demanded the death penalty for the leaders of the counterrevolutionary, White Guard SR Party.

I was standing in the reviewing stand with the members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. It was five o'clock in the evening. The demonstration had commenced at noon and the workers of Moscow were still marching in wide streams from all directions through Red Square. One of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party turned to us and said, "Comrades, this is the funeral of the counterrevolution in Russia!"

Economic progress due to NEP

So it was. The counterrevolution in Russia is as dead as the king of Egypt. The only places there is any life left in it are in Paris, London, and the East Side of New York.

Politically, the Soviet regime, under the leadership of the Communist Party, greatly strengthened itself in the past year. And economic progress went hand in hand with political improvement. Much of this economic progress, and its reflection in the field of politics, was due to the timely introduction of the New Economic Policy or, as they say in Russia, the NEP.

Early in 1921 it became evident that some of the drastic economic measures taken by the Soviet government, under the pressure of political and military necessity, could not be adhered to. The backward social and industrial development of Russia, together with the failure of the European proletariat to succeed in making a revolution, compelled the Soviet government to make a retreat on the economic field.

The Soviet government had been forced to adopt many of these extreme economic measures by political and military necessity. But Lenin did not hesitate to say that they had been going too fast. The economic development of Russia did not permit the direct transition to a system of pure socialist economy.

When this frank and obvious statement was made by

Lenin, the yellow socialists of the Second International, as well as some so-called Marxians of this country, who have been against the Russian Revolution because it wasn't made according to their blueprint, found much satisfaction. They say: "Ha! Ha! We told you so. The Bolshevik Revolution was a mistake!" Their conclusions are that the workers of Russia should give up the political power and go back to capitalism.

But the Russian Bolsheviks are practical people. They have made the revolution once and they don't intend to go back and do it over again. They say: "No, the revolution was not a mistake, and we will not go back to capitalism. We will make a retreat on the economic field, but we will keep the political power in the hands of the proletariat, and use that as a lever to develop our industry to the point where it can serve as a base for a system of socialist economy. And if we can't find anything in the books to support this procedure, we'll write a book of our own."

There are people who say that Russia has gone back to capitalism, but that is not true. In Russia they say, "It is neither capitalism nor communism, it is NEP!" Trotsky described the present situation in Russia as follows:

"The workers control the government. The workers' government has control of industry and is carrying on this industry according to the methods of the capitalist market, of capitalist calculation."

I think that is the best concise definition of the NEP.

State controls commerce, foreign trade, and owns the land

The state controls commerce and has a monopoly of foreign trade. The state owns all the land, and from the peasants who cultivate the land it collects a tax in kind of approximately 10 percent of the crop. Free trade is permitted. Peasants may sell or exchange their surplus products after the tax has been paid.

Private enterprises exist alongside of state enterprises. The workers in both state and private enterprises are paid wages in money and the medium of calculation and exchange is money. That is the NEP.

The New Economic Policy was first introduced in the spring of 1921, but it was not until 1922 that the effects of it began to be felt on a wide scale. During the period that I was in Russia, the positive and beneficial results of the NEP could be seen in all fields.

The paper money of Soviet Russia, like that of all countries ruined by the war, was greatly inflated. But in 1922 it was stabilized for a period of six months, as against three months in 1921. The peasants were able in 1922 to overcome the famine, and they voluntarily brought their tax in kind to the government elevators and warehouses. Only in the most exceptional and isolated cases was it necessary to use force to collect the tax.

Before the revolution the Russian peasant had the landlord on his back. Today the landlord system has been done away with; there is not one landlord left in the whole of Russia. All that the peasant produces, above his tax in kind of approximately 10 percent, is his own, to do with as he sees fit. The result is a very friendly attitude toward the Soviet government.

The year 1922 marked the beginning of a general revival in trade and industry. The revolution inherited from the old regime an industrial system that was poorly developed, inefficiently managed and badly demoralized by the strain of the imperialist war. The long civil war, the interventions and the blockade dealt still heavier blows to Russian industry and almost brought it to complete ruin.

To try to do anything with it seemed a hopeless task. Agents of other governments, industrial experts, went to Russia, investigated her industries and reported that they couldn't be revived without assistance from the outside. It was reports of this kind that bolstered up the hope of European and American capitalists and their political agents that the Soviet government was certain to fall. These gentlemen reckoned without the Russian working class and the Communist Party that leads and inspires it.

Daring the 'impossible'

In the revolution and the war which followed it for more than four years, the Communist Party dared the "impossible" — and accomplished it. The same courage and determination characterize its attack on the problem of industry. Seval Zimmand³ told me a story of a meeting which he had an opportunity to attend in the Ural industrial district. It was a conference of engineers, factory managers and trade union leaders presided over by Bogdanov, the Commissar of the Supreme Council of Public

Continued on next page

3. Seval Zimmand, a prominent liberal journalist, was a special correspondent for the *New York Evening Post* in Europe and Soviet Russia during the period when Cannon was in Soviet Russia.

Continued from previous page

Economy. After discussing all features of the situation with the engineers and managers and hearing their reports, Bogdanov said, "I know that it is hard to improve the industries in the Ural. But the industries of the Ural can be improved and the industries of the Ural must be improved."

There in one word, is a definition of the Communist Party of Russia — the party of *mus!* While others say "it is impossible" and "we had better wait" or "it can't be done," the Communist Party says, "it must be done!" — and the Communists go ahead and do it.

In 1922, Russian industry on the whole registered a general increase of production of more than 100 percent. This brought the standard of production up to 25 percent of the prewar condition. This condition is bad enough, but the Russian workers lived through a worse one, and they have begun to make headway.

Russian exports in 1922 were six times greater than the year before. In 1921, the exports were only 5 percent of the imports. Last year they were brought up to 25 percent. All the light industries, that is, those which produce for the market, improved remarkably last year and are now in pretty fair shape. The heavy industries, that is, the coal, iron, steel, and oil industries, whose product goes mainly to the other state industries — only about 10 percent of it being sold in the market — recover more slowly. Here the problem is a colossal one. For a long time after the revolution all these basic industries were in the hands of counterrevolutionary armies. The iron region in the Urals, the coal, iron, and steel in the Donetz Basin — the Pennsylvania of Russia — and the oil fields around Baku, were all held by hostile armies. When the Red Army recaptured these territories, the industries were in ruins.

The Soviet government bent itself to this task and in 1922 made substantial headway. Coal production was increased 25 percent over 1921, naptha 20 percent, cast iron 42 percent, while iron and steel production in 1922 doubled that of the year before. In 1913, before the imperialist war began, the Russian railroads loaded 30,000 cars a day. In 1918, at the low tide of the revolution, when the blockade was still in effect and hostile armies surrounded Russia with a ring of steel, the number of railroad cars loaded daily dropped to 7,590. By 1921 this figure was brought up to 9,500. In 1922 the improvement was continued and 11,500 cars were loaded; this is more than one-third of the prewar volume.

Russia's great problem today is the problem of heavy industry. The leaders of the Russian Revolution recognize this and are concentrating all their energies on that task. The Soviet government is saving on everything in order to help the heavy industry. All state appropriations, even those for schools, are being reduced for this purpose. When some sentimental people complained that the reduction of school appropriations was a backward step, Lenin answered that the chance for Russia to become a really civilized and cultured nation depended on the improvement of heavy industry. That is the foundation.

The Soviet government last year made a profit of 20 million gold rubles on its trading activities. That is the equivalent of \$10 million, and the whole of it was given by the government as a subsidy to heavy industry. Likewise a considerable portion of the tax collected from the peasants and from the Nepmen engaged in commerce goes for that purpose.

One way of attracting outside capital, which has attained some degree of success, is through the formation of so-called mixed companies. The Soviet government goes into partnership with private capitalists in commercial enterprises by, for example, putting up part of the capital and sharing in the management and the profits. Lenin told us that by this means a large number of workers are enabled to learn from the capitalists how to carry on commerce; and the Soviet government retains the right to dissolve the companies later.

Wages rise with production

The wages of the Russian workers have kept pace with the improvement of production, increasing in just about the same proportion. Wages are not yet up to the prewar standard. The Russian shoe workers today get 33.3 percent of prewar wages. The metal workers get 42.9 percent, the textile workers 42.1 percent, and the wood workers 57.9 percent. Wages vary according to the conditions of the various industries. The foodstuff industry is pretty well on its feet, and the bakery workers get 81.9 percent of prewar wages, while the tobacco industry pays 73.1 percent. These figures do not tell the whole story. Because the workers, under the Soviet government, get many special privileges such as cheap rent, food at cost, etc.

The Russian worker, after five years of the revolution, is not as well off materially today as he was under the tsar. But his condition is now steadily improving, and



Leon Trotsky addressing Fourth Congress of Comintern.

the political and spiritual gains of the revolution are beyond calculation. There is no sentiment among the workers for a return to the old regime. To those who measure everything in terms of concrete, immediate gains, and who ask the Russian workers what they have to show for their five years of revolution, they answer: "The revolution is not over yet."

Trotsky pointed out at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International that the French standard of living, ten years after the great revolution which smashed the feudal system and opened the way for the development of the capitalist mode of production, was far below that which prevailed immediately before the revolution. Revolutions destroy before they can build anew; and in this destruction the people suffer. But the destructive phase of the Russian Revolution is already past, and in five more years, at the present rate of progress, there is no doubt that the material conditions of the Russian workers, as well as their spiritual, intellectual and political conditions, will be far better than ever before.

Since private industrial and commercial enterprises exist alongside of state enterprises, the question naturally arises — and it certainly is a most important question: What is the relative strength of the two? This question is answered by the figures on the number employed by each. The state controls all means of transport, including the railroads, and in this transportation industry 1,000,000 are employed. The state trusts — these are corporations organized by the state for the commercial and financial management of the various industries under its control — employ 1,300,000. And in nontrust state enterprises there are another half-million workers. This brings the total of state employees up to 2,800,000. Private enterprises employ only 70,000.

There is little danger in this ratio. And that danger is lesser still because the state holds all the big and important industries which are the bases of power, while private capital is confined to smaller factories and to commerce. The average number of workers employed in state enterprises is 250, while private plants have an average of only 18.

Practically all the workers employed in both state and private undertakings are organized into the Russian trade unions. These trade unions are organized according to the industrial form; there is but one union for each industry. The membership of the Russian trade unions is 3,000,000. Before the revolution, the total membership of all the trade unions of Russia was only 1,385,000.

Role of the trade unions

The trade unions have played a great part in the revolution. During the period of "War Communism" they were closely united to the apparatus and took upon themselves a number of government responsibilities. But under the New Economic Policy they have completely separated from the state machinery and have reorganized as independent bodies, having for their main function the defense of the interests of the workers in the factories.

Strikes were never prohibited by law under the Soviet government, but during the period of the civil war the Trade Union Congress voluntarily decided to forego that method of struggle. Under the New Economic Policy, however, the right to strike has been reaffirmed. Strikes are discouraged and do not occur very often. Boards of conciliation, courts of arbitration and mutual agreements are first resorted to, and as a rule all controversies are settled by these means.

I never saw a strike in Soviet Russia and never heard of one taking place while I was there. But Comrade Melnichansky, the head of the Moscow trade unions, told me

of a few that had occurred under his jurisdiction. In those cases all the methods and forms of industrial warfare familiar to European and American labor movements automatically developed, such as strike committees, pickets, strike benefits, etc. There had been rare cases, he told me, when unscrupulous employers had tried to operate the struck plant by means of ignorant peasants recruited from the villages. The government gave no favor to this "freedom of contract" so popular with our own government. And a visit from the pickets usually sufficed to convince the strikebreakers that they had better go back where they came from. I asked Comrade Melnichansky if they had encountered any strike injunctions. He laughed and answered, "My dear comrade, you must understand that this is not America!"

I attended the Fifth All-Russian Trade Union Congress. It is analogous to the national convention of the American Federation of Labor, but it was quite a different-looking delegation than the sleek, fat, overdressed "men of labor" who meet once a year under the chairmanship of Gompers. There were more than a thousand delegates present at this congress; and I saw only one man who appeared to be overweight.

The congress was held in the Moscow Labor Temple, which in the old days was the Nobles' Club. It is a gorgeous place, with marble pillars, crystal chandeliers and gold-leaf decorations. Once could imagine that the "Nobles" had many a good time there in the "good old days." But, in the words of the comic-strip artist, "Them days is over." The workers are the ruling class today, and they have taken all the best places for their own purposes.

A workers' government

I saw something at that congress that never yet happened in America. Zinoviev and Rykov⁴ came to the congress to make a report on behalf of the government. I thought how natural it was, in a country ruled by the workers, for the government to report to the trade unions. It is just as natural as it is in America for the government to report to the Chamber of Commerce. The same principle applies. Governments have the habit of reporting to those whom they really represent. The old proverb says, "Tell me whose bread you eat, and I'll tell you whose song you sing."

The Soviet government is a labor government and it makes no secret of the fact that it is partial to the working class. It doesn't pretend to be fair or neutral. They frankly call the government a dictatorship. "It's just like your own government in America," they told me, "only it is a dictatorship of a different class."

"Otherwise the two governments are much alike," they said. "They are both dictatorships. But there is another difference. The Russian government says it is a dictatorship and makes no camouflage about it. The government of the United States pretends to be fair and democratic, to represent both the workers and the capitalists, but whenever you have a big strike the government soon shows whom it belongs to."

Ninety-eight percent of all the delegates to this Fifth All-Russian Trade Union Congress were members of the Communist Party. Those figures constitute another answer to the question: "How does the Communist Party keep in power?" When more than a thousand trade-union delegates come together from all parts of Russia, and more than 98 percent of them are Communists, it is a pretty reliable indication, I think, that the Communist Party has its roots very deep in the basic organizations of the workers.

Referring to the fact that wages of the Russian workers had been increased 100 percent during the past year, keeping even pace with the increased production, Zinoviev laid before the Congress the program of the Communist Party on the question of wages and production. He said the two must go forward together, hand in hand.

"Every country in the world," he said, "outside of Russia, has built up its industrial system at the price of an impoverished and exploited working class. The capitalist countries have built a marvelous industrial system; they have erected great structures of steel and stone and cement; they have piled up wealth that staggers calculation. And alongside of all this they have a hungry and impoverished working class which made it all. For all their toil and accomplishments the workers have reaped a harvest of poverty and misery."

"Russia," he said, "must not go that way. We are a working-class nation and we must not forget that the interest of the workers must be our first concern, always. We will strain all energies to increase production, but here at the beginning let us lay down an iron rule for our

4. Alexei Rykov, a long-time Bolshevik, was commissar of the interior and chairman of the Supreme Economic Council. After Lenin's death in January 1924, he became president of the Council of People's Commissars.

future guidance: that every improvement in industry must bring a corresponding improvement in the living standards of the workers in the industry. We want to build a big industry and we want to build it quickly. But we also want to build a bigger and better human race."

Role of the Red Army

Between the trade unions and the Red Army there is a close and fraternal unity that does not prevail between the labor movement and the army of any other country in Europe. The trade unionists regard the Red soldiers as the protectors and defenders of the labor movement, and they treat them with the highest honor.

There is a reason for this attitude. When some of the industrial districts of Russia fell into the hands of the counterrevolutionary armies, the first thing the White Guards did, after dissolving the soviets, was to break up the trade unions, shooting or jailing the leaders; it was something like West Virginia. And when the Red Army reconquered those territories, the trade unions were immediately reorganized under the protection of its bayonets. This is the reason for the brotherly solidarity between the unions and the army.

It was not surprising, therefore, that the Red Army should send a representative to the Trade Union Congress. General Budenny, the head of the famous Red Cavalry, was there, and he was given a tumultuous reception. For several minutes they applauded and shouted for General Budenny. He was embarrassed and had difficulty getting started. His speech consisted of only one sentence, but it was enough. Drawing himself up to a military posture, he clicked his heels together and saluted the delegates and said, "Comrades, just tell us what you want us to do, and we'll do it!"

The Red Army is a new factor in the international situation, and a very important one. The diplomats cannot meet today to partition off the earth without asking, "What will the Red Army do?" The Red soldier is present at all the councils of the war-makers. He puts his fist on the table and says, "I am in on the war game in Europe from now on!"

The Red Army is something new under the sun, a proletarian army, made up exclusively of workers and peasants, with most of its officers drawn from the working class. It proved its mettle in the long and successful struggle against the interventionist armies. It has a morale, spirit, and discipline unknown to the military history of Europe. There is not an army on the continent of Europe that, man for man, can stand up against it.

Greatest school on earth

When I was in Russia, the size of the Red Army had been reduced to 800,000. Since I left, it has been still further reduced to 600,000. But that is not its full strength by any means. The standing army of 600,000 is only a skeleton around which five million men, already trained for service, can be quickly organized. The Red Army is a powerful military machine, but that is not all. It is a school, the greatest school on earth. The great bulk of its soldiers come from the peasantry; and 80 percent of the Russian peasants are illiterate. But in the Red Army they are all taught to read and write. Last May Day they celebrated the liquidation of illiteracy in the Red Army. Trotsky made the statement that on that day there was not a soldier in the army who was not able to read and write. The Russian Bolsheviks have taken an instrument of destruction and utilized it for a great constructive purpose.

I visited some Red Army camps and learned something about the spirit of the soldiers at first hand. I had read something about it and wished to check up on what I had read. I asked Trotsky about it and he said, "Go to the camps and see the soldiers themselves. Then you will understand it." I asked him why the Red soldier has a different attitude toward the government from that of the other soldiers of Europe, and he answered, "The attitude of the Red soldier toward the Soviet government is determined by the attitude of the Soviet government toward the Red soldier."

That is the secret of it. That is the reason for the intense loyalty of the Red soldier, which the old-school militarists cannot understand. The Red soldier is respected and honored in time of peace as well as in war. He is not made into a hero as he marches off to battle and then chased up a back alley when he comes home. He is not given a medal when he is needed and refused a job or a handout when the war is over. In the working-class society of Russia, the Red soldier has a place of dignity and honor. In Russia, the soldiers and the workers are the real "people of importance."

I saw another phase of the educational work of the army in one of the camps. It was a moving-picture show attended by about two thousand soldiers. It was a moving picture of large-scale grain farming in Canada. Most of the soldiers in the audience were peasant lads. They had come from the villages and their idea of agriculture was founded on the primitive, individualistic methods they had always known. Most of them had never seen a farming implement larger than a one-horse plow. Here on the screen before them was flashed a picture of modern farm-



Red Army soldier reading a newspaper. Illiteracy was eliminated in an army which included many previously uneducated workers and peasants. The army was educated in revolutionary internationalism.

ing on a big scale, with tractors, gangplows and great threshing machines; a single working unit covering hundreds of acres at a time.

They drank in that picture very eagerly. As I watched them, I saw another picture. I saw those peasant lads going back home when their service in the army would be ended, with their newly acquired knowledge and their vision of the great world outside their little villages, telling their friends and their old folks of the great farming machinery that the city worker will manufacture for the peasants, which will be the means of developing large-scale communal farming instead of small-scale individual farming, and which will transform the individualist peasant of today into the communist peasant of tomorrow.

An internationalist army

I found the Red soldiers pretty well informed as to what is going on in the world. They spoke of the prospects of revolution in Germany with the air of men who had read and talked much about it. That is part of their education. Trotsky keeps them fully informed about international developments, and there are special Communist detachments in all regiments who carry on a constant propaganda for internationalism.

Capitalist journalists write a great deal about the intense national patriotism of the Red Army. These stories are usually written by journalists who sit around in Moscow hotels and cook up stories about it, and, as a rule, they are very far from the truth. As a matter of fact, the main effort of Communist propaganda in the army is to overcome tendencies toward Russian national patriotism and to develop a patriotism to the international proletariat. Since the army quit singing *God Save the Tsar* it has had no national official hymn. The official air played in the Red Army is *The Internationale*. Internationalism is the watchword.

This was impressed upon us very vividly by a speech we heard at the graduation exercises of the school of Red Cavalry commanders at Moscow. A number of international delegates attended those exercises and spent the entire day with the young students who were just finishing their studies. For several hours we watched them perform hair-raising feats on horseback, and late in the afternoon we had dinner with them in the mess hall. After dinner, the delegates from the various countries each spoke a few words of greeting to the graduates, and then they put up one of the graduates to respond. He was lifted up on the table from which we had just eaten our dinner, a young Communist lad who only a short time before had been taken from the factory, put through an intensive course of instruction, and on that day was being turned out as a Red commander.

"Comrades," he said, "we greet you as comrades and brothers in the same army with us. We do not want you to think of us as soldiers of Russia, but as soldiers of the international proletariat. Our army is a working-class army, and the working class of the world is our country. We will be very glad when the workers of Europe rise in revolt and call on us for assistance; and when that day comes, they will find us ready."

It is not only the Red soldiers in Russia who are internationalists. Internationalism permeates the entire working class. When the Russian workers rose in revolt five years ago and struck the blow that destroyed Russian capitalism, they were confident that the workers throughout Europe would follow their example. They have been waiting five years for the international revolution, and they still believe it is coming. Nothing has been able to shake that faith. They believe in the workers of Europe as they believe in the sun.

Ah, the faith of those Russian workers! It is so strong that it communicates itself to others. All of us who saw and felt it came away with our own faith surer and stronger. One afternoon I heard a band playing in the street outside the hotel where I was living. I looked out the window and saw a big parade marching with banners flying. I took a Russian comrade with me and we followed the parade. It wound up at the Labor Temple with a mass meeting. There were enthusiastic speeches; the band played *The Internationale*, and the crowd sang it. It was a demonstration of the bakery workers of Moscow for the bakers of Bulgaria, who were out on a general strike. And those bakery workers of Moscow, from their meager wages, raised a fund to send to their comrades in faraway Bulgaria, to cheer them on in the fight.

Fifth anniversary demonstration

On the fifth anniversary of the revolution, the delegates of the Communist parties and Red Trade Unions were the guests of the proletariat of Petrograd. A great throng of workers met us at the station. We symbolized to them the international labor movement, and they gave us a warm and generous welcome. Red Army troops were drawn up before the station; the streets in all directions were packed with workers who had come to greet us; and from every building and post flew banners proclaiming the fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution and hailing the international revolution.

That day we saw a demonstration of the workers of Petrograd. I shall never forget it. They had built a special reviewing stand for us before the Uritsky Palace, and we stood there and watched them march by in detachments according to the factories where they worked. They carried the same old banners which they had carried five years before, many of them torn by the bullets that flew during the decisive battle.

I never saw before such an outpouring of people, nor such enthusiasm. The parade commenced at eleven o'clock in the morning. Hour after hour we saw them come in wide streams across the square. The afternoon wore away and turned to dusk. It was six o'clock and we grew tired of standing and had to leave; and still the workers of Petrograd were coming by the thousands, carrying their revolutionary banners and singing *The Internationale*. All the workers of Petrograd marched that day to show their solidarity with the international proletariat and to prove to us that they still believe in the revolution they made five years before.

The next day, as though to show us that the Russian Revolution and *The Internationale* have not only spirit and solidarity on their side, but military power also, they let us see a parade of the Red Army.

It was a cheering and inspiring sight to see the Red soldiers on the march, with their rifles over their shoulders and their bayonets shining in the sun. They marched in perfect step, with heads erect, the picture of physical prowess. As they passed the reviewing stand they all shouted, "Long live the Communist International!" and we shouted back, "Long live the Red Army!"

In the reviewing stand that day were delegates of the Communist parties of other countries; and beside us sat the diplomats of foreign governments in Russia. It is the custom to invite them whenever there is a parade of the Red Army. They say that when the diplomats see the Red soldiers march, it cools their enthusiasm for another war against Soviet Russia.

Before we left Petrograd we made a pilgrimage to the Field of Mars, where in one great grave are buried the victims of the November Revolution.⁵ Five years before it was the scene of desperate battle. The air was torn by rifle fire and the cries of those Petrograd workers who

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5. The November Revolution refers to the Bolshevik-led Revolution in 1917. Under the old Byzantine calendar, which was 13 days behind the modern calendar used by most western countries at the time, the revolution occurred in October.

Kampuchea after Pol Pot — a country reborn

BY SUZANNE HAIG

The people of Kampuchea, with the decisive aid of the Vietnamese army, liberated their country from the genocidal rule of Pol Pot in January 1979. Heng Samrin and other officials in the new government, the National Salvation Front, were leaders of the resistance movement against the Pol Pot regime.

Under Pol Pot's rule, as many as 3 million people out of a population of 7 million were murdered or died of starvation. A big part of the population in the cities was forcibly evacuated into the countryside and compelled to work under slave labor conditions. Factories, schools, hospitals, libraries, communications networks, and electrical power plants were destroyed. Paper currency was abolished. All this came on top of the massive destruction caused by Washington's years of carpet bombing and other military operations prior to 1975.

Today, nearly four years after Pol Pot's ouster, significant steps toward rebuilding the devastated country have been taken. Under the new government, the elementary features of a functioning economy and social life are being restored.

Yet Washington and its allies continue to recognize the Pol Pot "government in exile" as legitimate. This government, which calls itself Democratic Kampuchea, is little more than the remnants of Pol Pot's former army and a few of his former government officials. It controls no territory in Kampuchea, yet it currently holds the Kampuchean seat at the United Nations.

Every year since 1979, the UN General Assembly has voted on whether the seat will continue to be held by Pol Pot, kept vacant, or held by the actual government in Kampuchea. And each year Washington — along with its imperialist allies, the ruling bureaucratic caste in China, and reactionary regimes in Southeast Asia — have fought to keep the seat in Pol Pot's hands.

On October 25, 1982, the 37th session of the General Assembly voted again to seat Democratic Kampuchea by a vote of 90 to 29 with 26 abstentions.

Pol Pot's coalition government

In June in preparation for this vote, the Pol Pot forces formed a coalition with former Kampuchean monarch Norodom Sihanouk and Sihanouk's former Prime Minister Son Sann. Sihanouk was designated president of the "government."

Even the big-business press in the United States, however, had to admit that Sihanouk and Son Sann's function was to spruce up Pol Pot's image in diplomatic circles. "The new alliance," Barry Wain wrote in the June 29 *Wall Street Journal*, "is seen as a way to add respectability to [Pol Pot's] forces and retain U.N. support." A *New York Times* editorial July 10 admitted that "Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge retain firm control of the main guerrilla armies. Prince Sihanouk's function is to prettify them in his best flamboyant style at the General Assembly this fall."

Sihanouk accomplished his purpose. He provided the cover needed for Washington and its allies to get the biggest vote in the General Assembly since 1979 to retain Democratic Kampuchea in the UN and to call upon Vietnam to withdraw its 180,000 troops from Kampuchea and allow the population to choose its own government.

Behind Washington's diplomatic support lies military aid to Pol Pot's forces. Washington, along with the governments of West Germany, Japan, China, Malaysia, and Singapore, are giving food, money, and weapons to Pol Pot's troops to enable them to conduct raids into Kampuchea. The U.S.-backed dictatorship in Thailand provides weapons and territorial bases on its border with Kampuchea from which the attacks are carried out.

These troops have engaged in bombing raids, terrorist attacks on the Kampuchean population, and grain robberies. They have also been directly aided by the military actions of the Thai government, which conducted more than 200 violations of Kampuchean territory by land, sea, and air in just one week in September. In addition, Thai ground forces shelled Kampuchean territory 70 times in September, partly to provide cover for infiltrations of Pol Pot forces into Kampuchea.

The imperialist powers have also imposed an economic embargo on Kampuchea, as on Vietnam, in an attempt to strangle the Heng Samrin government.

Puppet of Vietnam?

Washington justifies its aggression against Kampuchea and support for Pol Pot by claiming that the Heng Samrin government is merely a puppet of Vietnam.

During the recent General Assembly debate on Kampuchea, UN ambassador from the United States, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, charged that the Kampuchean people oppose the Vietnam "occupation" and, if given the chance, would prefer to be ruled by the coalition government.

Despite the claims of Washington, however, the people of Kampuchea accept the presence of Vietnamese troops because they see them as necessary to aid the volunteer Kampuchean army's defense of the country against raids by Pol Pot's forces. They see the troops and advisers as a tremendous improvement over the Pol Pot regime.

The United Nations delegation from revolutionary Cuba answered the slanders made against Vietnam during the recent General Assembly debate on Kampuchea. Referring to the unity forged between the people of Laos, Kampuchea, and Vietnam in their joint struggle against imperialism and for independence, Cuban delegate Rolando Lopez Del Amo stated:

"Some from this rostrum, deliberately mistaking the fraternal unity forged in common struggle, have wished to present the socialist republic of Vietnam as a small hegemonistic power which wishes to gobble up its neighbors, the Democratic Popular Republic of Laos and the Peoples' Republic of Kampuchea.

"To those who say this, we ask, What are the properties of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in Laos or Kampuchea? What resources of those nations are exploited by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to its benefit? No slander could conceal the sincere aid that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam lends to Laos and Kampuchea.

"From its poverty, the poverty left behind by colonialism, yankee aggression, and the aggression and blockade by China, the heroic people of Vietnam shares with its neighbors the little it has and defends those people with the blood of its children."

Writing in the February 13, 1981, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Nayan Chanda reported that "while outsiders want to get the Vietnamese out of Kampuchea, the Khmers feel that they have been liberated from the horrors of Khmer Rouge rule and want the Vietnamese to stay as long as the threat of a return of that bloody regime remains real. . . . Two years after the end of Pol Pot's rule, it is difficult to find a Khmer who would like the Vietnamese to leave now."

The same observation was made this year by Michael Whiteley, the national director of Australian Catholic Relief.

Vietnamese government officials are concerned about minimizing frictions and preventing any encroachment upon the rights of the Kampuchean people.

Ngo Dien, who headed the Vietnamese advisory group in Kampuchea in 1979 and is currently the ambassador to Kampuchea, explained this to Wilfred Burchett, an Australian journalist and author of a number of books on Southeast Asia.

"We will have to make big sacrifices to help them and we will do this," Dien said. "But a major, long-term problem, because of the almost total lack of cadres, is the risk that we will rebuild the country in a Vietnamese way and not in a Kampuchean way. . . . So we have to be terribly careful of the manner in which our aid is handled and above all of the relationships between our experts and technicians and the Kampucheans whom we will train eventually to do the jobs themselves."

Whose interests does the Heng Samrin government serve — those of the Kampuchean people or the Vietnamese government? What has it accomplished over the last four years?

From brink of famine

What emerges from eyewitness accounts, including those of bourgeois reporters and representatives of international relief organizations, is a picture of significant progress for Kampuchea's workers and peasants. Despite the enormous problems that still have to be solved, the country has gone from the brink of famine to a functioning society.

Joel Charny, a Southeast Asia project officer for Oxfam America, an aid agency that funds development projects, visited Kampuchea in January 1981. He wrote in the June 7, 1981, *New York Times*: "No one who visits Cambodia, which is called Kampuchea by most of the world, can fail to be impressed by its rebirth. . . . While numerous problems remain to be overcome, there is no longer mass starvation, thousands of refugees have returned to their native land from the border camps, and the Vietnamese have placed themselves in a low profile, advisory role in a Government in which day-to-day decisions are made by the Khmers. . . .

"Schools that served as munitions workshops or torture chambers under the Khmer Rouge [Pol Pot forces] are schools once again. Ruined pagodas used as pigsties are being rebuilt with money donated by peasants and city dwellers alike. . . .

"The one thing that is unacceptable to Cambodians to-



Population of Pnompenh (above) welcoming liberation from Pol Pot regime, January 1979. Four years after, steps have been taken to restore economy and social life destroyed by Pol Pot. Below, students participating in revived education system.

day, whether peasants or wealthy exiles, is the return of the Khmer Rouge under any guise. 'We would fight to the last man before we allow the Khmer Rouge to return' is a sentiment often expressed in Cambodia."

Dramatic progress has been made in agriculture. Under Pol Pot's regime, food production had been devastated by the tremendous dislocation of the population and the near total destruction of economic and social structures. The legacy of U.S. saturation bombing during the Vietnam War made this situation even worse. Then, while fleeing the country in 1979, Pol Pot's forces burned rice fields and slaughtered draft animals. As a result, famine conditions prevailed in the first year of the new government.

Now, however, the people are "living better and eating better than at any other time since 1975," according to Jim Laurie, Hong Kong bureau chief of ABC News. This account by Laurie, who visits Kampuchea frequently, appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor*, February 27, 1981.

Laurie cited a UNICEF survey of October 1980 in the hard-hit famine area of northwest Kampuchea. It found, according to Laurie, "more than 80 percent of the people had reached a satisfactory nutritional level."

The situation has improved since then. From 1.7 million acres of rice and other food crops in 1979, the cultivated area increased to 3.2 million acres in 1980, according to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, June 19, 1981. Government officials said the 1980 crop was the largest in the past 10 years.

In 1981, despite natural calamities, the government reported that 3.6 million acres of crops were cultivated. In the first half of 1982, the crop area was 1.5 times larger.

Jerry Elmer, a field secretary for the American Friends Service Committee who visited Kampuchea in 1981, underscores this advance from another angle. Writing in the February 1, 1981, *WIN* magazine, Elmer states that in 1980, Kampuchea had to import 800,000 tons of rice; in 1981 that was reduced to 200,000 tons. Elmer projected that the country would soon be self-sufficient in rice, and even an exporter.

This progress is partially due to the way agricultural production is organized and the aid the government has given to the peasantry.

Chan Bun Han — a Kampuchean living in the United States and one of the leaders of the Committee in Solidarity With Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos — described how agriculture is organized in an interview with the *Militant*. Han spent two months in Kampuchea in 1981.

Solidarity committees

"The first priority of the government," he explained, "has been to rebuild the society in such a way as to involve the population from the smallest unit — from family, village, and community — to the country as a whole."

Because of the scarcity of materials and labor power — and to assist in reconstruction and agricultural production — solidarity committees (*Krom Samaki*), consisting of between 5 and 20 families, were formed by the people in the neighborhoods of the cities and in the villages in the countryside, Han said. In the period between 1979 and 1980, there were 95,000 such groups set up. These committees make local decisions and have helped to rebuild schools and houses and to clean up the cities. They provide political education to the population and organize militias composed of the local population for their self-defense.

The solidarity groups own and work the land collectively, forming the backbone of agricultural production and fishing in Kampuchea. Ninety percent of all peasant households are organized into these committees, which function like cooperatives. They farm, on the average, 20 acres according to the *Guardian*, a British paper.

According to Chanthou Boua, another Kampuchean who recently visited her country for eight months, efforts have been made by the government to insure that each solidarity group has a comparable number of people, work animals, and agricultural instruments. Chanthou Boua wrote her observations in the January-February 1982 *New Left Review*.

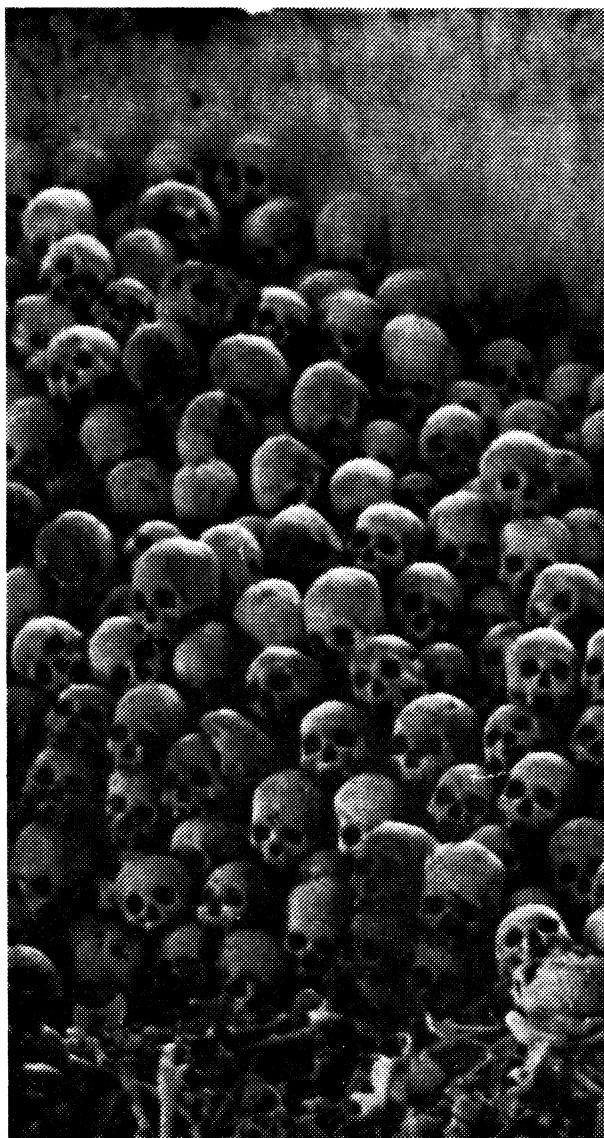
Any land not worked by these committees is given to individual members or to other families for small vegetable plots, Han said. Solidarity groups of workers and students also work parcels of land.

The harvest is redistributed among the farmers according to the work by each member. Invalids, old people, and the children also receive a share of the crop.

In previous regimes, the peasants were left on their own to face the problems of economic and natural disasters. The new government, however, is making efforts, given the limits of its economic and material resources, to help the peasants through these calamities.

In August 1981, for example, the Minister of Agriculture distributed tons of seeds, fuel, fertilizer, and mechanical pumps, to areas devastated by flooding and drought.

Along with material assistance, the central committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, the leading government party, called upon students, the army, party members, members of solidarity committees, and youth and women's organizations to concentrate



An estimated 3 million out of a population of 7 million were murdered or starved to death under Pol Pot. Here are remains of those found in Pol Pot's Tonle Bati Prison Execution Center. United States seeks to reimpose his genocidal regime on Kampuchean people.

on fighting the drought and floods to carry out the planting program.

Thousands of people went to the countryside to aid the peasants. As a result, more than 123,000 acres were saved from drought and tens of thousands of submerged fields were saved from flooding. The planting goal was almost achieved.

The government's current goal is 6.2 million acres of rice, the amount planted before the war. Different provinces have taken quotas toward this goal. In May, a national agricultural conference was held to work out a united program and concrete measures to implement the plan.

Although Kampuchea is primarily an agricultural country, the government has begun to take steps toward developing industry, which is vital to the advancement of Kampuchea's economy.

Under Pol Pot, most factories were closed, and many machines and much equipment were destroyed. More than 80 percent of engineers, skilled workers, and technicians were massacred. Today, the new government, with the help of the trade-union federation, has been developing new industry and training new workers. Today, there are building-material plants, power plants, drug manufacturing plants, textile plants, and other light industries. In addition, workers have been restoring roads, railways, waterways, irrigation lines and dams, communication lines, air transport, and postal services.

Industrial development in Kampuchea was described by Bill Richardson, assistant secretary of the Australian Council of Trade Unions. Richardson made an official visit to Vietnam and Kampuchea at the invitation of the trade-union federations of the two countries. An interview with him appeared in the newsletter of the Committee Against Repression in the Pacific and Asia.

Richardson said the government is emphasizing the development of housing, health and welfare facilities, and education. Of a still very small work force — about 140,000 — there are 45,000 workers in the trade union federation, he reported.

Chan Bun Han explained that most factories don't operate at full capacity, due to the lack of raw materials and spare parts and insufficient water and electricity. The economic embargo imposed by the imperialists has also greatly exacerbated this critical situation.

Under the new regime, all factories are state-owned, and the government, Han said, "is also helping to educate the workers to see themselves as the leading force in society."

Some progress has been made in restoring trade. A state trade service has been established throughout the country, although private trade continues to play an important role.

Solidarity groups can sell their produce either to the state or to the private market. Han told the *Militant* that the overwhelming majority of them prefer to sell their produce, such as grain or fish, to the state at a price agreed upon by both parties. The rest is then sold on the private market and the profits distributed to the group. The state provides the tools and materials for the farmers and fishermen.

"The government has been particularly flexible on the question of private trade," Han explained, "given the fact that the economy needs to be rebuilt and the population has just been released from a system where they had no rights, including no freedom of movement."

Han believes that this approach is necessary "until the means are collectively available for the society as a whole to provide for its members. Then they will not individually have to go out looking for a livelihood to satisfy their needs."

This perspective was also laid out by Som Chen, governor of Kampot province, in an interview with *Christian Science Monitor* reporter Daniel Southerland, who visited Kampuchea in February 1982.

After pointing out that small traders such as tailors, barbers, and shopkeepers existed in Kampuchea, Som Chen said that "in the future, the economy will come under state ownership. But we are doing things step by step. . . . It will take many years. We don't confiscate from the people."

According to Chan Bun Han, "the government is very careful not to push major changes that would lead to a disruption of society. They instead follow a policy of educating the population at each stage so they will understand the changes."

"For example, right after Pol Pot was overthrown, there was and still is a great deal of unemployment, due to the absence of factories and the dislocation in the city resulting from a large influx from the countryside."

"The government is encouraging people to go back to the countryside but is not compelling them. Under Pol Pot, people were forcibly evacuated from the cities. Today, the new government is very careful to ensure decisions are made democratically."

"The government," Han added, "has a conscious policy of moving toward socialism. But because the population is constantly bombarded by U.S. anticommunist propaganda and because of the experience with the Pol Pot government, which, while not socialist, committed atrocities and wholesale destruction under the name of socialism, the new government is very careful of its policies. It is making great efforts to educate the people about what socialism really is and their role and responsibilities in society."

Education and health care

Important steps have been made in improving education and health care, as well.

Under Pol Pot, not only were schools destroyed or turned into prisons, torture chambers, and barracks, but teachers, students, and intellectuals were massacred. Some 80 percent of the teachers were killed.

In the 1979-80 school year, Kampuchea had an enrollment of 947,300 pupils and 21,600 teachers. By the 1981-82 school year, there were 1.5 million pupils and 38,600 teachers. There are currently 2,100 students training at teachers colleges, the College of Medicine and Pharmacy, and the Technical College. There are 1,033 students in the secondary vocational schools (technology, foreign languages, medicine, arts, trades, and crafts). There is also an agricultural school. Some 4,000 schools have parent associations that involve a broader layer of the population in the education efforts.

In addition, the government has launched a literacy campaign, encouraging all literate persons to take part in educating the population. "The Resurrection of Kampuchea, 1979-1982," a pamphlet published by the Peoples Republic of Kampuchea, reports that by early 1982, some 400,000 people had been taught to read, write, and do arithmetic as a result of the campaign.

There are also 269 infant schools with an enrollment of 17,336, an increase of 90 percent since 1981.

Some of the problems in the education campaign were discussed by Pen Navouth, minister of education, in a conversation with François Corréze, a French ethnologist and writer, who was a teacher in Phnompenh during Sihanouk's regime. The interview appeared in *Vietnam Courier*, a monthly review published in Hanoi.

Pen Navouth said progress is slow since they had to start from scratch. The secondary schools are still rather weak, he said, and there are few qualified teachers at the teacher-training schools, necessitating instruction by Vietnamese teachers. There is also a shortage of paper, books, and building material for schools.

A similar mix of progress and problems exist in the area of health care. The country's medical and sanitary system had been virtually dismantled under Pol Pot. Only 69 of the 683 medical doctors, pharmacists, and assistants of the period before 1975 had survived.

Today, health care, which is free, is moving forward. By 1981 health care personnel had grown to 10,000 in-

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Kampuchea after Pol Pot regime — a country reborn

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cluding 160 doctors and pharmacists. There are 25 hospitals, eight in Phnompenh, and there are health stations and maternity homes in 90 percent of the communities. Each province has a medical committee responsible for medical and sanitary matters.

Today, the hospital mortality rate, which was 18 percent in 1979, has fallen to 4 percent in 1980 according to François Corréze. Diseases that were endemic under former regimes — dropsy, dysentery, malaria, pulmonary tuberculosis — have been actively treated with a significant drop in the mortality rate.

Care is also given to more than 6,000 orphans in 40 centers. Some 194,000 others are cared for by individual families.

Chan Bun Han points out that the presence of doctors from Vietnam, Cuba and other workers states, such as the Soviet Union, plus the economic material aid from these countries have been of major importance for Kampuchea's revival. Vietnam, for example, which was the first country to assist Kampuchea after Pol Pot's overthrow and has many serious economic problems of its own, provides food, medicines, technical advisers, engineers, teachers, doctors, construction workers, and military forces.

National elections

In May 1981 elections were held in Kampuchea to elect 117 representatives to the national assembly. The candidates were selected on the basis of participation in rebuilding efforts and came from all strata and organizations in the country. According to Wilfred Burchett, who was in Kampuchea at the time, some 95 percent of the electorate voted.

The following month, Heng Samrin, who had been elected president of the state council, which was elected by the national assembly, signed the new constitution of Kampuchea.

The government recognizes freedom of religion and national rights for minorities, including the Cham nationality. Under Pol Pot, the three religions — Buddhism, Islam, and Catholicism — were banned, and the Cham people, who are Muslim, were singled out for special persecution. Equal rights for women are also recognized.

A 'recovering patient'

Kampuchea faces many challenges in its drive to create a new society. Some of these were touched on by Nguyen Khac Vien, a leading Vietnamese historian whose observations appear in the booklet *Kampuchea 1981: Eyewitness Reports*, published in Hanoi.

Vien believes "recovery" aptly describes the situation in Kampuchea. "Kampuchea is now out of danger and the threat of death has definitely been staved off," he writes. "However, the country is like a slowly recovering patient who still has to face all the problems of extreme poverty, and furthermore occupies a strategic position and is subjected to many pressures and threats from all directions.

"Rice and fish, if these were the only problems, they could be solved in a couple of years. But in moving from a natural, subsistence economy to a modern society, the road is much more complex and arduous. How can the rice produced in the villages be traded? Weighing scales and sacks are lacking. Even the traders have disappeared, and the embryonic State commercial services lack accountants. Kampuchean society today is like a house whose foundations have been laid, whose frame has been set up, but of which many sections have not yet been completed. . . ."

Nguyen Khac Vien states that it will take some time before "the country has an industry sufficiently developed to allow the whole economic system to move forward," given the lack of electricity and little heavy or light industry.

"Basic goods must be produced. It is not good enough to continue importing them as at present from abroad, either through international aid, or by smuggling them across the Thai border. . . . Rubber, rice, maize, fish and tobacco must be produced for export."

He, is optimistic, however. "The projects for 1981 are modest but the will to progress rapidly in the coming years is clear," he states.

Behind support to Pol Pot

Given the obvious progress of the new government over the last four years, its support by the population, and the people's acceptance of Vietnamese troops, why does Washington continue to back the hated and discredited

forces of Pol Pot, Son Sann, and Sihanouk and demand that Vietnam withdraw its troops?

The reason is that Washington is not concerned with the needs of the Kampuchean population or with rebuilding that devastated society. Instead, it aims at rolling back the unfolding revolution in that country, as well as weakening the revolution in Vietnam, and reasserting imperialist domination over all of Southeast Asia.

Attempts to maintain military and economic domination over the region have been the fundamental policy of every U.S. administration since Harry Truman.

This is why Washington sent U.S. troops in the 1960s to prop up the hated regime in South Vietnam until it was overthrown by a popular revolution, backed the regimes of Sihanouk and Lon Nol in Kampuchea, and now aids the Pol Pot forces and arms the Thai dictatorship.

Since its defeat in Vietnam, Washington has done everything possible diplomatically, economically, and militarily to destabilize the area in hopes of weakening the government of Vietnam. Its aim is to prevent similar revolutions from occurring in other Southeastern Asian countries.

At home, Washington has sought to undermine widespread popular opinion that the U.S. government was wrong to intervene in Vietnam.

Washington is attempting to deny the Kampuchean people a better life, free from the nightmares of the past. But as in Vietnam, Washington faces a powerful adversary — the workers and peasants of that country. As Chan Bun Han told the *Militant*, "the suffering that the Kampuchean people have gone through has united them and made them determined to fight at any cost to build a new life."

Fifth year of the Russian Revolution

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had risen in revolt and staked their lives on the issue. On the 7th of November, five years before, the workers of Petrograd fought there the battle of the human race and of the future. Many of them fell, never to rise again.

We stood there, with heads uncovered, in a cold, drizzling rain. The once noisy battlefield was quiet. There was no sound but the soft music of the *Funeral Hymn of the Revolution*, and the ground, once spattered with the blood of our heroic dead, was banked high with flowers, placed there in gratitude and love by the delegates of the Communist parties and Red trade unions of all lands.

A vision of a better future

Those Petrograd workers put their lives in the scale. They had lived lives of misery and oppression, but they were possessed by a daring vision of the future when the lives of all men will be better and fairer. They were the heralds of a new day in the world, when there will be no more masters and no more slaves, and they gave their lives to hasten that day. There is an end now to their labor, their struggle and their sacrifice. They rest beneath the Field of Mars and their mouths are stopped with dust. But still from the grave they speak, and their voices are heard all over the world. They lighted an everlasting fire

Pamphlets on Kampuchea

The Resurrection of Kampuchea: 1979-1982 and Kampuchea 1981: Eyewitness Reports, can be ordered from the Committee in Solidarity with Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos, 135 West 4th St., New York, N.Y.; Telephone (212) 624-8173.



Classroom of children orphaned during reign of terror prior to 1979.

in the sky, which the whole world is destined to see and follow.

Those Petrograd workers struck the blow that shattered the capitalist regime in Russia and put the working class in power. But they did more than that, because the Russian Revolution did not stop in Russia. It found its way over the borders. It broke through the blockade and spread all over the earth. The Russian Revolution was the beginning of the international revolution.

Wherever there is a group of militant workers anywhere in the world, there is the Russian Revolution. The Russian Revolution is in the heart of every rebel worker the world over. The Russian Revolution is in this room.

Comrade Trotsky told us, just before we left Moscow, that the best way we can help Soviet Russia is to build a bigger trade union movement and a stronger party of our own. Recognition by other governments will be of some temporary value; but the real recognition Soviet Russia wants is the recognition of the working class. When she gets that, she will not need the recognition of capitalist governments. Then she can refuse to recognize them! For, after all, Soviet Russia is not a "country." Soviet Russia is a part of the world labor movement. Soviet Russia is a strike — the greatest strike in all history. When the working class of Europe and America join that strike it will be the end of capitalism.

For further reading . . .

James P. Cannon

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The First Ten Years of American Communism

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Racist antilabor proposition defeated

BY CRAIG HONTES

LOUISVILLE — Big-business power brokers were handed a major defeat here in the polls November 2 as Jefferson County and Louisville voters rejected the racist, antilabor plan to merge the city and county governments. The vote was 50.3 percent against and 49.6 percent for. If adopted the plan would have eliminated union organization for city workers and would have set back Black representation in local government.

Local ruling circles were stunned by the outcome of the referendum. They had spent \$270,000 in the attempt to push through the merger plan. Sixty-five percent of the funds came from seven wealthy businessmen, members of the exclusive 2000 planning committee. Another \$22,100 came from the Louisville Chamber of Commerce. Those favoring the plan spent five times more than the opponents of the plan.

The local media were virtually unanimous in their endorsement of the plan and did their best to distort the arguments of the plan's opponents. On election day, WAVE-TV and WHAS-TV confidently released surveys showing that the merger proposal would pass by a big margin.

While the total vote was close, the returns showed a very clear polarization in the city and county. The vote in most precincts was either two to one for or two-to-one against the plan.

In the predominantly Black West End of the city, voters rejected it by three and four to one. Some precincts voted it down by as much as 87 percent. Voters in the predominantly blue-collar white neighborhoods in southern and southwestern Jefferson County rejected the proposal by similar ratios.

However, in the most affluent neighborhoods in the northeastern part of the county, the plan to consolidate was approved by a ratio approaching three to one.

The main argument used to promote the

referendum was that the merger would help Louisville and Jefferson County attract more business thereby creating new jobs.

The antilabor bias of the merger plan was revealed by the provision that would have abolished union representation for city workers. Most city workers are presently unionized and the merger plan would have eliminated this status and they would have to start all over again to regain it. County employees are unorganized and adoption of the plan would have severely set back their attempt to win a union.

The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees and the firefighters unions strongly opposed the proposal, and union activists played an important role in organizing opposition to it.

In spite of the antilabor character of the

proposal, the labor misleaders of the Greater Louisville Central Labor Council joined with the Democratic Party politicians they look to for leadership and supported the plan.

The main racist feature of the plan was that it would have cut back Black representation in city government. At the present time Blacks make up about 28 percent of the city's population and the percentage is rapidly growing.

Four of the 12 seats on Louisville's Board of Aldermen are held by Blacks. On the proposed 19-seat council for the merged government, the districting would be arranged so that only three seats would represent predominantly Black neighborhoods. Black representation on the four-

member budgetary committee would have been excluded, leaving the West End out of the picture when decisions were made about distributing government funds. Only seven of the 19 seats would represent what is now Louisville. The council was to be heavily stacked toward the surrounding predominantly white suburbs.

Most Black organizations campaigned against the referendum, including the Louisville chapter of the NAACP. The Socialist Workers Party also campaigned for a no vote.

For their own reasons local police organizations opposed the plan. They feared losing jobs and having their organizations swallowed up by a unified police system that would be set up after the merger.

Special fund keeps our reporters going

BY HARRY RING

"U.S. plots Nicaragua intervention" — March 19, 1982.

"Washington escalates secret war in Nicaragua" — April 16, 1982.

"Report from Nicaragua battlefield: Washington's undeclared war" — May 7, 1982.

"War in Central America heats up as U.S. sends pilots to Honduras" — Aug. 6, 1982.

"Major bombing raid inside Nicaragua carried out by U.S.-backed terrorists" — Sept. 17, 1982.

"U.S. tightens noose on Nicaragua" — Nov. 5, 1982.

"America's secret war — target Nicaragua" — Nov. 8, 1982.

The November 8 headline is from the cover of *Newsweek*. The previous ones are from the *Militant*.

Until *Newsweek* decided to spotlight it, the big-business media in this country was doing a major coverup of the U.S.-organized attacks on revolutionary Nicaragua from across the Honduran border.

But as the headlines indicate, the *Militant* covered the story consistently and has been reporting it regularly. We have been telling the story that Washington wanted covered up.

We've done so because we believe that what Washington is doing is a crime against the Nicaraguan people and against the American people, a crime that must be ended.

We were able to tell that story because of the work of our news bureau in Managua.

Along with *Perspectiva Mundial* and *Intercontinental Press*, we have maintained our bureau in Nicaragua since September 1979. It was established some six weeks after the Nicaraguan people won their historic victory over the U.S.-controlled Somoza dictatorship.

Since the bureau was organized, we have provided more extensive reporting on Nicaragua than any other publication in this country, bar none.

Our coverage of the secret war against Nicaragua included first-hand reporting from the battle areas where the U.S.-organized terrorist gangs have struck. And we reported the facts made known by Nicaragua's revolutionary government. facts the regular media refused to touch.

For publications with our limited financial resources, operating a bureau like the one in Managua is no small matter. The maintenance of our two-member staff there, travel expenses, stories called in by phone — all this adds up to a major expense for us.

And, frankly, there have been times in these past three years when the ever-increasing financial crunch led us to weigh whether or not we could maintain the

bureau. Each time we decided that it was such an important political priority that we couldn't permit our financial problems to cut across it.

We hope that you will agree that our Managua bureau has performed a notable service and that you will register your agreement with a generous contribution to our Socialist Publications Fund, a project that will, among other things, help to ensure that this vital bureau continues.

Reader response to our fund appeal has been generous. So far, we've received

more than \$2,000 directly from readers sending in the coupon from the *Militant*. And now we hope to receive a good bit more. A mailing has been sent to *Militant* subscribers and we're hoping that many will send back contributions. (If you're not a subscriber simply clip the coupon below.)

Meanwhile, for the many who pledged contributions to the drive and are still paying them, this is a reminder that we're shooting to reach, or pass, the three-quarter mark by Thanksgiving week. We hope you'll help achieve that goal.



Jane Harris of Managua bureau interviews saleswoman. Fund keeps bureau going.

Conference attacks anti-immigrant bill

BY SILVIA ZAPATA

DENVER — More than 300 people met here October 22-23 to discuss the anti-immigration and antilabor policies of the Reagan administration. The conference especially focused on the Simpson-Mazoli bill currently before Congress.

The participants paid tribute to José Morales Sotelo, a young Mexican worker killed by immigration cops during a raid in Boulder, Colorado, last April, by naming the conference after him.

The proceedings were kicked off with a cultural event followed by a panel discussion with activists from religious, civil rights, Central American solidarity, and Chicano organizations.

Numerous workshops were also organized. The labor workshop included such people as Rafael Moure from the international office of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Tim Flores from the AFL-CIO, and Jan Bell organizer for the Service Employees International Union and president of the local chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

In addition to calling for greater efforts to organize the unorganized, especially the undocumented, Bell asserted, "We oppose the Reagan administration's mentality that unemployment is caused by undocumented workers. Undocumented workers are the scapegoat."

Sister Agnes Ann Schum of Sisters of Loreto presented a slide show on El Salvador. She has visited refugee camps in Honduras and has spoken out against U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

Sandra Serpas, a Salvadoran living in Phoenix, spoke about the plight of Salvadoran refugees and her family's efforts to organize and defend them in Arizona.

Sponsors of the conference included: the Mexican American Law Students Association, Archdiocese of Denver, Colorado Migrant Council, Denver and Boulder Committees in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, League of United Latin American Citizens, United Mexican American Students from the University of Colorado in Boulder, and others.

Enclosed is my contribution of:

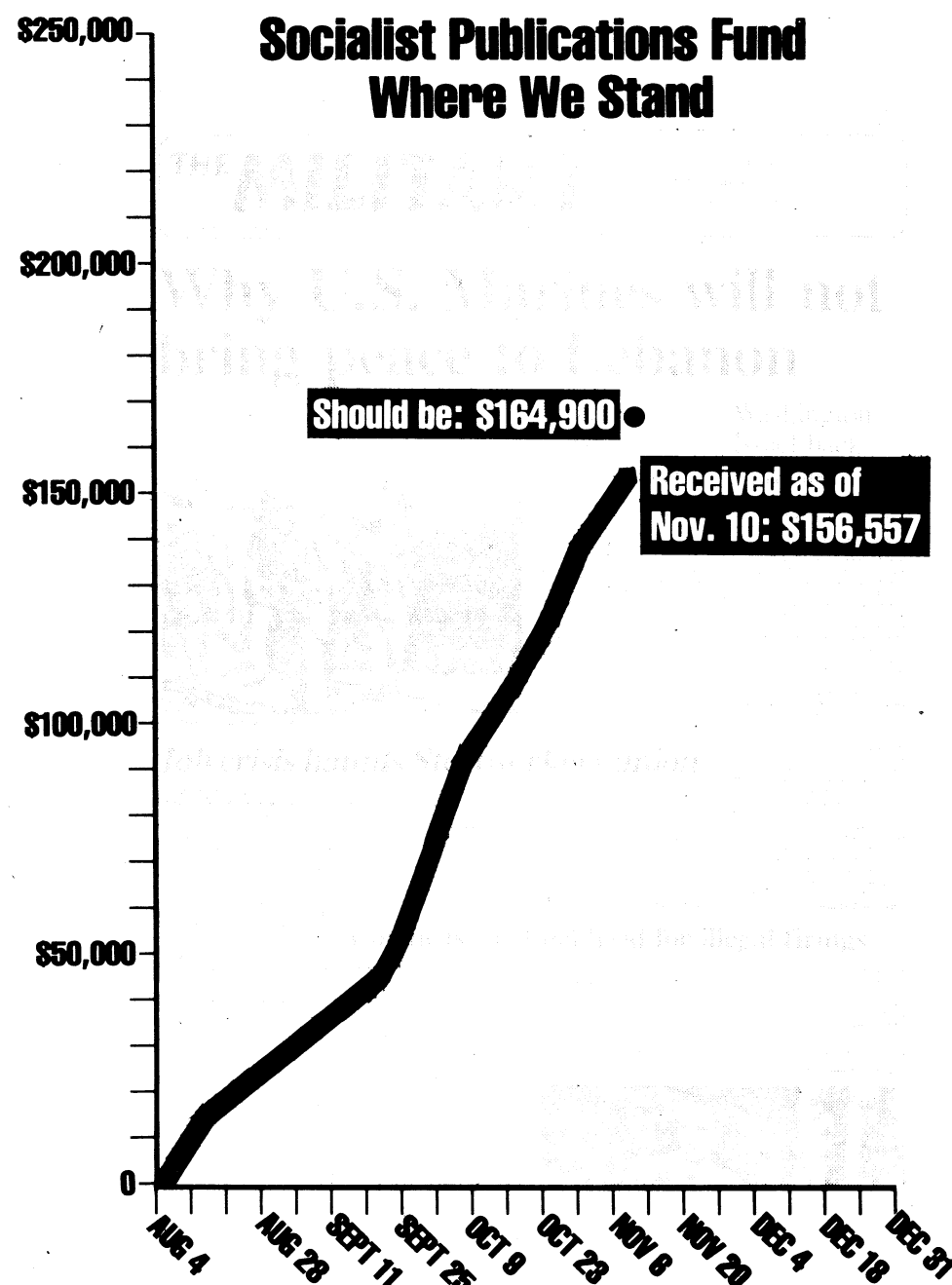
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Which way forward to build Black Party?

Building and participating in day-to-day battles is needed

BY MALIK MIAH
AND MAC WARREN

On the November 19-21 weekend the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) will celebrate its second anniversary at a central committee meeting in Philadelphia. This will be the first national leadership meeting since the party's second national congress in Raleigh, North Carolina, in August.

This meeting will discuss a question that all NBIPP members and supporters are asking: Where is the NBIPP at in achieving the goal it set for itself at the 1980 Philadelphia founding convention? This goal is to build a mass independent Black party opposed to the Democratic and Republican parties and the racist policies of the government and employers.

Since the Raleigh meeting there have been a number of newspaper articles, including in several radical papers, about that meeting. Naturally, those like us, who attended the Chicago and Raleigh congresses have to discuss out where the NBIPP is going. Those of us who have closely followed and participated in its development since its inception and consider it a positive development for the Black movement and the working class as a whole have to discuss where the NBIPP is at and the challenge it faces to tap its great potential.

Gary-New Orleans-Philadelphia

Let's first summarize the NBIPP's origins.

The Philadelphia convention that established the NBIPP grew out of a debate and discussion at the August 1980 meeting of the National Black Political Assembly. The NBPA developed out of the national Black political convention in Gary, Indiana, in 1972. Attended by 8,000 Blacks, the Gary convention adopted a radical Black Agenda. It failed, however, to launch an independent political party. While the NBPA's perspective included running independent candidates, its main activity was to organize support for Black Democrats, especially on the local level. In 1976, it tried to convince California Congressman Ron Dellums to run for president as an independent. He refused and the assembly, virtually gutted of any independent perspective, subsequently declined in influence.

It was out of these experiences that the August 1980 NBPA meeting in New Orleans decided after three days of debate and discussion to call a national convention to organize an independent Black political party.

This New Orleans meeting also led to a decision to reject supporting Democratic and Republican party candidates in the 1980 presidential elections. Thad Mathis, a national officer of the NBIPP, wrote an article published November 4, 1980, explaining this important decision. He encouraged Blacks not to vote for any presidential candidate and blasted those "so-called leaders [who] are asking that we abandon our interests and support Jimmy Carter on the premise that Reagan is even more conservative."

Based on this perspective to not support Carter, Reagan, or Anderson and to launch a new party, conference participants set out to build the National Black Political Convention in November. Many involved in building the Philadelphia convention were members of NBPA; some were not. All set out to build a new formation that would advance beyond the assembly.

Fifteen hundred people attended the conference. This was quite significant considering the organizers had only 100 days to build it and it occurred during a presidential election where most Black leaders, from Operation PUSH's Jesse Jackson to the NAACP's Benjamin Hooks, had joined the "Defeat Reagan" bandwagon.

Philadelphia convention

Some of the key individuals at the New Orleans meeting played major roles at the Philadelphia convention. The convention heard speeches from Ron Daniels, Thad Mathis, Barbara Sizemore, and Rev. Ben Chavis, and others.

Sizemore explained: "Our problem is

teaching the masses of Black people in this country that there is only one party. That indeed the Republicans and the Democrats are the same people.

"We do not have two parties in this country. We only have one party — that is the capitalist party of America." She received thunderous applause.

Ron Daniels brought shouts and screams of approval from the participants when he said: "Some people are trying to tell us that the only kind of politics is electoral politics."

"They say we're not talking about elections."

"We are talking about elections."

"But we refuse to say that elections and Black elected and public officials is politics. It is not politics. It is only one aspect of politics. Malcolm X taught us that we must struggle by any means necessary."

They key task at Philadelphia was to unite the diverse forces of the convention into a working group that could hammer out a program of action that would lead in the direction outlined by Sizemore and Daniels and that would be the basis of unity.

After hours of debate, discussion, and speeches, Hulbert James, a Washington, D.C., delegate, made a motion from the floor, which was passed, that the convention vote on a set of proposals to provide a framework for moving towards the founding national party congress.

James proposed that the convention establish a National Party Organizing Committee (NPOC) and Charter Review Commission (CRC) to meet every three months, open to all members, in order to carry out the mandate of Philadelphia to "build the party from the bottom up" — the theme of NBIPP.

Following the Philadelphia convention, the NBIPP held a series of NPOC-CRC meetings to prepare for the Chicago founding congress. Through these meetings a leadership team developed and the party's charter (the program) was hammered out for presentation to the Chicago gathering.

During this nine-month period the new party was active. Among other things it supported the Washington, D.C., African Liberation Day demonstration in May, it sent a special commission to Atlanta to investigate the child murders, participated and built AFL-CIO September 19, 1981 Solidarity Day, and participated in local antiracist fights.

Chicago congress

Seven hundred fifty people gathered at the Chicago congress in August 1981. The delegates ratified the proposed charter after hours of discussion in committee and on the congress floor. This document outlines a perspective for the masses of Blacks that points in the right direction — against the capitalist parties and system — for winning our liberation.

As the charter clearly states, the NBIPP "aims to attain power to radically transform the present socio-economic order, that is, to achieve self-determination and social and political freedom for the masses of Black people. Therefore, our party will actively oppose racism, imperialism, sexual oppression and capitalist exploitation."

The congress also elected a national executive leadership.

A major challenge confronted the congress, which it successfully met. It concerned whether or not the party leadership should be inclusive; whether or not the only criterion to hold an elected leadership position is agreement with the party's charter.

After a lengthy open debate, the delegates rejected all forms of exclusion from NBIPP's leadership bodies.

The delegates left Chicago confident they had achieved greater unity and consolidated an organization with a national framework that could turn outward to reach Blacks resisting the racist anti-working-class offensive of the government and employers. The challenge facing the NBIPP coming out of Chicago was to support and participate in the many struggles taking place against racism and to chart a course for Blacks that could lead to a break from the two capitalist parties.

Between the Chicago congress and the August 1982 Raleigh congress, U.S. and world political events have had a big impact on all organizations seeking to lead the struggle of Blacks and other working people.

The revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean deepened. U.S. imperialism sent advisers and stepped up its war against the toiling masses in that region. War and revolutionary struggles came to the fore in other parts of the world — from the South Atlantic to Lebanon to Ghana.

Inside the United States, the Reagan-led bipartisan capitalist offensive against working people went full steam ahead. First and foremost was the adoption and implementation of the federal budget with increases for the war machine and cutbacks for social services and human needs.

The bosses stepped up their attempts to drive down the standard of living of the American working class. Concession bargaining hit a new high. Job combinations, cuts in pay, speed-up, plant shutdowns, layoffs, and open attempts to bust unions are standard features of this drive.

Reagan's appointees to high office have widely known records of openly attacking measures that would aid Blacks. For example, Clarence Pendleton, the new head of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, explains his philosophy as "a drastic departure from the traditional civil rights thinking." He says that "affirmative action with its goal and preferences is a bankrupt policy."

These brutal attacks also do not fall equally on working people. Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans are among the hardest hit. And within the Black nationality, Black employed, underemployed, and laid-off workers are the most brutally attacked.

In contrast, Black businessmen, lawyers, doctors, and professionals suffer less and generally accept the political approach of the liberal Black leadership.

Class divisions in Black community

These social and class divisions in the Black community are sharpening as the polarization in society caused by the world capitalist crisis deepens. The bosses' offensive is pushing more and more non-working class individuals, and organizations led by them, further away from leading a militant fight against racism. Most middle-class Blacks, in fact, oppose a break with liberalism. This indicates the immediate need for Black workers, especially industrial workers, to take the lead in

defending our social, political, and economic interests.

Reagan has publicly advocated gutting school desegregation programs that utilize busing. He openly attacks affirmative action and dines with antiabortion forces. He supported a bill weakening the Civil Rights Act and only weakly apologized after a big uproar.

These more overt racist, anti-working-class policies have given aid and comfort to fringe right-wing and racist outfits, and most important, they have emboldened the racist cops.

The Reagan-led bipartisan offensive reflects the rightward shift in capitalist politics. Individuals and organizations that fail to put forward an independent working-class perspective are moving to the right as the framework of capitalist politics itself shifts.

Traditional Black organizations such as the NAACP, PUSH, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, along with the National Organization for Women and the AFL-CIO officialdom, have failed to respond correctly to the bipartisan offensive. They accept the entire framework of class collaboration from the community and shop floor level to the ballot box. They recoil from any move that appears to be breaking from this framework. Consequently, they reject and fight against any step that could lead to a break with the Democrats and Republicans and toward building a trade-union-based labor party.

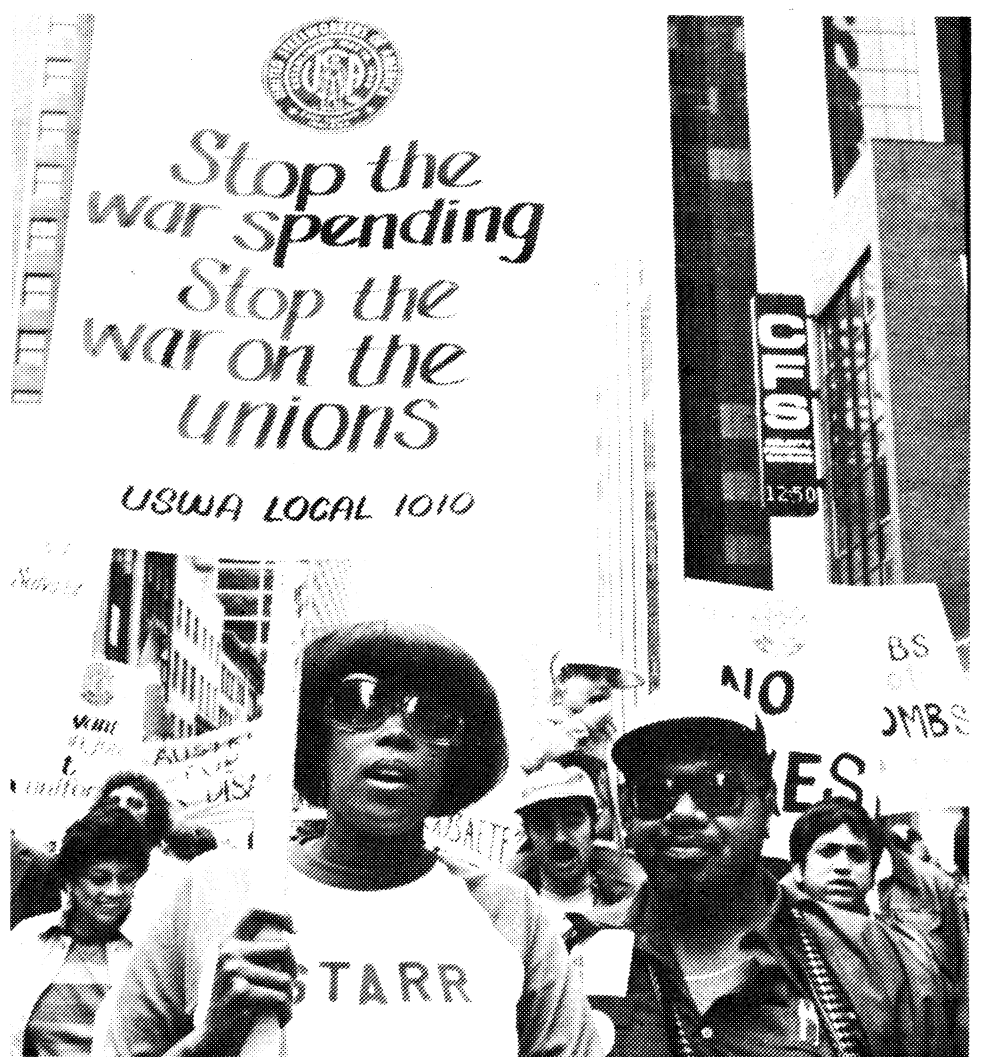
These forces, in fact, urge all working people to modify our demands to fit with this "rightward shift" in the capitalist class. Their perspective flows from their wrong policy — one of liberalism, that is, collaborating with the bosses and the government that oppress us. Instead of fighting back, they favor voting for "friends of labor, of Blacks, and of women" who are Democrats or even liberal Republicans.

That's why these liberal Black, labor, and women leaders have wrong answers to the threat of war and to the high unemployment, racism, and sexism working people suffer today.

Working-class response

In spite of the bankrupt policy of the traditional Black and labor leaders, Blacks and other workers have begun to resist the capitalist attacks on our lives.

The 500,000-strong September 19, 1981, Solidarity Day demonstration was a powerful answer to the lie that the American working class has moved to the right.



Black workers realize important stakes in opposing Washington's wars.



Militant/Lou Howort
Solidarity Day September 19, 1981. Labor needs to organize a social movement that defends Black rights.

The heroic resistance of the air traffic controllers last year to Reagan's union-busting showed that workers aren't going to be beat back without a fight.

The 40,000-strong March 30, 1982, solidarity demonstration with the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean was another example.

The June 12 disarmament demonstration of 1 million people, the largest political protest ever in any U.S. city, was yet another example.

Many local antiracist struggles developed in Boston, Louisville, Baltimore, and other cities. The campaign to free Eddie Carthan and the Tchula Seven has been gaining greater publicity and support.

These are examples of Blacks and other workers standing up to defend ourselves.

NBIPP's response

How did the NBIPP respond to these important developments in the class struggle?

Many NBIPP chapters attempted to participate in these numerous struggles and carry out the political perspectives laid out in our party's charter.

In New York, leaders of the Manhattan NBIPP participated in and helped to lead the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition. This coalition played an important role in building the June 12 demonstration, especially in the unions and the communities of the oppressed.

In Milwaukee, the NBIPP chapter involved itself in the Ernie Lacy Coalition, a coalition fighting against the brutal murder of a Black man by the Milwaukee police.

In Los Angeles, the NBIPP chapter participated in a coalition against police murders.

In Indianapolis, the NBIPP leaders played a major role in a fight against racist attacks on fair housing.

In many other chapters and local organizing committees (LOCs), the NBIPP chapters reached out and responded to important developments affecting Blacks.

At the same time, this was an extremely difficult period for the NBIPP, which was still in its formative stage of existence.

The political hostility of the procapitalist Black elected officials and the lack of national coordination and direction resulted in the local chapters generally standing alone in their attempts to build the NBIPP. There was no national newspaper or newsletter, no functioning national office with a national leadership working out of it.

Leading up to the Raleigh congress, many NBIPP chapters had gone through this difficult period with some gains and setbacks. They went to the congress looking for answers — how to build the party, how to answer racist attacks, and how to respond to the upcoming elections.

Raleigh congress

Only 300 people participated at the Raleigh congress. This was significantly fewer than the previous two conferences. Many chapters and LOCs were smaller; some had become totally dormant.

Before the congress was the need for discussion on the big changes in U.S. and world politics and the deepening of the racist, anti-working-class offensive here in the United States. The congress also offered an opportunity to assess the growing resistance by Blacks, the labor movement, and students.

The congress also faced a discussion on

the NBIPP's decline between the Chicago congress and the Raleigh meeting. This discussion, in fact, was initiated by several of the NBIPP national leaders.

The task for the congress was to think out how best to move the NBIPP into the real political fights taking place, and how to carry out political opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties, especially during this election year.

Following the August 1980 NBPA New Orleans meeting, the NBIPP's founders called on Blacks to reject supporting both capitalist party candidates. In the 1982 elections, however, the NBIPP was silent. No statement was issued by the Administrative Policy Committee or the Central Committee in preparation for the elections to provide guidelines for the chapters.

This marked a retreat from 1980.

This silence was even more glaring in light of the complete cave-in of the traditional civil rights organizations which subordinated the struggles of the Black community to getting out the vote for Democrats. The NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), and PUSH all projected the AFL-CIO's Solidarity Day II as one of their major campaigns up to November 2. Voter registration was the key for Blacks, they said.

The NAACP launched a massive voter registration drive. The SCLC, after organizing an important protest in support of voting rights, went so far as to invite arch-racist George Wallace to speak to their convention. On November 2 Wallace was elected governor as a shining liberal!

This bankrupt liberal political perspective of these organizations created a massive void in the 1982 elections. The NBIPP could have stepped in with a clear alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties and won thousands of fighters for Black rights to its banners. Instead, no alternative was offered to those who were fed up with the capitalist politicians of both capitalist parties.

Furthermore, in the state of California a national NBIPP leader, Mel Mason, was running as an independent for governor. Although NBIPP nationally decided not to endorse any candidates, it failed to point to this campaign of an NBIPP leader as the example to the Black community. Mason's socialist campaign centered around the key demands of the party's charter. He also gained the endorsement of the Socialist Workers Party and many other independent Black and labor leaders.

As well, two NBIPP members in Seaside, California, (Henry Fryson for city council and Shirley Rainer for mayor) ran independent campaigns for public office. Again the national NBIPP made no mention of these local initiatives.

The charter clearly states its opposition to the two racist capitalist parties and their candidates. It does not make the same statement in regard to individuals who run independent campaigns opposed to these parties and consistent with NBIPP's platform.

The NBIPP must become the voice of the hundreds of thousands of Blacks who are fed up with playing the two-party shell game and the millions of workers (Blacks and whites) who are more open to an independent alternative. Only by charting this course will the NBIPP be able to recruit Black workers and build a viable fighting organization.

Connected to this perspective was the need to turn the organization outward. In

the initial stages of the NBIPP's development, it was both necessary and correct for the new organization to develop a program and perspective. After the Chicago congress, however, which ratified the charter, the only road to growth and development of the NBIPP was to become a part of the real battles being fought for voting rights, for busing in Boston and Louisville, in defense of Eddie Carthan in Mississippi, for the many struggles against cop brutality and murder, and in solidarity with the freedom struggles in southern Africa and the revolutionary peoples of Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba.

That's the challenge still facing the NBIPP today.

Failure to meet this challenge can only lead to the loss of more members, the demoralization of leaders, and increasing doubts and hesitations in the membership about where the NBIPP is heading.

How to move forward

The questions are: *How* to move forward? How to implement the charter? How to build the party from the bottom up?

The only way to build the NBIPP today, in our view, is for it to link up with the real battles in our communities and workplaces and become a real working-class alternative to the liberal, procapitalist leadership in the Black movement today.

These were not the answers offered, unfortunately, by the majority of the leadership at the Raleigh congress. Instead, the opposite course was projected. The decline in NBIPP's membership was attributed to those members with so-called divided loyalties, (NBIPP members who also belong to other organizations), rather than to the lack of a perspective to consistently carry out the party's charter.

The solution offered by the majority of the NBIPP leadership to the loss of membership was to call for the removal of all those affected by "divided loyalties" from chapter and national leadership positions. This was an attempt to throw out of the leadership all those favoring a course to implement the charter, the only way to build the party today.

Instead of discussing how to take NBIPP's program to the masses of Blacks, this proposal was a way to avoid the real problem of perspective. If implemented, of course, it can lead to the strangulation and demise of NBIPP as an all-inclusive militant Black organization.

Challenge facing leadership

The November 19-21 leadership meeting faces a big challenge: *to reverse gears*

and turn the NBIPP back towards struggle, towards the real battles taking place today.

The political mood of Blacks today is one of anger, resistance, and hatred of the economic, social, and political results of bipartisan economic cutbacks. The NBIPP can become a conscious representative and vehicle for organizing this sentiment. The NBIPP must seek out the Chrysler workers, who are beginning to question collaboration with their employer as the road forward; the steelworkers who are facing an uphill battle to prevent the Chrysler disaster from hitting them; the fighters against police terror in Baltimore; the fighters against imperialist war being carried out by Washington against workers and peasants in Central America, Lebanon, and Africa. All of these forces can provide the arena for the growth and development of the NBIPP.

Failure to move in this direction can spell disaster for the NBIPP just as it has for so many other promising formations in the Black movement.

SWP and YSA

The SWP and YSA have actively supported independent Black political action, including the advocacy of an independent Black party for a long time. We think the NBIPP can be a real organization of struggle in the fight for Black liberation.

We base our support for the NBIPP and a Black party in general on our appreciation of the importance of the fight for Black liberation to the world struggle against capitalism and imperialism. In the United States we believe Blacks will be in the forefront of the struggle to overturn capitalist rule, replacing it with a workers and farmers government.

The struggles today against high prices, racial and sexual discrimination, and imperialist war are part of the struggle to replace the present capitalist government with a workers and farmers government, like what exists in Grenada and Nicaragua. In fact, we fight our hardest for the most oppressed, such as Blacks and women, because we understand that any advance for the oppressed is an advance for the working class as a whole. It is from this point of view that Marxists support and actively build the NBIPP and hold it up as an example for the entire American working class to follow.

We firmly believe that the potential to build a mass-based Black party is greater today than ever before. The challenge for NBIPP is to aggressively take its radical perspective to the masses of Blacks.

From Pathfinder

Independent Black Political Action: 1954-78

The struggle to break with the Democratic and Republican parties

Edited by Mac Warren, this Education for Socialists publication includes articles on the Freedom Now Party, Lowndes County Freedom Organization, Black Panther Party, National Black Assembly, and more. 8½ x 11 format, 72 pages, \$3.50.

The National Black Independent Political Party

An Important Step Forward for Blacks and Other American Workers

Education for Socialists publication by Nan Bailey, Malik Miah, and Mac Warren. 32 pages, \$1.25.

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

Defending our shores — The Pentagon operates six tax-subsidized dining rooms for top brass. (Hamburger platter, \$1.50,



Harry Ring

Broiled halibut steak with potatoes au gratin, \$2.95.) One brass hat explained this was a big savings for taxpayers since it would cost a

lot more if they had to entertain defense contractors and foreign dignitaries at outside prices. Plus, he noted, it saves valuable time.

Foolproof — Pounded by heavy seas, the legs buckled on a massive barge used for repair work off the Diablo Canyon nuke plant, which sits between California's San Andreas earthquake fault and a smaller offshore one. After two of the four giant barge legs collapsed, a huge crane mounted on the deck crashed into 40 feet of water.

The gentle touch — In January, the federal tax on coffin nails

will jump eight cents a pack. Plus, companies will be adding a few pennies of their own. To ease the jolt for smokers, companies' are using a strategy of gradual increases from now till the end of the year. Enthused one analyst, "We're about to break the dollar-a-pack barrier."

No big deal — According to *Forbes* magazine, ("The capitalist tool"), you can really live as well on \$10 million as on a hundred. After all, the mag asks, how many \$115,000 Rolls Royces can you use? Or, do you really need, or even want, more than one \$500,000 yacht? Moreover, you

can enjoy a year of fine dining for two at gourmet restaurants for about \$50,000 — the income from \$400,000 in tax-exempt bonds.

They've got a secret? — According to antirights leader Phyllis Schlafly, "the pill producers, the porno pushers, *Playboy*, *Penthouse*, Planned Parenthood and sex 'education' counselors" are conspiring not to tell young people about genital herpes.

A few hours overtime — Lew Lehrman, the drugstore tycoon who got aced out for the governorship of New York, says he invested \$8.5 million of his own

money in the race. "I just go out to work and make the money back," he assured.

Down to earth — Licensed to market E.T. stuffed toys, Kamar International took full page ads to advise unlicensed competitors that it makes the "real" E.T. and "does not intend to share the privilege with anyone else. So, if by any chance, you're toying with the idea of an item similar to E.T., we urge you to remember those interesting gentlemen who wear black robes and decide people's destinies. Enough said?"

—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

The Case of the Tchula Seven and the Attacks on Black Rights. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Nov. 13, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Socialist Educational Weekend. (1) "Marx and Engels as Revolutionary Thinkers and Fighters." Speaker: Betsy Stone. Sat., Nov. 13, 11 a.m. (2) "The Cuban Revolution Today." Speaker: Miguel Pendás. Translation into Spanish. Sat., Nov. 13, 1 p.m. Classes held at Channing Hall, 2936 W. 8th St. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. (3) Protest Begin's visit to Los Angeles. Demonstrate against Israeli and U.S. policies in Lebanon. Sat., Nov. 13, 5:30 p.m. Bonaventure Hotel, 5th and Figueroa Sts. Ausp: Committee to Oppose the Begin Visit. (4) Mel Mason barbecue. Meet Mel Mason, Seaside city councilman. Sun., Nov. 14, 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. Elysian Park, Area No. 1 (Corner Scott Ave. and Stadium Way in Echo Park). Donation: \$5. Ausp: YSA. For more information on weekend activities call (213) 380-9460.

FLORIDA

Miami

Stop U.S. War Against Nicaragua! Speakers: Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; Tim Beaty, Laundry Workers Union; David Tucker, Socialist Workers Party; Arthur Hammond, United Black Students, University of Miami; Rev. Don Olson, St. Johns Evangelical Lutheran Church; Leo Harris, Malcolm X Liberation Organization. Sun., Nov. 14, 4 p.m. Overtown-Culmer Community Center, 1600 NW Third Ave. Ausp: ILA Local 1416, Latin American and Caribbean Solidarity Association. For more information call (305) 638-0878.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Chrysler, Concessions, and the Future for American Labor. Speakers: Al Orr, United Auto Workers Local 145, on strike against Caterpillar; member, United Steelworkers Local 1010; Jim Little, garment worker, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 13, 7:30 p.m. 555 W Adams. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 559-9047.

U.S. out of Lebanon No arms to Israel!

New York City

Teach-in: The Continuing Crisis in Lebanon. Speakers: Ibrahim Abu Lughod, Palestine National Council; Eqbal Ahmed, Institute for Policy Studies; Fouad Ajami, Johns Hopkins University; Norma Becker, Mobilization for Survival; others. Sun., Nov. 21, 12 noon to 9 p.m. Hunter College Theater, 69th St. and Park Ave. Donation: \$5. Ausp: National Emergency Committee on Lebanon. For more information call (212) 382-1597.

A National Demonstration In Solidarity With the Palestinian People. Sat., Nov. 27, 12 noon. Assemble at 34th St. and Broadway. Sponsored by the November 29 Coalition. For more information call (212) 695-2686.

INDIANA

Indianapolis

Young Socialist Alliance Midwest Educational Conference: Freedom Only Comes If You Take It. Speakers: Andrea González, leader of YSA; Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party candidate; slideshow. Nov. 20-21. 4850 N College. Donation: \$3.50. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

America's Economic Crisis: What Solution for Working People? Speakers: Ted Quant, director of Louisiana Survival Coalition; Naomi Bracey, Socialist Workers Party, unemployed glass cutter; others. Fri., Nov. 19, 8 p.m. 3207 Dublin. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Sergei Eisenstein's Film Strike. Sun., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. (Kenmore Sq.). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Chrysler Workers Fight Back: Canadian Workers Need Solidarity. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Nov. 21, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Film Festival and Chili Supper. Films: *Harlan County, USA*; *The Dispossessed*; *Day After Trinity*; *El Salvador: Another Vietnam*; and *The Ideas of Karl Marx*. Sat., Nov. 20, 2 to 9 p.m. 42A Troost. Donation: \$2, includes supper. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

St. Louis

Evening of Solidarity With the People of Central America and the Middle East. Speakers: Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party; Carlos Maysonet, Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Sam Diener, draft resister; Ricardo Navarro, Latin American Solidarity Committee. Fri., Nov. 19, 7 p.m. 6223 Delmar Ave. (near Skinker). Donation: \$4, including supper; \$2, rally only. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

Two Classes on Marxism and the Struggle for National Self-determination. Speaker: Andrea González. Sat., Nov. 20, 11 a.m. 6223 Delmar Ave. (near Skinker). Donation: \$1. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NORTH CAROLINA

Winston-Salem

Why Workers Need Unions. Film: *Union Maids*. Speaker: Lisa Potash, member Teamsters Local 391, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 13, 7:30 p.m. 216 E 6th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Defending Women's Rights in the 80s. Speakers: Susan Flannery, director of Women for Women, National Abortion Rights Action League; Diana Coil, chairwoman, National Organization for Women labor committee; Margaret Kelley, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

PENNSYLVANIA

Harrisburg

The Fight Against War and the Draft. Panel of antiwar activists. Sun., Nov. 14, 3 p.m. 803 N 2nd St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum, *Young Socialist*. For more information call (717) 234-5052.

Philadelphia

The Fight for Puerto Rican Independence. Speakers: Andrea González, National Committee of Socialist Workers Party, leader of Young Socialist Alliance; Josue Santiago De La Cruz, coordination of graphic arts, Taller Puertorriqueno; Benjamin Ramos, leader of Philadelphia Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Sat., Nov. 13, 7:30 p.m. Christ and St. Ambrose Church, 6th and Benango Sts. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

TEXAS

Dallas

The Struggle for Black Liberation in Southern Africa. Speakers: Sunny Eghimien, African Students Association; Al Smith, Socialist Workers Party; Bill Stoner, community activist; Marvin Walton, Dallas anti-apartheid coalition. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 14, 7 p.m. 2817 Live Oak St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

The Struggle in Northern Ireland Today. Speaker: Martha McClelland, member of Sinn Féin National Committee. Translation into Spanish. Wed., Nov. 24, 8 p.m. 2817 Live Oak St. Ausp: Francis Hughes Unit of Irish Northern Aid. For more information call (214) 521-9333.

Houston

Crisis Facing Workers: What Are the Problems, What Are the Solutions. An educational weekend. (1) "Working Women Fight Back." Speaker: Willie Reid. Sat., Nov. 20, 3:30 p.m. (2) Rally. Speakers: Andy Rose, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party; Peggy Brundy, N.C. of SWP. Sat., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. (3) "Taxes, The Socialist View." Speaker: Andy Rose. Sun., Nov. 21, 10:30 a.m. (4) "Economics of imperialism today." Speaker: Andy Rose. Sun., Nov. 21, 1:30 p.m. Translation into Spanish. 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Donation: \$10 for rally and classes, \$2 per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (713) 924-4056.

Inquest clears killer cops

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out." He then choked Drumgoole for at least 10 seconds. Another admitted having forced Drumgoole to the ground with a neck hold. Another used a head hold to restrain Drumgoole.

The autopsy report showed that Drumgoole died from traumatic neck injuries caused by a chokehold.

In it's seven to four swift decision, the jury added that "prisoners involved in altercations of this type should be more closely observed and receive more immediate medical attention."

The composition of the jury was a slap in the face to the Black community. There was only one Black person on the 11-member jury. Most of its members live in wealthy white suburbs of Contra Costa County.

One of Willie Lee Drumgoole's brothers who was at the hearing explained, "This

whole thing is a coverup and a mockery of justice. How can you expect people to have respect for the law when there is no justice, when the so-called law enforcers are murderers?"

Farm accidents up

The injury rate for farmers and farm workers has risen slightly in the past three years. According to a report released by the National Safety Council in October, the accident rate for those who work on farms and ranches is 19.1 per million hours work, compared to 18.2 in 1979.

The Council's studies show that farm residents have a higher accidental death rate than the nation as a whole — 63.8 versus 43.2. This is partly due to the fact that many farmers and ranchers often work alone, and if injured, first aid or medical assistance may be delayed.

'Yol' indicts military dictatorship in Turkey

Yol. Written and directed by Yilmaz Guney. A Turkish film with English subtitles. Released by Triumph Films.

BY PAUL SIEGEL

Yol tied for first place in the 1982 Cannes Film Festival competition, sharing the prize with Costa-Gavras's *Mis-ing*. The circumstances in which it was shown were highly dramatic.

Yol's entry was not revealed until the last minute to prevent objections from the military junta ruling Turkey. To applause from the audience of filmmakers, its author and director, Yilmaz Guney, unexpectedly appeared, having recently escaped from prison in Turkey, where he was spending his third term. He had received temporary immunity from extradition by France to attend the festival, and he left immediately afterward for an unknown place.

Enormously popular in his home country, some of

FILM REVIEW

Guney's films were banned by the government. The theatres where others were shown were threatened with bombing or actually bombed by right-wing terrorists. When the junta came to power, it banned all of his films.

Like some others of Guney's films, *Yol* was made while he was in prison, where he wrote the screenplay, conferred with his associates and the actors, received information and photographs of the proposed shooting sites, and supervised the editing. In Turkish "yol" means "the trek of life," the search for ways to get around the obstacles along life's rough road. But what we see in the film is that there is no means of getting around these obstacles in existing society.

The story of *Yol* is that of five prisoners who unexpectedly receive, in accordance with a Turkish procedure intermittently observed and arbitrarily applied, a week's leave to visit their families. But they leave their island prison only to find themselves in the larger prison of Turkish backwardness.

In the journey of the five prisoners to their homes, the country's exotic variety — from the shantytowns of the cities to the peasant huts of the country, from the snowswept mountains on the Russian border to the desert

reaches on the Syrian border — is displayed. Everywhere, however, backwardness holds Turkey in its bonds.

The journey of the first prisoner, a blundering youngster, is abortive. When his bus is stopped by the junta's militia, who search the passengers and demand their identity papers, he discovers that he has lost his leave permit. Imprisoned again, he will not be able to see his child bride.

The second prisoner gets to see his fiancée, but they are kept in surveillance by her black-robed chaperones. He exclaims against the old-fashioned ways of her family, but he, himself, tells her that when they are married she is not to speak to any other man except her brothers and close relatives. His fiancée looks up at him adoringly as he lays down the ancient law, both of them bound by the chains of patriarchal tradition.

The third prisoner goes to rejoin his wife and children, who are with her family. Finding it impossible to make a living, he had participated in a burglary attempt with his brother-in-law. Panic-stricken by the appearance of the police, he had escaped in the getaway car, leaving his brother-in-law to be killed.

Now his wife's family demands that in loyalty to her dead brother she give him up. They escape with their children. But on the train, when they steal to the toilet as a place for privacy after their long separation, they are discovered and almost lynched as "infidels" by their scandalized fellow-passengers. Humiliated in front of his children, he is immediately afterward killed by another brother-in-law.

The fourth prisoner, a member of the Kurdish national minority, finds his village in a constant state of sporadic war with the Turkish army. Attracted by a young woman of the village, he nevertheless obeys the custom of marrying his brother's wife and providing for her children when his brother is killed by the Turks.

The last prisoner finds that his wife has had an affair in his absence. Seized by her family, she has been kept bound like a beast and given only bread and water. She is not the only prisoner: the mores of his people condemn him, as it were, to kill her to "avenge his honor," even though he is torn by pity and love as well as anger.

Proceeding with her and his son through the snowy mountains, he finds that he cannot leave her to be devoured alive by the wolves when she is overcome by the cold. To his anguish, however, she dies of exposure. In

the final scene he says goodbye to his small son to return to prison.

Yol provides a fascinating insight into the Turkish social system which is an indictment of that system and of the junta that rules it. Guney has said, "Without touching on any actual political event, you can still make a very political film, a film which is politically effective." This is entirely true of his film.

The Reagan administration refused to allow Guney to come to this country to be present at *Yol*'s release. At the same time it gave the head of the Turkish junta a role in its television "spectacular" presenting the condemnation by "the free world" of Polish martial law. The unintentional irony must not have been lost on Guney, himself a master of irony.



Two Kurdish fighters arrested by the Turkish government in scene from *Yol*.

Jury finds 5 Irish freedom fighters not guilty

Continued from Page 3

dropped for "national security" reasons.

Retired CIA agent Ralph McGehee, a 25-year veteran of covert operations, testified that it was "plausible" that the CIA might supply some arms to the IRA to be able to monitor and control the number and quality of weapons the IRA received and to keep it from going to other sources.

McGehee testified that the CIA regularly lies to Congress, the Justice Department, the FBI, and its own agents. On several occasions, McGehee stated, he was told the CIA had "no record" of an individual, only to look in the files himself and find "voluminous records."

The former CIA agent pointed out that the CIA often carries out operations against

Washington's allies. One example he cited was the 1952 CIA-organized overthrow of the Mossadegh government in Iran, which had nationalized British oil holdings. When the CIA returned the shah to power, McGehee noted, the shah turned the oil holdings over to American, not British, companies.

During the trial the FBI admitted that it has regular contact with foreign police agencies such as the Royal Ulster Constabulary and Scotland Yard. But material pertaining to British government involvement in the prosecution's case was sealed by the court.

The defense also repeatedly focused on the political motivation of the defendants and the goals of the struggle in Ireland.

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, a prominent figure in the Irish freedom struggle, explained to the jury that in 1918, 85 percent of the people of Ireland voted for independence from Britain. She outlined how the nationalist population of the north has been subjected to discrimination since the British partitioned Ireland.

She also told the jury she had been shot seven times in front of her children by an assassination squad.

McAliskey described George Harrison's participation in movements defending the freedom struggles of the Palestinian, South African, and Salvadoran people.

David Ndaba, a member of the African National Congress's Observer Mission to the United Nations, also testified as a

character witness for Harrison. Ndaba stated that Harrison helped organize demonstrations protesting death sentences against freedom fighters in South Africa.

In his closing argument, Assistant U.S. Attorney David Kirby maintained that defense attempts to bring the CIA into the case was "a fabrication." He asserted that "there's no CIA involvement in this at all. . . . Each of these defendants has been caught red-handed. They don't have anywhere else to turn."

But the jury gave the defendants the benefit of the doubt. Said juror Lorraine Piccinonno: "I'm sure that there are many covert deals, which the people do not know about. The CIA does many things in many places."

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

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

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 611 E. Indian School. Zip: 85012. Tel: (602) 274-7399. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: Pathfinder Books, 1043A Broadway, Seaside. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 555 W. Adams Zip: 60606. Tel: (312) 559-9046.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405.

GARY: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613. Des Moines: YSA, P.O. Box 1165, Zip: 50311.

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MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 112 Chestnut St., Virginia, Minn. 55792. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

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

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

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Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Solidarity with Chrysler strike

U.S. workers are being barraged with media stories about how the Chrysler strike in Canada is against our interests. This employer-inspired propaganda is particularly aimed at Chrysler workers in the United States, who have a special identification with their picketing sisters and brothers across the border.

The Chrysler walkout has received far more coverage here than any other recent event in Canadian politics. Why is this?

The employers and their governments on both sides of the border are scared of the Chrysler workers. In October, those working in U.S. Chrysler plants turned down a measly contract offer that held out no immediate wage increase or job protection, and would have imposed stiffer work rules. In doing so, the workers broke up the three-year pattern of sacrificing for the company, which had been held up as a model of proper labor-management relations.

Negotiations over the U.S. contract will resume in January. In Canada, where the Chrysler workers are also in the United Auto Workers union (UAW), Chrysler offered them the same terms U.S. workers had rejected. When the Canadian workers said no, Chrysler boss Lee Iacocca said they'd have to wait until he settled with workers here.

But the Canadian workers felt they'd waited long enough — and walked off the job. They pointed out that Chrysler's lower wages hurt them even more than they hurt U.S. workers, because the Canadian dollar is worth only 80 percent of the U.S. dollar, and inflation there is twice as high as here.

Fundamentally, Chrysler workers on both sides of the border face the same problem. Told by the company and UAW officials that by "saving Chrysler" they would save their jobs and eventually catch up on wages, they agreed to concessions on pay and work rules several years ago. Chrysler did get a new lease on life and is raking in big profits. But conditions for its employees just got worse. More jobs were lost, and wages fell as much as \$3 an hour below those of Ford and General Motors workers. Speed-up has been stepped up and more stringent work rules imposed.

When contract time rolled around this year, the promised wage increase to close the gap wasn't there. And for thousands of laid-off Chrysler workers, there wasn't much progress on being called back. A local UAW official on strike in Canada summed it up: "We loaned them money, and now that we ask them to pay it back, they kick us in the face."

The Chrysler workers, and others, are beginning to draw important lessons from this three-year experience.

The significance of the U.S. Chrysler workers' rejection of the proposed contract and the Canadian workers' decision to strike is the blow they have begun to deal to class collaborationism — the policy of cooperating with the employer and doing his bidding with the idea that it advance the interests of the workers. In these times of severe recession combined with high inflation, that policy has meant giving back gains won by the union movement without even a fight.

The Canadian Chrysler workers are an inspiration to the U.S. labor movement because they're showing in practice the *real* way to fight for jobs — by standing up for the interests of their class no matter what the employing class thinks, no matter how loud it cries poverty.

The extent to which class collaborationism has taken a beating is shown by the decision of UAW President Douglas Fraser to withdraw from the Chrysler board of directors until a new contract is signed. Having lost credibility when U.S. UAW members rejected their contract, Fraser obviously feels he would drop even further in the eyes of the membership if he tried to negotiate the next contract while sitting on the same side of the table as the bosses.

The turn of events with the Canadian walkout is so unpleasant to the ruling class that the *New York Times* ran an editorial November 10 urging the Canadian government to break the strike immediately. The editorial berated the strikers for trying to "drain the company of cash badly needed" and urged workers in both countries to "accept the reality of Chrysler's precarious finances."

Nervous about the impact of the strike on workers in this country, the *Times* called on the Canadian government to "legislate a cooling-off period until U.S. workers can settle."

The *Times*'s call for international ruling-class solidarity in the form of strike-breaking ought to be met by working-class solidarity of a different kind. UAW members in this country, and other unionists as well, should respond by getting out the truth about the strike in Canada, countering the lies of the big business media. Canadian strikers ought to be invited to speak before union and other audiences in this country to tell their story. U.S. union locals can express their solidarity by adopting resolutions in support of the strikers.

The stakes in this strike are big for all workers here, and especially so for Chrysler workers as the January contract talks draw near. As one Canadian picket explained, "Whatever we can force out of Chrysler will only help American workers in their negotiations. Chrysler will have a hard time telling them no if we get something out of them."

The latest smear against Cuba

Washington's slander campaign against revolutionary Cuba continues unabated. This time the trumped-up charge is running drugs into Florida. To give the story a touch of authenticity, four officials of the Cuban government have been indicted by a federal grand jury in Miami, along with 10 other persons.

Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) officials concede there's scant prospect of actually trying the Cuban officials and explain they obtained the indictments to draw attention to Cuba's asserted drug trafficking role in the Americas.

The story is that Cuban ports were used as a loading station and source of supplies by smugglers running drugs from Colombia to the United States. In return for this, it's asserted, the smugglers bought tons of U.S. weapons for the Cubans and delivered them to guerrillas in Colombia.

The story — a fraud from beginning to end — is an updated version of a lurid tale splashed across the pages of the *New York Post*, a gutter rag, last June. The authors were Arnaud de Borchgrave and Robert Moss, a pair of journalistic smear artists for the CIA. (The July 13 *Militant* responded to the *Post* concoction.)

According to de Borchgrave, Moss, and the DEA, Colombian narcotics were run into the United States, with Cuban aid, by Jaime Guillot Lara, described as a bigtime Colombian drug and gun runner.

As de Borchgrave and Moss told it, Guillot went to work for the Cubans after Raúl Castro personally promised to make him president of Colombia.

Guillot is, of course, among those indicted. But unfortunately for the U.S. case, he doesn't appear to be available.

He had been arrested in Mexico on charges of possessing improper identity papers, but was released in September and is said to be somewhere in Europe.

"He could have been a major witness had we ever been able to get our hands on him," sighed a DEA spokesperson. "He was also a major defendant."

But others are available. Nine of those indicted are described as Americans born in Cuba. Five of these are reported to be already serving time in U.S. prison on narcotics charges.

A key witness is expected to be a Colombian drug dealer, Juan Lazaro Crump, also known as Johnny Crump.

According to the de Borchgrave-Moss tale, it was Crump who introduced Guillot to top Cuban leaders.

Crump was taken into custody earlier this year, and is currently in a federal witness protection program.

According to the November 6 *Miami Herald*, Crump has "struck a deal with U.S. authorities" and "agreed to testify about his dealings with the Cubans in exchange for leniency from a federal judge."

Enough said?

Putting aside the patently fraudulent nature of the case, a political point should be borne in mind. If the Cuban government were actually involved in drug running that wouldn't bother Washington one bit. After all it does get along fine with the government of Colombia, from which large amounts of drugs actually are run into this country.

Washington tries to smear Cuba on this charge only because it can't frankly state what it deems to be Cuba's real crime — offering an inspiring example of revolutionary progress to the world, and standing in firm solidarity with all of the liberation struggles of the oppressed.

Volodarsky: 'A powerful agitator'

BY DOUG JENNESS

The October 1917 revolution that brought the workers and peasants to power in Russia was a historic watershed. Working people throughout the world still celebrate it today. The revolution was led by the Bolshevik Party, whose central leader was Lenin. Outside of him and a handful of other prominent figures, however, most Bolshevik leaders are unknown today.

One such leader was Volodarsky, a prominent speaker, writer, and organizer. At age 27, he was the first Bolshevik government official to fall victim to an assassin's bullet.

Volodarsky was the party name of Moisei Markovich Goldstein, who was born into a poor Jewish family in the western Ukraine. While a teen-ager and still in school, he was exiled to Archangel, near the Arctic Circle, for "political unreliability."

In 1905 he joined the Bund, a Jewish labor and socialist party. He later became active in the Social Democratic Party in the Ukraine. Arrested in 1911, he was again exiled to Archangel. Following a general amnesty of political prisoners by the tsarist regime, Volodarsky emigrated to the United States in 1913. There he worked in the garment industry in Philadelphia and joined the International Garment Workers Union. He also became a member of the Socialist Party.

He moved to New York where he worked with Russian exiles, including Nikolai Bukharin and Leon Trotsky on *Novy Mir* (*New World*) — a Russian-language socialist paper.

When the tsar was overthrown in February 1917, Volodarsky returned to Russia. He arrived in May and became part of the Interdistrict Organization of United Social Democrats. Formed in 1913, this group held a center position between the major wings of Russian Social

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

Democracy — the revolutionary Bolsheviks and the reformist Mensheviks. Among its most prominent members were Trotsky, Lunacharsky, and Joffe. The Interdistrict organization joined the Bolshevik Party in a block in July 1917.

When Volodarsky returned to Russia, his major role was as an agitator and organizer. Lunacharsky wrote about him in a 1923 essay included in *Revolutionary Silhouettes*:

"Before October he [Volodarsky] emerged as one of the Party's most powerful agitators, even when compared with the hectic and sometimes flamboyant efforts of such propagandists as Trotsky, Zinoviev, and others. . . ."

Trotsky in the *History of the Russian Revolution* describes Volodarsky's role in winning over the workers in the Putilov factory of 40,000 workers.

"At the head of the Bolshevik attack most often was to be seen Volodarsky . . ." Trotsky wrote. "Volodarsky was a magnificent mass orator, logical, ingenious, and bold. . . . 'From the moment of his arrival in the Narva district,' says the worker Minichev, 'the ground in the Putilov factory began to slip under the feet of the Social Revolutionary gentlemen, and in the course of something like two months the Putilov workers had gone over to the Bolsheviks.'"

After the October revolution, Volodarsky played a central role in the Bolshevik leadership in Petrograd and in the leadership of the Soviets of Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers Deputies. He was editor of *Krasnaya Gazeta* (*Red Gazette*), a popular Petrograd workers paper.

"It was . . . after October that Volodarsky really came into his own," Lunacharsky wrote. "Then his personality made him to some degree the most striking representative of our party in Petrograd."

In his capacity as commissar of press, propaganda, and agitation, he was responsible for issuing orders to close down capitalist papers when the counterrevolutionary activities that led to the civil war began in May 1918. Several journals of the Social Revolutionary Party, which had supported the capitalist provisional government before the October revolution, were also banned.

Volodarsky publicly explained that, "Freedom to criticize the action of the Soviet government and to agitate in favor of another government are granted by us to all our opponents. We will guarantee freedom of the press for you, if you understand it in this sense. But you must give up false newsmongering . . . lies and slander."

On June 20 a Right Social Revolutionary assassin gunned him down shortly after he left a factory where he was attempting to calm down an SR-inspired disturbance.

"Volodarsky's funeral cortege was one of the most majestic that Petersburg, no stranger to great events, has ever seen," wrote Lunacharsky. "Tens, perhaps hundreds of thousands of working people followed him to his grave on the Field of Mars."

North Dakota farmers fight against foreclosure

BY EARLING N. SANNES

BISMARCK, N.D. — Recently released government statistics show North Dakota lost 1,000 farms in 1981. Four thousand farms have been lost since 1975 and 42,000 since the 1930s. The total number of operating farms in the state is now 38,000.

This number will decline as farm prices continue to drop and the big-business-oriented Farmers Home Ad-

\$2,100 for a Family Farm Foreclosure Legal Assistance Project. This project will lay the groundwork for a class action lawsuit against the FmHA calling for a 36-month moratorium or deferral on foreclosures on all delinquent farm accounts in North Dakota.

Donald and Diane McCabe of Dickey, operators of a 320-acre dairy farm, are threatened with liquidation by the FmHA. High interest rates, increasing production costs, and falling farm prices have squeezed the McCabes, making it impossible to keep up with mortgage payments. The FmHA said they are in default and gave them 30 days to pay the full amount of their long-term loan. If they don't, they will face foreclosure. The McCabe's only keep \$300 per month from the income generated by their dairy herd. Eighty-five percent goes to the FmHA.

The class action lawsuit the McCabe's hope to file would be similar to a Georgia suit. In that case a federal judge ordered the FmHA to consider giving indefinite extensions to farmers behind in loan payments because of economic hardship beyond their control. That order affected approximately 5,000 farmers in Georgia with FmHA loans. Nationally, more than 70,000 farmers are threatened with FmHA foreclosure in the coming year.

The McCabes have appealed the FmHA's action

against them. They are intent on letting other troubled farmers know they have a right to appeal foreclosure actions brought by FmHA. "Many farmers don't know they have a right to appeal," Diane McCabe told the *Militant*.

To inform farmers of their right to appeal, the Family Farm Foreclosure Legal Assistance Project intends to hold information meetings throughout the state and to continue fund raising efforts for the pending class action lawsuit. Diane McCabe says, "There's got to be something done for them or a lot of us are going to be gone."

In earlier agrarian movements in North Dakota, the enemy of the farmer was readily recognizable as capitalism and greedy profiteers represented by monstrous banks that charged exorbitant interest rates; cartel-owned, out-of-state grain elevators that kept farm prices down; and monopolistic railroads who charged excessive rates for hauling farm products.

Today, the enemy of the North Dakota farmer is that same monster, though dressed in slightly different clothes. It is the same ruthless capitalists who continue to relentlessly pursue an economic system that is designed and calculated to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. That is the basic cause of the problems facing the McCabe family and thousands of other small farm operators in North Dakota and in dozens of other states.

AS I SEE IT

ministration (FmHA) forces more and more small farms with delinquent mortgages into foreclosure. Recent press reports indicate that as many as 2,000 North Dakota farm loan holders, charged with delinquency in making payments, are threatened with foreclosure.

North Dakota farmers are reacting to and fighting the government today with a fervor that is reminiscent of the agrarian movements that swept across the Midwest farm states in the early part of this century and in the 1930s.

On a small family farm near Dickey a fund raising event was held recently that drew 270 farmers and raised

LETTERS

García Marquéz

I was absolutely delighted to read that García Marquéz had been awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. As with all important cultural events, the award signifies a related historical process — in this case, the rise of the Central American Revolution. *One Hundred Years of Solitude* was published in 1967, and I doubt that the award would have been granted García Marquéz if not for the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution.

As Fred Murphy points out in his excellent article in the *Militant* last week, "few Latin American authors have been so honored despite the region's rich literary tradition." I can remember as a student of literature in the late 1960s that Spanish was not even acceptable as a foreign language, because there was "only" Cervantes to read.

One cannot help but note the release of vibrant artistic energy unleashed in Nicaragua by the liberating process of revolution. Even the government includes the novelist Sérgio Ramírez and the poet Ernesto Cardenal. Tomás Borge, a central Sandinista leader, is a poet and composer of the national anthem.

What a contrast to the cultural figure who presently plays such a prominent role in our own government!

I hope that Fred's article will encourage the *Militant* readers to delve into Marquéz's books. One small point, however. Fred comments that "academic critics often present García Marquéz's stories and novels as difficult or surrealistic. In fact, they are a joy to read."

I would say that the novels are difficult and surrealistic, and they are a joy to read. *Autumn of the Patriarch* is written in a dense Faulknerian style with sentences stretching for pages. *One Hundred Years of Solitude* is certainly based on reality, but it is richly imagined, and magical. The possible and the impossible are juxtaposed to bend reality and the time frame, sense of place, and the characters themselves are deliberately blurred to achieve a sense of myth. Mark Schneider
Sommerville, Massachusetts

SWP vote in Ohio

The unofficial final results for the general election in Ohio were published in the Columbus *Citizen-Journal* November 4th. For the most part, the Democrats carried the election here.

The SWP was the only left party on the ballot. Kurt Landefeld ran

for governor and Alicia Merel ran for U.S. Senate. Statewide, Merel received 39,558 votes. Landefeld received only 15,383 votes. Merel received nearly 2,000 more votes than the better publicized Libertarian Senatorial candidate. Merel was the only woman candidate for the U.S. Senate.

These final vote totals may not be complete since the newspaper article did not indicate whether or not the absentee ballots were included in the vote totals.

Ronald Sims
Worthington, Ohio

Old subscription

Enclosed is a three month subscription we just sold tonight. The person who bought it read the paper for four years while he was incarcerated at the state prison in Camp Hill across the river from here. He'll be coming to our campaign rally next week.

Doug Cooper
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Doves in Israel

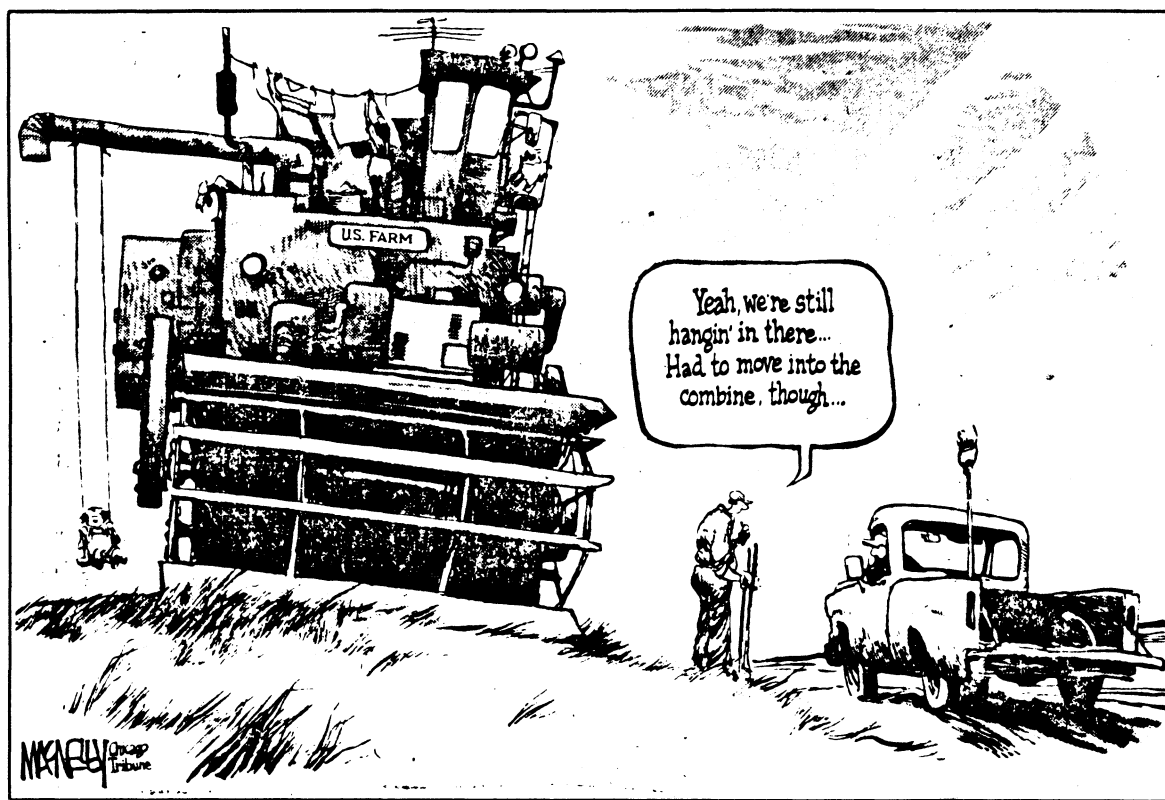
Shimon Peres, the Israeli opposition party leader, is certainly one of those Israeli politicians who are trying to tackle the image problem that Israel is facing today, by depicting himself as a political dove.

There is no clearer evidence that the leadership of the Israeli opposition party has no genuine solution to the Middle East conflict than Mr. Peres's response to President Reagan's peace initiative — an initiative that is destined to fail — by default — since it failed to recognize the indispensable rights of the Palestinian people for an independent homeland.

The Labor Party, headed by Peres, will not allow "the establishment of a Palestinian state" and perhaps that response was expected from Israel, considering the White House has rejected the idea already.

It will not negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization — the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians everywhere — unless the PLO recognizes Israel's right to exist.

This party will not support the withdrawals of the Israeli forces to pre-1967 boundaries in the name of necessary secure borders. However, Jerusalem — the holy city for all religions — is "indivisible and will always be the capital of Israel," Peres has said. The coercive politics by both major Israeli political parties against the Palestinians has not gotten the situation any better for the last 35 years, and



it will not in the future. If this political maneuvering by the so-called doves of Israel is not considered dancing or beating around the bush, I don't know what is.

A bonafide peace initiative towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is important. What is more urgent however, is the *de jure* recognition by Israel of the Palestinians' self-determination and their fundamental right to an independent homeland.

The Palestinian baker whose shop is within the walls of the old city of Jerusalem has said it all when he responded to the *Jerusalem Post* correspondent, "I don't want this Jordanian passport. I want a country I can call my own. I want a passport that says, 'Palestine' on the cover." Mr. Peres, are you listening?
Hakam Hussein
Broomfield, Colorado

Correction to edit

The editorial in the November 5 issue of the *Militant*, titled "Working class fights for ballot rights," contained an error in reference to North Carolina.

The editorial states: "In North Carolina, the socialists challenged a ruling that they had filed insufficient nominating petitions. They generated public protest and won a court ruling reversing that crooked decision." But this is not correct.

At the time we launched our campaign for Congress in the 5th District, we challenged a state law that required any third party seeking ballot status to collect 5,000 signatures of registered voters that would agree to change their party affiliation to that third party. This

law, known as the "party-switch law," was put into effect after the SWP successfully attained ballot status in the 1980 elections when we collected over 18,000 signatures.

To paraphrase one state legislature, the party-switch law would keep people from putting "communists" on the ballot if they had to change their voter registration. It was obviously aimed at the SWP and our class.

The party-switch portion of the law was struck down but the requirement of 5,000 registered voters was left intact.

Of course, though we met all legal requirements and more (we collected over 14,000 signatures) in 1982 there was no assurance that we'd be placed on the ballot. It was, in fact, the public support we received, coupled with an aggressive petitioning drive and boldly run campaign that won us our democratic rights. And, precisely because of this, we were spared the expense and time of another lawsuit.

Kate Daher
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Bosses' greed

I was really excited to see the article in the October 1 issue of the *Militant* on tenosynovitis. I, too, have been hit with a repetitive-trauma injury called carpal tunnel syndrome (CTS). A common work-related injury, it affects workers who do highly repetitive hand work and those who use vibrating hand tools. The symptoms of CTS are tingling, pain, numb-

ness, and weakness in the hands, especially at night, with pain often extending into the wrist and forearm. It can be treated with surgery.

Experience with work-related injuries has taught my co-workers and I a valuable lesson — never trust the company. The first thing any worker should do if injured is contact their union. It is through the union that you can get the truth and save yourself a lot of possible grief. I was lied to consistently once I decided to file a claim. Company lies almost caused me to lose my claim altogether several times.

Once you have filed a claim it is very common for the company to try to harass you into quitting or to fire you. This is another reason it is important to contact the union immediately. If you feel you are being harassed by a supervisor, document every instance of harassment, with witnesses, and report it to your union representative. You may want to consider filing a grievance against the supervisor.

Another source of information is your state's Industrial Accident Board. They can answer questions about your state's workers' compensation laws.

It is incredible that a company that has begun a program to "save trees" by extending the use-life of its reusable cartons can treat its employees so miserably. But of course, both their tree-saving program and their antiworker program have the same common denominator — profits. Fortunately, most of my co-workers have already learned that truth. Beverley Andalora
Dallas, Texas

Carthan beats murder frame-up

BY RASHAAD ALI

LEXINGTON, Miss. — On November 4, in less than 45 minutes of deliberation, an all-Black jury found Eddie James Carthan innocent on the charge of murder. If found guilty he could have been sentenced to die in the gas chamber.

Carthan, the first Black mayor of Tchula, was on trial in Holmes County Circuit Court for allegedly ordering the June 1981 murder of Roosevelt Granderson. Granderson, a Black alderman in Tchula, was a front man for the large cotton growers and businessmen who run the Democratic Party in this Mississippi delta town.

As the verdict was being read by Calvin Moore, circuit court clerk, supporters of Carthan, who had packed the courtroom

for nearly three weeks, applauded, screamed, and cheered. They then followed Carthan out to the courthouse steps where he spoke to well over 150 supporters.

He called the verdict "symbolic for all political prisoners. This is a victory for all people who want to achieve equal treatment under the law." Carthan said that "the bell has struck for liberty and justice and peace." He declared that he would "continue to work as long as blood runs through this body of mine for justice for all."

For more than an hour the crowd outside the courthouse shouted and held signs demanding Carthan's freedom. "We want Eddie out of jail, we want Eddie out of jail," they chanted. This continued as he

was led away to the Holmes County jail to continue to serve the remainder of a three-year sentence stemming from an earlier frame-up on assault charges.

During the trial the two key prosecution witnesses, David Hester and Vincent Bolden, claimed that Carthan had hired them to murder Granderson for \$10,000. The two are currently serving sentences for the robbery and murder of Granderson.

When Carthan took the stand on his own behalf on October 30, he responded to this charge. "I never killed anybody or hired anybody to kill anyone in my life," he said. "I couldn't afford to hire anyone to kill anyone."

He also denied knowing Hester, who had earlier testified that they knew each other for more than five years.

Carthan, and his wife Shirley, explained how the reforms his administration attempted to carry out in Tchula, after he was elected mayor in 1977, were disrupted. Eddie Carthan explained that the threat of violence and intimidation by the "white power structure" was very real. "Many times," he noted, "I had volunteer people come and guard my home."

In addition, he pointed out, "Highway patrolmen stopped me on the highway, the FBI came to Tchula every week when I was in office."

He related that he had received threatening phone calls from white alderman John Hayes and county supervisor B.T. Taylor. They warned that "they would kill me and any other niggers like me."

Shirley Carthan testified that during the period of the harassing phone calls, "Eddie and a group of supporters armed themselves and stood around the trailer all night waiting for them who were coming to get them. After that he frequently wore a gun."

She also testified that the night her husband was supposed to have had a meeting

with Hester to arrange the "hit," he was with her entertaining two of their friends and had never left the house.

The defense also put on the stand two witnesses, Tyrone Hines and Willie James Brown, who are currently inmates in the Holmes County jail. They both testified that Bolden, while in jail, asked them who Eddie Carthan was. Hines also reported that Bolden had indicated that he was being pressured into testifying against Carthan.

The final witness for the defense was Herbert Granderson, brother of the slain alderman. He testified that the day after his brother was killed, Hayes, an ally of Roosevelt Granderson on the board of aldermen, visited him and tried to convince him that Carthan had been involved in the killing.

Indicating his disbelief, Granderson told the court, "I got tired of him, I ran him off."

District Attorney Frank Carlton tried to imply that Herbert Granderson's testimony was prejudiced because he had hated his brother and was jealous of his brother's better education.

After the verdict was read, several of the jurors gave interviews to the press. Elizabeth Atkinson from Picken said, referring to the prosecution and its witnesses, "I felt like they weren't totally truthful. I felt like they were holding something back."

A 71-year-old juror, Jerry Owens of Lexington, commented that "the state didn't prove anything to us. We didn't have any questions from anybody on the jury."

In a brief interview with reporters at the Holmes County jail, Carthan said that he hoped that "the publicity generated by his nationwide defense effort and the trial will help us to achieve equal treatment under the law in all instances" in Mississippi.

"I saw it not as Eddie Carthan that was on trial," he said. "I see it as being Mississippi that is on trial for the practices that have been carried on for years."

Carthan is appealing his earlier conviction on charges of assaulting a police officer. An earlier appeal of the case was turned down by the state supreme court last summer. The charges stem from an incident in 1980 when Carthan and six supporters attempted to disarm an illegally appointed police chief. The other six were also convicted and their sentences were suspended. The seven are known as the Tchula Seven.

Building on the victory this month, supporters of the Tchula Seven are stepping up their defense efforts. Funds are urgently needed. For information and to send a contribution write: National Committee to Free Mayor Eddie Carthan and the Tchula Seven and to Preserve Black Political Rights, P.O. Box 29, Tchula, Miss. 39169.



October 16 march in Jackson, Mississippi demands freedom for Carthan and Tchula 7.

1,500 protest Klan in Washington, D.C.

BY OSBORNE HART

WASHINGTON, D.C. — An enthusiastic crowd of predominantly young people demonstrated through the streets and rallied here against the Ku Klux Klan and racist terror November 6.

Organized in response to an announced Klan march, the demonstration drew more than 1,500 participants from East Coast cities and campuses. It was sponsored by the National Unity Against the Klan, a coalition of many groups.

"We won a victory today," stated Ann Braden of the National Anti-Klan Network to cheering demonstrators, "because we are here, the Klan is not."

Braden was one of the many speakers reflecting the broad endorsement from civil rights, labor, religious, and political groups who spoke.

"The Klan is rising because of the policies of our government — before Reagan," Braden continued.

"The Klan doesn't speak for the majority of white people. The fate of white working people is tied increasingly and irrevocably to the fate of people of color."

Braden remarked that because Washington is a predominantly Black city, the Klan may never march here.

"And then we have to make sure it is just as impossible for the Klan to march in any white community," she concluded. Alluding to the government attacks on civil rights gains and the resurgence of Klan violence, Rev. C.T. Vivian said, "We heard the voices of violence from the White House when they tried to defeat the voting rights bill."

Vivian, a long time civil rights leader, said the Klan targets "trade unions and women's rights groups as well as Blacks."

As the demonstrators left the Capitol steps and marched past the FBI building, the Justice Department, and the White

House, to the ellipse, they carried signs linking government collusion with racist violence and chanted, "Reagan and the Klan are one and the same; racism, war is their game," and "KKK we say no, racist violence has got to go."

Meanwhile, in a Maryland suburb, a contingent of 24 robed racists protected by nearly 300 cops held a Klan rally in a park. The Klan action was met by a counter rally of 300 Maryland residents organized by the Montgomery County NAACP, civic groups, and several trade union organizations, including the Metro AFL-CIO.

Underscoring the antilabor stance of the Klan, Harold Fischer, vice-president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists stated that "every time workers are thrown out of work, the Klan rises to blame Blacks and other minorities."

Marty Nathan, a widow of one of the antiracist activists gunned down by the Klan and Nazis in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1979 said, "the government actively conspired with the Klan in those murders."

The day's activities received endorsements from numerous individuals and groups including: Clark Johnson, human rights director, International Association of Machinists; Frank Mont, civil rights department of the United Steelworkers of America; Bill Lucy, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; People Against Racism and the Klan; and the Committee for Racial and Religious Solidarity. The protest ended with the vow to continue to mobilize against Klan and racist violence.

The Klan has announced that it will march on Washington November 27. Anti-Klan march organizers stated that they plan another counterdemonstration if the Klan marches.



Militant/Osborne Hart

Inquest clears killer cops

BY MEISSA PATTERSON

OAKLAND, Calif. — On November 4 an 11-member jury for the coroner's inquest ruled that Willie Lee Drumgoole's death was accidental. Drumgoole, a Black man, died September 28 after having been choked and beaten by cops in the Richmond city jail.

James Chanin, a lawyer who is working with the NAACP on civil rights cases against the Richmond police department, called the verdict "meaningless, given the fact that the officers never testified and that we were not allowed to testify." Police chief Leo Garfield said the verdict "corresponds with what we have been telling the public."

At the coroner's inquest held in Martinez, four of the cops involved in the beating and killing took the stand but refused to

testify under protection of the Fifth Amendment.

Oliver Jones from the Richmond NAACP, who is representing the Drumgoole family in a \$15 million wrongful death suit against the city, questioned the fairness of the hearing. Jones said, "We feel that the conditions set out by the sheriff-coroner for conducting this inquest may not provide the public with the fullest possible disclosure of information."

Questions had to be submitted in writing and were screened by the person conducting the hearing.

In statements made hours after Drumgoole's death, which were read into the record at the hearing, three cops admitted using some kind of neck or head hold. One policeman stated that he felt the only way to "subdue" Drumgoole was to "choke him

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