

# Nicaragua battles escalation of U.S.-organized aggression



Demonstrators at March 19 New York protest against U.S. intervention in Central America.

## Socialists press fight against disruption suit

BY BARRY SHEPPARD

LOS ANGELES — At a March 21 hearing here in federal court Judge Marianna Pfaelzer ruled that she would grant the Socialist Workers Party attorney's fees and costs incurred in the course of defending itself against the disruption suit brought against the party by Alan Gelfand.

Attorneys for the SWP were also granted more time to prepare the massive evidence showing that the Gelfand suit was designed solely for the purpose of harassing, disrupting, and bleeding the SWP. The voluminous record in this case proves that not only Gelfand but also the law firm of Fisher and Moest, which represented him, were guilty and liable for the court costs they inflicted upon the SWP.

After four years of expensive and extensive pretrial proceedings the case came to a head in a week-long trial earlier this month. At the end of the trial the judge ruled that Gelfand had not produced "one shred of evidence" to back up his slanders that the SWP is government controlled and has been for decades. She decided the suit in favor of the SWP defendants.

Gelfand, a lawyer for Los Angeles County, who entered the party in 1976 was expelled from the SWP in 1979. His expulsion stemmed from his attempt to sabotage the legal battle being waged by the SWP against disruption of the party by the FBI, CIA and other political police agencies of the government. In a classic attempt to sow confusion and further disrupt the SWP offensive against the government, Gelfand went into court after his expulsion charging that the SWP was run by government agents and it was these agents who had expelled him. He demanded the court remove the elected leadership of the SWP and reinstate him in the party.

The suit against the SWP was a fraud from the beginning. Gelfand and the Fisher and Moest law firm had no evidence when they filed the suit. They produced none in the four years they used the court to force

SWP members to submit to long interrogations and turn over SWP files. They presented none at the trial.

### Fishy outfit

Gelfand himself was absent from the March 21 hearing. Moest spoke for Gelfand and the law firm explaining to the judge that there was now a "conflict of interest" between his firm and Gelfand regarding payment of the SWP's attorney's fees and that he was advising Gelfand to get another lawyer on this matter. He also said that his firm was hiring a lawyer to try to squirm out of their responsibility.

In his closing trial arguments earlier this month, John Burton, who acted as Gel-

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## AFL-CIO endorses major march for jobs, peace, and freedom

BY MALIK MIAH

The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO has endorsed the 20th Anniversary Mobilization for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom scheduled for August 27-28 in Washington, D.C. The action will commemorate the historic March on Washington held in 1963, led by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The AFL-CIO joins a long list of unions, civil rights organizations, women's groups, and others that have endorsed the march.

The August 27-28 mobilization was announced in a call signed by 22 prominent Black and labor leaders at the end of last year. The cochairpersons of the New Coalition of Conscience for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom are Coretta Scott King, president of the Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change, and Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

## Emergency protests are needed

The Nicaraguan government has issued an urgent call for support and solidarity from "all friendly governments" and all "political formations that support our revolutionary process."

This call was prompted by the escalating invasion of Nicaragua by counterrevolu-

## EDITORIAL

tionary exiles armed, trained, and directed by the U.S. government. The Nicaraguan people are currently battling some 2,000 supporters of the ousted Somoza dictatorship in the heaviest fighting since Somoza was overthrown in 1979.

The first to respond to Nicaragua's appeal was the government of Grenada, an island in the Caribbean whose Black, English-speaking population overthrew their own U.S.-backed dictator in 1979.

In a March 22 message, Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop said, "We are shocked and angered to learn of the invasion of the sacred, sovereign soil of Nicaragua by thousands of Somozaist murderers. The revolutionary government and people of Grenada express their total condemnation of this cowardly act of war by the forces of counterrevolution and reaction."

Bishop pledged, "In these times of threat to your revolutionary process of national reconstruction, . . . [we] express . . . our firmest solidarity and support. You can be sure that the government and people of Grenada are ready to assist you in whatever form you consider practical."

From Cuba, Radio Havana has been broadcasting statements of support for Nicaragua from around the world.

In Mexico, the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador denounced the military escalation against Nicaragua as also aimed at the rebel forces in El Salvador. The counterrevolutionary attacks on Nicaragua, the Front said, "are aimed at

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## Most serious fighting since '79 revolution

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan government announced here March 21 that it was confronting "the most aggressive military operation" launched by imperialism since the defeat of the dictator Anastasio Somoza in July 1979.

A total of about 2,000 former Somoza National Guardsmen have infiltrated into Nicaragua from their bases in Honduras. Some 1,500 of the heavily armed counter-revolutionaries have taken up positions in the northern mountains, while 400 to 500 have made their way into central Matagalpa Province, scarcely 50 miles northeast of the capital.

Counterrevolutionary radio broadcasts have called for an insurrection against the Sandinista government, declaring that "the hour of liberation is near. With God and with patriotism, we are combating Communism."

"This escalation is being and will be totally defeated," Minister of Defense Humberto Ortega announced at a March 21 news conference here.

All reserve battalions have been mobilized indefinitely to carry defense preparations through to victory, Ortega said, and many militia units are being called up as well.

While Nicaragua's revolutionary government is confident that it can smash the rightist forces that have entered the country, Ortega told reporters in Managua that the situation remains "grave."

"The danger," he said, "lies in imperialism's trying to use the military confrontations between our forces and the National Guard to provoke border conflicts between our forces and the Honduran Army."

This, Ortega warned, could lead to a war with Honduras.

Sergio Ramírez, member of the Government of National Reconstruction, read a statement at the news conference calling for "support and solidarity" from "all friendly governments" and "all political formations that support our revolutionary process."

Meanwhile, in New York, Vice-minister of Foreign Affairs Víctor Tinoco asked for an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council. Tinoco charged that the bold new move by the counterrevolutionary forces was inspired and organized by "the Reagan Administration, which is determined to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution."

The Somozaists and their U.S. backers will not succeed, Ortega pledged here in Managua. "We will throw whatever forces necessary against them — the Sandinista Army, the reserve battalions, the militias, tanks, and planes. We are going to drive them out, to neutralize imperialism's political and military operation."

### Invaders isolated

A two-day meeting of the Sandinista Assembly — the full national leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) — preceded the announcement of the new attack and the steps being taken against it. The news conference was attended by nearly 60 correspondents from around the world. They were drawn by reports, circulated by Honduran-based coun-

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BY MALIK MIAH

For the last six months, United Auto Workers (UAW) members employed by the Caterpillar Tractor Co., the world's largest construction-equipment maker, have been on strike. Cat, as the company is called, has demanded wage concessions and drastic work-rule changes.

Denver socialists Bernie Senter and Mike Hebert, who are members of the UAW at Martin Marietta Corp., have been regularly going to the Cat picket lines to talk with workers there and sell the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Support for the strike is strong in the UAW local at Martin Marietta, and the local has set up a food bank for the strikers.

On March 11 Senter and Hebert sold six *Militants* at the Cat picket line. "Strikers expressed interest in the paper and indicated they'd be passing it around and taking it down to the strike office to get out the word to other people," Senter reports.

"Even though these workers have been on strike for six months and are very hard-pressed financially, all of them were very eager to look over the paper. They gave

us a few pennies or whatever they could afford," he says.

Selling to striking workers is becoming more frequent as resistance grows to the employers' offensive. For the last three weeks, for example, rail workers in New Jersey and New York have been on strike against management's attempt to impose a major wage cut and work-rule changes on the United Transportation Union (UTU).

*Militant* salesman Don Davis talked with UTU strikers in Hoboken, New Jersey, March 18. They told him they felt the real issues in the strike were not getting through to the public. Other newspapers were not telling the union's side of the story.

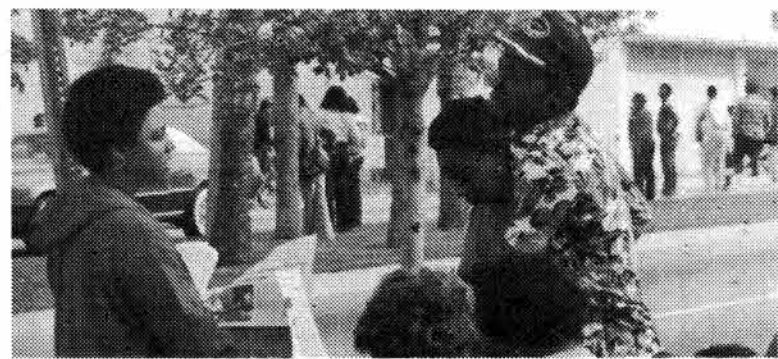
Although Davis didn't sell any papers that day, he found the strikers very receptive to the *Militant's* proposals on the need for labor solidarity with their strike and the need for an independent labor party based on the unions.

Supporters of the *Militant* in Chicago have also been at the picket line — in Aurora, Illinois, where another struck Caterpillar plant exists. The Chicago Socialist Workers Party has established five

sales committees to organize supporters to get our press out to plant gates. In addition to the Aurora committee, there are committees to organize sales at steel plants, garment shops, rail yards, and auto plants.

Every member of the SWP is assigned to one of these sales committees, reports Rick Berman, sales coordinator for the party. The committees meet each week, discuss the results of the last week's sales, and organize teams for the next week. They try to respond to new events, like their decision to send a sales team to the Interlake steel plant, where they hadn't been selling, after it was reported that the plant might shut down.

Socialists in New York got out a large amount of revolutionary literature at two important demonstrations recently. One was the highly controversial St. Patrick's Day parade, where Michael Flannery, a strong supporter of the Irish Republican Army, was elected grand marshal of the parade over the objections of capitalist politicians and the Catholic church hierarchy. Over 200



Militant/STU Singer

copies of the new Pathfinder pamphlet, *Bernadette Devlin McAliskey on the Irish Freedom Struggle*, and 60 *Militants* were sold.

Excellent sales were also reported at the March 19 demonstration in New York City against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. According to initial reports, 325 *Militants*, *PMs* and *Young Socialists* were sold to demonstrators by socialists from New York and northern New Jersey. Sales of Pathfinder literature were also brisk.

Several salespeople commented that a lot of the participants were at their first demonstration and the march got a very friendly and in-

terested response from people along the route.

Mark Satinoff, a New York City transit worker, reports, "In Herald Square, where all the big department stores are, there are thousands of shoppers. As they stopped to watch the march go by, carefully reading the signs and banners and listening to the chants, I held up the *Young Socialist* with the headline 'El Salvador Will Win' and said, 'Money for jobs, not war, U.S. Out of El Salvador; read why Reagan is Vietnamizing El Salvador and what you can do to stop it.' All sorts of people — especially Blacks — bought the paper."

## St. Patrick's Day marchers back Irish liberation

BY WILL REISSNER

NEW YORK — More than 100,000 marchers paraded up Fifth Avenue March 17 in one of the most controversial St. Patrick's Day parades in the over 200-year history of the event here. Hundreds of thousands of spectators lined the route.

The large turnout — despite dismal weather and two commuter rail strikes — was a repudiation of the well-publicized attempts by the Irish government, the Reagan administration, prominent Irish-American Democrats, and the Catholic church hierarchy to sabotage the event.

Their refusal to participate in the St. Patrick's Day parade was sparked by the landslide election of Irish Republican Army-supporter Michael Flannery as grand marshal by the event's organizing committee.

Last November, the 81-year-old Flannery and four other Irish-Americans were acquitted in federal court on charges of supplying weapons to the Irish Republican Army (IRA). During the trial the defendants had made clear their support for the Irish freedom struggle.

Senators Daniel Moynihan and Edward Kennedy and former New York Gov. Hugh Carey announced they would not take part in the parade because of Flannery's support of the Irish Republican Army. The Pentagon withdrew military bands and the New York archdiocese pulled out parochial school bands.

In addition, Cardinal Terence Cooke refused to give the traditional greeting to the

grand marshal from the steps of St. Patrick's Cathedral along the parade route.

Despite Cardinal Cooke's publicized opposition to Flannery's election as grand marshal, Flannery received a standing ovation from the 2,500 people in the congregation at St. Patrick's Cathedral when he arrived for mass before the parade.

All along the route Flannery was greeted with cheers and applause. "Walk proud, Michael," shouted Miriam McManus, visiting New York from Northern Ireland, as Flannery passed the empty front steps of the cathedral. "Up the rebels," added Jim McDonnell, a member of a bagpipe band.

When Cardinal Cooke finally appeared on the steps more than half an hour after Flannery had passed, he was roundly booed by marchers. Trying to make the best of the jeers, Cooke told the press, "I frankly expected more" of them.

The controversy surrounding this year's parade reflects a polarization among Irish-Americans as the freedom struggle against British rule in Northern Ireland intensifies.

The 1981 death of Bobby Sands and nine other hunger strikers in British jails in Northern Ireland and the growing strength of the freedom struggle there has made it impossible for politicians like Moynihan, Carey, and Kennedy to hide their tacit support for continued British rule behind empty words about eventual Irish reunification.

Although Reagan, Carey, Moynihan, Kennedy, and Cooke attack the Irish Re-

publican Army as terrorists, large numbers of Irish-Americans as well as Blacks and other workers increasingly identify with the Irish freedom fighters, as shown by the support for Flannery along the parade route.

When asked about Senator Moynihan's refusal to march, Flannery stated, "I owe him a debt of gratitude. His absence has added greatly to the parade today."

The growing polarization was evident even within the march itself. On the one hand New York's Mayor Edward Koch, who describes the Irish Republican Army as "vile and despicable," and thousands of uniformed cops were welcomed as part of the parade.

At the same time, for two hours this reporter stood in one spot watching contingent after contingent of marchers pass a spectator who was holding up a sign that read "God bless Michael Flannery — Moynihan & Kennedy aren't fit to tie his shoes!" As each group of marchers spotted the sign, faces broke into smiles, people began applauding, and fists shot into the air.

Irish Northern Aid, a group founded by Flannery that raises money for the families of political prisoners in Northern Ireland, was a special target of attack by the media and politicians in the period leading up to the march.

Despite these attacks, the Irish Northern Aid contingent was far larger than in previous years. Last year its contingent filled two blocks. This year it swelled to six solid

blocks of marchers, many wearing T-shirts reading "IRA — Irish Freedom Fighters."

A contingent of several hundred uniformed firefighters marched behind banners stating: "England Get Out of Ireland" and "Bobby Sands and Comrades Live On."

Thus the campaign against the "politicization" of the parade and what was described as its "pro-IRA" character, seriously backfired.

At the end of the march Flannery told reporters that the success of the parade showed that "the British have no place in Ireland. I hope that I got my point across."

This year's march marked a break from the traditional rigidly nonpolitical celebration.

The organizers, however, attempted to limit its political scope. They adhered to the traditional policy of banning all signs and banners except those that say "England Get Out of Ireland" or bear pictures of the dead hunger strikers.

Members of the New York H-Block/Armagh Committee tried to carry signs blasting the British Army's use of plastic bullets to kill children in Northern Ireland. But they were not allowed into the parade until they surrendered their placards.

As a result, there were more banners and placards among the spectators than among marchers. "Ireland, England's Vietnam"; "Up the IRA"; and "Britain Out of Ireland, U.S. Out of El Salvador" were among the many signs along the sidelines.

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# Thousands hit U.S. war in Central America

BY DIANE WANG

NEW YORK — "Hey, hey, Uncle Sam, we remember Vietnam!"

"Money for jobs, not for war; U.S. out of El Salvador!"

These chants rang out repeatedly as 3,000 people marched and rallied here on March 19 to protest Reagan's announcements of sharply stepped-up U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Initiated by the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES), 52 organizations had come together to call the emergency action.

There were chants and signs that also condemned the escalating U.S. war against Nicaragua, and U.S. backing for the blood-soaked Guatemalan regime.

One man was selling buttons that said "Remember Santana." Flor "Terry" Santana was a solidarity activist who was the victim of a political assassination in New York on December 4 of last year.

The pro-Palestinian rights November 29th Coalition carried a banner that said, "U.S. out of El Salvador! Israel out of Latin America!"

Buses and carpools brought people from Albany and Binghamton in upstate New York. Campus solidarity committees and a high school Students for Peace group came.

Signs and buttons identified members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 169, Transport Workers Union Local 100, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, American Federation of Teachers Local 1796, and United Auto Workers District 65.

Members from all of the area's Salvadoran groups participated, along with various Dominican, Haitian, and Latin American groups.

Among the many groups sponsoring the action were the Association of Women of El Salvador, Antonio Maceo Brigade, New York Peace Council, Socialist Workers Party, *Guardian* newspaper, National Black Independent Political Party, All People's Congress, and Mobilization for Survival.

The march from the U.S. Mission to the United Nations to the offices of U.S. Senator Alfonse D'Amato followed a rally.

At that rally David Dyson, secretary to the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, spoke.

"Manhattan Shirt Co. is closing down its plants in this city. But its plants in El Salvador are booming, and corporate profits are booming," Dyson said. "Texas Instruments has moved its plant from Texas to El Salvador, where workers there are going blind after eight months of close work, just like textile workers here lose their hearing."

"Kimberly Clark, which makes Huggies diapers, has moved to El Salvador because it loves the climate. It's a climate of repression, terror, bombed union offices, and murdered trade unionists."

"It is time we protect the interests of Salvadoran workers and tell the U.S. multinationals to go to hell!" Dyson said.

Dyson explained why the labor movement should actively oppose Washington's plans. He pointed out that "there is no money for school lunches, but there is for helicopter gunships. There's no money for OSHA [Occupational Safety and Health Administration] enforcement, but there is for training murder battalions to kill Salvadoran *campesinos* [peasants]. When we need to kill we find the money, but when we need to build we're flat broke."

Dyson concluded by saying that U.S. working people "are the only thing standing in the way of sending American troops to El Salvador. We must prevent them from sending the sons of American workers here to kill the sons of [Latin] American workers in El Salvador."

Arnaldo Ramos of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador began with greetings to the Salvadoran and Latino contingents, which made up a significant part of the crowd.

"We have to support the Nicaraguan revolution," Ramos said. "The most important historical transformation that has taken place on our continent since the Cuban revolution is the Nicaraguan revolution. They are our brothers and sisters; they represent the future."

Ramos ridiculed Reagan's resort to "national security" appeals. "Salvador is not a

threat to the national security of the American people, but it does represent a threat to the personal, political, and economic security of Mr. Reagan, Mr. Shultz, Mr. Weinberger, and the huge corporate interests," he charged.

Barbara Omelate of the Sisterhood of Black Single Mothers pointed to the particular significance of Central America for Central Brooklyn and other Black communities. "It will be Black and Brown men that fight that war," she said. "It seems our schools are only training our children for two options — to go to war or to go to jail."

Omelate urged women to oppose U.S. intervention in El Salvador. "We can no longer speak of women's rights without speaking of the rights of all women, including those in Central America, to a decent life."

The rally also heard from the Committee in Solidarity With the People of Guatemala, Josefina Ellizander of Casa Nicaragua, Darlene Cuccinello of Intercommunity Center for Justice and Peace, Jim Haughton of Harlem Fightback, Beth Perry of CISPES, Mary Jane Wilson of the Dennis Banks Defense Committee, and others.

\* \* \*

BY GARY PREVOST

MINNEAPOLIS — Eight hundred persons demonstrated here on March 19 against U.S. intervention in Central America. Following a rally at Wesley Methodist Church, the demonstrators moved to the Federal Building. They demanded: Jobs, not war; No U.S. aid to Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador; and Support proposals by the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador and the government of Nicaragua for negotiations.

The rally, which preceded the march, was highlighted by the appearance of René Hurtado, a former Salvadoran army soldier who has obtained sanctuary in a church in the Twin Cities area.

Frank Guzman of the National Chicano Alliance connected the struggles of U.S. workers with the struggles of the people of Central America.

Other speakers at the rally were Sister Mary Mulharek, a Maryknoll nun, and



Militant/Lou Howort

Three thousand turned out for New York protest

Polly Mann of Women Against Military Madness.

The March 19 Coalition was initiated by the El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua solidarity committees and supported by over 100 organizations and individuals, including American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2822; United Electrical Workers Local 1139; Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 17; Coalition of Labor Union Women; Don Hill, president of the Minnesota Education Association; Robert Killeen, subregional director of the United Auto Workers; American Indian Movement; and National Black Independent Political Party.

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BY MICHAEL FRAYER

MILWAUKEE — On March 19, 75 people gathered outside the Milwaukee office of Democratic Congressman Clement Zablocki. The crowd made its message clear shouting, "Money for jobs, not for war. U.S. out of El Salvador."

Zablocki, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, is a staunch supporter of increased U.S. aid to the Salvadoran government.

Ted Krukowski, president of United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 1111, was the first speaker at the protest. "It is important for labor to understand the connection between unemployment and the U.S. aid sent to El Salvador. That money supports dictators who make sure the labor movement there stays repressed and the corporations profit."

He urged unions and working people to take a stand and make their feelings known. "I've heard it on the shop floor: Working people here do not support aid to El Salvador."

Juanita, a Salvadoran refugee, spoke next. "The money Reagan sends is being used to kill our people. My country has no use for that kind of aid. That money should be used for jobs for Americans here."

Just an hour before the picket, Juanita had spoken to the women's committee of UE Local 1111. Five women came directly from that meeting to the protest.

Earlier that week local opposition to U.S. intervention received a big boost when the Milwaukee County Labor Council unanimously approved a resolution opposing military aid to El Salvador. The resolution said, in part, "the \$110 million can be much better spent providing jobs or preventing foreclosures for laidoff workers."

## AFL-CIO backs jobs, peace, freedom march

Continued from front page

UAW; Lloyd McBride, president, United Steelworkers of America; Rev. C.T. Vivian, National Anti-Klan Network; and William Winpisinger, president, International Association of Machinists.

The call issued by the New Coalition explains: "We seek to recapture a sense of noble and human spirit in which our domestic and foreign policies are consistent with the basic national purposes as articulated in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the American Dream."

"We have chosen the year 1983 because it is the Twentieth Anniversary of the historic 1963 March on Washington where Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., gave his great 'I Have a Dream' speech, a speech which has become part of the national heritage of all Americans. Also 1983 is not an election year, and therefore we have a better chance to stimulate national reflection upon the purposes of our civil society without falling into the traps of personalities and partisan politics."

"We are seeking a New National Coalition that will be an expansion of the historic Coalition of the Civil Rights Movement because we understand that the issues of Jobs, Peace and Freedom are inextricably linked, that they are equally important."

The section of the call on jobs advocates "a new social contract between labor, industry and government to assure all Americans of socially useful and dignified employment with a just wage."

The section on peace calls on "both superpowers and their allies to radically reduce and ultimately eliminate their nuclear arsenals; to act jointly to prevent the spread of such weapons to other nations; and to reduce the record levels of military expenditures."

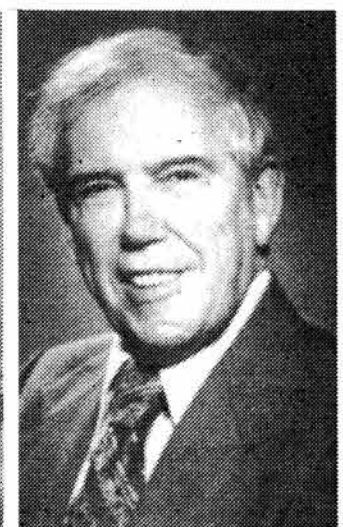


Militant/Andy Rose



Militant/Susan Ellis

Coretta Scott King (center) is cochairperson of march coalition. USWA head Lloyd McBride (left) and UAW head Douglas Fraser (right) are on National Planning Council.



And the section on freedom calls for the "New Coalition of Conscience to work vigorously to defeat anti-civil-rights and to reverse recent governmental trends which have sought to rollback and weaken the enforcement of civil rights laws and policies. We call upon the nation to work for the full and equal rights of women."

The calls says all who agree with this broad perspective should join the coalition and help build the march. "We do not aspire to unanimity in all details," it explains.

The coalition plans to press for legislation to "turn this nation around" and to mobilize masses of working people and others through nonviolent actions on a local and national level.

According to Donna Brazile, national mobilization director working out of the New Coalition's D.C. office, August 27 will be a massive march and rally in D.C.

And on August 28 there will be further activities that have yet to be determined.

Brazile told the *Militant* the New Coalition is urging areas to establish local mobilization committees to build for the March. For example, she said UAW District 65 will be initiating a local support group in New York.

Brazile added that leaflets are now available and can be ordered from the D.C. office. Other materials are being prepared. Brazile pointed to the AFL-CIO's support, which was not the case in the 1963 march, as an important indication of labor's support.

For more information on the New Coalition for Conscience and the August 27-28 March on Washington contact: Twentieth Anniversary Mobilization, 1542 9th Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20001. Telephone: (202) 462-2110.



# Nicaragua battles aggression

Continued from front page

terrevolutionaries, that the invading force was on the verge of capturing several cities deep in the interior of the country. This was clearly aimed at convincing world public opinion that the Sandinista-led government has little domestic support, as well as creating confusion and disorder inside Nicaragua.

The actual military situation was explained in detail by Commander Lenin Cerna, head of Nicaragua's State Security, and Commander Leopoldo Rivas, vice-minister of defense. Rivas reported that the rightist forces in Matagalpa Province have "suffered heavy casualties."

"They haven't been able to carry out a single offensive action, apart from the [February 28] ambush when they killed 17 members of the Sandinista Youth."

Furthermore, Rivas pointed out, the former Somozaist National Guard forces "have no political base. The only help they can count on is from the old collaborators of Somoza. They must be supplied by air from Honduras, and we think we can cut that off on any sustained basis."

## CIA's 'Plan C'

Preparations for the present escalation go back to 1981, Lenin Cerna said. At that time the CIA began to work to bring to-

gether all the dispersed ex-National Guard forces into one organization, the so-called Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN).

In November 1982, 800 heavily armed FDN forces crossed the border in an effort to take the northern city of Jalapa and declare it a "liberated zone." This effort was defeated in two months of heavy fighting that reached a peak in early January of this year.

The current operation, called "Plan C" by the CIA, began in late January of this year. It had two major components — to take and hold positions in northern Jinotega and Nueva Segovia provinces, and to carry out diversionary attacks in northern Zelaya Province on Nicaragua's Caribbean coast. Later it was supposed to be joined by counterrevolutionary forces that would enter from Costa Rica, to the south, under the leadership of ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora.

Extensive training was provided for the forces involved in the operation, in Florida and California, as well as in Honduras and Costa Rica. Advisers from the CIA, Israel, and Argentina, Cerna said, helped set up a unified high command, logistical structures, field hospitals — in short, everything needed by an invading army.

Even a crushing military defeat of the present invading force will not end the problem, Ortega noted at the news conference. The war will continue as long as "the National Guard has the support of imperialism and a secure base in Honduras."

## Right-wingers march

Encouraged by the widening of the war, support from the pope in his recent visit here, and the Reagan administration's increasingly threatening actions, domestic opponents of the revolution are organizing more openly.

On March 13, nine days after the pope's visit, they mobilized under the pretext of expressing apologies to the Vatican for supposed disrespect shown to the pope when he was here.

Organized out of El Carmen Church, one of Managua's wealthiest and most reactionary parishes, some 500 people, according to the FSLN daily *Barricada*, marched through the streets carrying Vatican flags and portraits of the pope.

Chanting "Long live Catholic Nicara-

gua!" the demonstrators marched for about two hours.

Most were women from wealthy families, many of them owners of businesses in their own right. Also participating were leaders of three right-wing political parties — the Social Christian Party, Liberal Constitutionalist Movement, and Conservative Party.

Following the march they returned to church for an evening mass, whose main political point was a call from the pastor for willingness to shed blood to defend the church, to set an example against the "atheists" and "Marxist-Leninists."

The fact that the march occurred is much more important than its relatively small size. *Barricada* called attention to it with a front-page news article and photograph March 14. The headline noted that the march had taken place "without incident," signaling that it had failed as a provocation.

Instead of commenting editorially on the political character of the march, *Barricada* quoted a bystander who said: "They might as well have been chanting 'Long live Reagan!' or 'Long live the counterrevolutionaries!'"

The march represented a hard core of reactionaries willing to condemn as a show of "disrespect" the masses' appeal to the pope for help in achieving peace.

They clearly expect their numbers to grow. And in face of massive support for the revolution, they have made clear that they intend to focus on so-called religious themes to obscure their real political aims.

## Sandinista and Marx

The reactionary pastor's reference to the "Marxist-Leninists" was part of the church hierarchy's response to a big educational campaign currently being carried out by the revolutionary government, the union movement, and the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

The commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Marx's death (March 14), V.I. Lenin's birthday (April 22), and preparations for May Day are all being used to broaden discussion of scientific socialism and its application to Nicaragua today.

One aim, *Barricada* reported February 26, is "to clarify for Nicaraguans who Karl



Nicaraguan government nationalized this Coca-Cola plant March 21, announcing that head manager was using profits to finance counterrevolutionary attacks.

Marx was, and to erase from popular consciousness the distortions the Somoza dictatorship spread about Marx's work and ideas."

The keynote speech at the recent convention of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) focused on the challenge of moving toward socialism in a backward, underdeveloped country.

A seven-part television series on Marx's life and work is currently being shown on prime-time television.

Discussions on the works of Sandino, Marx, and Lenin are being organized in work-places and educational centers around the country.

At a leadership level, more than 250 cadres of the revolutionary government have enrolled in a special 25-week course on Marxist political economy, being taught by a visiting professor from the University of Havana.

Speaking for the FSLN National Directorate, Commander Víctor Tirado greeted the first class February 25.

"Marxism is a basic component of this revolution," he told the students. "Without Sandino and Marx this revolution couldn't have been made."

The great contribution of FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca, he said, was to have "rescued the roots and traditions of the Nicaraguan people — Sandinism — and based them on a scientific understanding of humanity — Marxism."

From *Intercontinental Press*

## Emergency protests called

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

An emergency picket line to protest the escalating military attacks on Nicaragua has been called for in New York City by Casa Nicaragua. The protest will take place on Friday, March 25, at the Honduran mission to the United Nations at 155 East 29th Street beginning at 4:00 p.m.

The action was announced at a press conference at the Casa Nicaragua offices on Wednesday, March 23. It was attended by about 50 activists who participated in a discussion about the right-wing attacks against Nicaragua and what could be done in response in the United States.

Speaking at the news conference were Jan Perlin, Josefina Elizander, and José Velásquez, all of Casa Nicaragua. They denounced the attacks and pointed to the role of the Honduran and U.S. governments in arming, supporting, and encouraging the counterrevolutionary exile forces.

Perlin explained that the news conference had been called to get out the facts about what is going on in Nicaragua and to reiterate Casa Nicaragua's opposition to any U.S. intervention in Central America.

Elizander stressed that "the heavy weapon that Nicaragua has is solidarity. Do anything you can in favor of Nicaragua," she said. "Spread the information. Join with us in our demonstrations."

Casa Nicaragua held a picket on March 22, after the first news of the right-wing attacks arrived. Fifty people participated. The chants included, "USA, CIA out of Nicaragua."

In addition to the emergency protests, speakers at the news conference said that plans were under discussion for a larger protest in conjunction with other groups in the near future.

A picket line will also be held in San Francisco at noon on Friday, March 25, at the Federal Building.

## Nicaragua: An introduction to the Sandinista Revolution

A clearly written description of pre-revolutionary Nicaragua, the insurrection, the far-reaching social measures taken by the Sandinista government and the U.S. government's response.

48 pp., \$95. Add \$75 for postage. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

## Delegation of U.S. socialists in Grenada

ST. GEORGE'S — A delegation of members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance were on hand here March 12-19 for the fourth anniversary celebration of the Grenada revolution.

The March 13, 1979, revolution toppled the hated, U.S.-backed dictatorship of Eric Gairy. The new revolutionary government, led by the New Jewel Movement, has built a new people's army and militia, made big strides in health and education, launched economic development projects in the countryside and cities, and organized the workers and farmers to participate in running the government and economy.

It has also forged links with the workers and farmers of revolutionary Cuba and Nicaragua and expressed its solidarity with the freedom struggle in El Salvador and others throughout the world.

The delegation of U.S. socialists was composed of a steelworker, garment worker, two transit workers, construction worker, nurse, and city employee. It was headed up by two members of the SWP National Committee, Andrew Pulley and Steve Clark.

The fourth anniversary celebrations here turned into a massive popular repudiation of President Reagan's threats against Grenada in a March 10 speech. Rallies March 12 and 13 heard Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other government leaders explain the serious character of Reagan's charge that Grenada is a danger to U.S. national security, and of the U.S. military buildup in the Caribbean in recent weeks.

On March 13 the U.S. socialists hopped aboard open-air trucks, joining with Grenadians in an all-day motorcade around the entire island to demonstrate their determination to defend their revolution against imperialist aggression.

The U.S. delegation also visited the construction site of the international airport, being built with the help of Cuban workers, equipment, and technical assistance; toured several agricultural and agro-industrial development projects; met with leaders of the National Youth Organization, National Women's Organization, and New Jewel Movement; and attended a mass meeting of unions, councils, and popular organizations to hear a report on the 1983 budget and economic plan proposals.

Over their six-day stay, the socialists talked with scores of Grenadian workers and farmers. They also took advantage of the island's beautiful beaches.

Pulley had visited Grenada previously in July 1980 when he was the SWP candidate for president of the United States. He and Clark, editor of the socialist news magazine, *Intercontinental Press*, had met with and interviewed Prime Minister

Bishop. During Pulley's nationwide campaigning the following fall, he got out the truth about the gains he had seen in revolutionary Grenada.

Pulley and Clark were impressed with the progress made since their last visit. Two years ago, for example, the onerous legacy of imperialist exploitation and the neocolonial Gairy regime was still apparent in the 50 percent unemployment rate. Today, as a result of programs launched by the revolutionary government, joblessness has dropped to less than 12 percent.

Next March 13 will not only mark the fifth anniversary, but also completion of the new international airport, which will be a big boost to the island's important tourist industry. That celebration is already being publicized as the biggest ever.

Supporters of the Grenada revolution are well-advised to start saving their money now, so they can be part of that historic event.



On motorcade in Grenada. From left: Steve Clark, Cuban volunteer construction worker, Andrew Pulley.



# Marroquin: my fight for political asylum

Héctor Marroquín came to this country in 1974, fearing that his life was in danger at the hands of the Mexican police, who had falsely accused him of murder, armed robbery, and terrorism. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has refused to grant him political asylum because of his Marxist views.

He is now appealing to the Supreme Court to block a deportation order against him.

Marroquín is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

He explained his case in this talk, given at a recent rally in New York City held to protest the federal courts' attempt to disrupt the SWP.

It's been nine years since I was forced to leave my country and come to the United States to avoid being imprisoned, tortured, killed, or disappeared by the Mexican police.

Before I came here, while I was a student in Mexico, I was involved in a number of demonstrations and public meetings to defend democratic rights and fight for social change.

There were many other young people involved in these movements. Most of us were shocked by the tremendous social injustice, misery, and oppression that our country suffers, and which is common throughout Latin America.

We wanted to fight for better conditions for the great majority of our people.

The police didn't like this, so they went after a whole generation of political activists leading the trade union movement, peasant organizations, and student protests.

At that time I and many others were framed up by the police and accused of being dangerous subversives and terrorists.

I had a friend who was also politically active. He worked at the library in the school of economics that I was attending. On Jan. 17, 1974, he was assassinated.

The cops tried to claim that other leftists had killed him and that he might have been an informer. But all the activists I knew suspected the police had murdered him.

Later, when the revelations about the FBI's Cointelpro actions came out, I realized that the murder was either a provocation by the police or they had killed him outright.

Either way, they used it as a pretext. Two days later, the police accused me and four others of being suspects. They also accused us of being members of a supposed terrorist organization that didn't even exist.

So after talking with a lawyer — and knowing what the police do to political activists — I decided to come to this country.

## Frame-up continues

But the accusations against me did not stop even after I was in the United States. The Mexican police claimed I was par-

ticipating in shoot-outs and robberies.

They accused me of a robbery of a half million pesos — and this was before the last three devaluations of the peso. At the time, I was in a hospital in Texas recovering from a car accident in which I suffered a broken leg, fractured pelvis, and a punctured lung.

Meanwhile, the police killed two of those accused with me. Another was kidnapped and disappeared.

These are some of the reasons why I asked for political asylum in this country five years ago.

And for five years, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has been trying to deport me.

In the course of our battle with the INS we've proved beyond doubt that I was the victim of a political frame-up in Mexico. We've been able to gain the support of many individuals and organizations for my request for asylum.

Not only did we prove the falseness and outrageousness of the charges, we were also able to prove that the American FBI was operating in Mexico and involved in this victimization.

## FBI operations in Mexico

My FBI files were obtained through the Freedom of Information Act. One of the files goes back to 1968, when I was 15 years old. I was enrolled in high school in Mexico, not the United States. The FBI singled me out as a "procommunist" student and established a file on me.

In spite of all this, last month the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, to which we had appealed the INS's deportation order, rejected the appeal.

The Court of Appeals ruled that I had not met the "burden of proof" that I "would be subject to persecution if deported to Mexico."

They said I had "sought discovery procedures to attempt to prove that [my] probable prosecution for a street crime [was] in reality a persecution for political views." (Emphasis added.)

In other words, the court upheld the lies of the INS and the Mexican police.

But later on in the ruling, they contradict themselves, admitting that we proved I had been singled out by the police for my political activities. In relation to the FBI, they say:

Marroquín "alleged that FBI officials [in Mexico] had knowledge of and illegally participated in the persecution of political opponents of the Mexican Government."

It's been "determined" — they say — "that the FBI does have an interest in communist groups and individual communists."

"At the most" — they say — "the FBI reports could establish that Respondent Marroquín was politically active in Mexico."

That's true, but it establishes just as well that the FBI in conjunction with the Mexican police and the INS seek to brand political activists as "street criminals" to slander

and victimize them and get rid of them.

In fact, through a suit that we in the Socialist Workers Party filed against the FBI, CIA, and INS to expose their decades of political harassment, we were able to expose many of the illegal techniques they use against opponents of government policy.

## Proscribed?

We also learned, through this suit, that the INS is currently reviewing its files on the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance to determine whether we should be on their list of so-called "proscribed" organizations. That would mean that those of us who couldn't choose to be born in this land of freedom and democracy would be subject to deportation simply for membership in the SWP or YSA.

## Proscribed?

As if they could deport revolutionary ideas, as if they could "extradite" the future, the goals working people are fighting for! To "proscribe" the progress of humanity takes a bit more than deporting noncitizens; they would have to kick out the dozens of millions of workers in this country whose struggles are the source, the political inspiration of Marxism.

They may "proscribe" those fighting for the interests of the workers and oppressed, and may even "proscribe" countries and areas of the world, like they've done by imposing a travel ban on revolutionary Cuba, but they can't proscribe history.

The slave owners, before the second American revolutionary war (the Civil War), tried to deport abolitionist ideas. They did not succeed. Today, the slave owners are part of the dustbin of history.

All along, in its official statements, the INS has referred to me as an "alien." It makes me feel kind of funny, like I was another E.T. — one who doesn't want to go home.

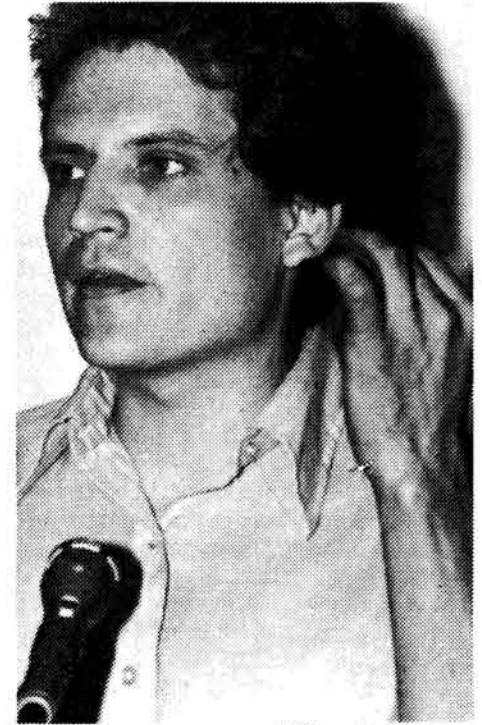
But I can confidently say that by having lived here nine years, most of my political life, I don't feel like an alien. In fact I feel part of the struggle of working people in the United States. And that's what's at the heart of this case.

## A common enemy

I'd like to make a statement as an immigrant, a statement in behalf of the undocumented workers living in this country under constant threat from the INS, a statement to all working people in this country and those fighting for political freedom and social progress.

We should not let the INS intimidate us, we should not let them divide us. We face a common enemy and our interests are the same. We should continue to strengthen our solidarity and unity in our fight against the bosses and their government.

Working people have no interest in fighting a war for big business. The bosses are day after day attacking us here at home. Their war against the Salvadoran people



Militant/Lou Howort

Héctor Marroquín

who are battling for the right to self-determination, for the right to build a new society, is not our war. And today more and more working people are coming to see this.

At the same time, Salvadoran refugees, like Salvadorans in their country, more and more understand that working people and the oppressed in this country are allies. We're all on the same side. Our mutual solidarity is crucial and indispensable to end U.S. intervention in Central America.

There is this growing consciousness in the U.S. and Central America of the need to face these attacks together, that the war on the rights and living standards of workers here and there is one and the same. It is this growing understanding that the government would like to stop.

That's why they are trying to pass reactionary legislation against immigrants today. That's why they're trying to send GIs to El Salvador.

That's why they set guidelines to give formal approval to and intensify the FBI's attacks on constitutional rights.

That's why the court has been harassing the SWP in Los Angeles.

That's why these attacks are coming down at the same time. It's not a coincidence.

That's why defending our democratic rights today, opposing deportations, opposing U.S. intervention in Central America, are all part of one and the same fight: the defense of the right of working people to organize independently and free from government harassment so as to best defend our interests.

I'll tell you something. In my nine years in the U.S., fighting for the right to political asylum, I can testify that a big change has occurred.

Today working people and the oppressed in this country are thinking out big political questions. There is a willingness to solidarize and unite. And the understanding of the old slogan "an injury to one is an injury to all" is deeper than ever.

It is with this inspiration in mind that we should redouble our efforts in defense of our political rights, our fight against FBI, CIA, INS, and other government victimizations.

## Defend Hector Marroquin

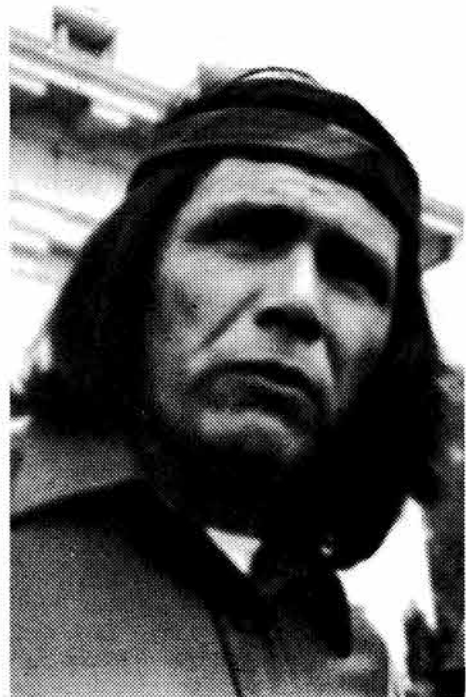
The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support for Héctor Marroquín's fight against deportation.

Messages supporting Marroquín's request for political asylum can be sent to:

Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536

Funds to support the case can be sent to: PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

# Dennis Banks seeks sanctuary in New York



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Dennis Banks

## BY MIKE FITZSIMMONS

SYRACUSE, N.Y. — Support is growing in the Syracuse area for American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Dennis Banks' fight against extradition to South Dakota.

Banks is wanted in South Dakota for sentencing on a conviction in 1975 of trumped-up assault and rioting charges. The charges stem from a confrontation between Indians and South Dakota authorities in Custer, where AIM leaders were trying to get civil rights hearings on the murder of Indian John Wesley Bad Heart Bull.

Banks has been on the Onondaga Indian Reservation near here since early January. He left California when recently elected Gov. George Deukmejian said he would extradite Banks to South Dakota. Threats by South Dakota officials underscore that Banks' life would be in danger if he were extradited.

The Dennis Banks Support Committee in Syracuse is organizing to educate the public about Banks' appeal for sanctuary in New York State. The committee is also getting endorsements for sanctuary from prominent public figures.

Already the local Catholic and Methodist bishops have encouraged New York Gov. Mario Cuomo to grant Banks sanctuary. Among the organizations that endorse the campaign for sanctuary are the Syracuse NAACP; Syracuse National Organization for an American Revolution; and Syracuse and New York Pax Christi, a peace organization of the Catholic church.

The February 20 Syracuse *Herald American* printed an opinion poll conducted among local residents. Of the 438 people who said they had formed an opinion on Banks' case, more than 2 out of 3 supported sanctuary and almost two-thirds felt Banks' life might be in danger in a South Dakota prison.

Activists in several states have been petitioning to present signatures to Cuomo supporting sanctuary.

Messages of support for Banks should be sent to Gov. Mario Cuomo, State Capitol Building, Albany, N.Y. 12224. For more information, write the Dennis Banks Support Committee, 924 Burnet Ave., Syracuse, N.Y. 13203. Telephone: (315) 472-5478.



# SWP case demands 'continued vigilance'

The following are excerpts from statements received by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) protesting the violation of constitutional rights in the trial of the Socialist Workers Party.

## Dean Kimmith

editor of the *Lansing, Michigan Star*

The demands Gelfand unsuccessfully attempted to make (including reinstatement in the party and the removal of the alleged agents from the SWP leadership) by their mere airing in the capitalist courts is sufficient cause for continued vigilance. I remain unconvinced by the claims of Gelfand's political allies that the relief he requested did not, in fact, threaten us all.

I don't consider it alarmist at all to consider a scenario where an embittered reporter for the *Lansing Star* might run off to the courts demanding that his stories be run or that I be removed from my position, based on a wild charge that the paper had become some sort of "arm" of the U.S. government. Merely meeting the legal expenses in such a bogus case would be enough to effectively put us out of business.

## Earl Keihl

director, District 4, United Furniture Workers, Baltimore

I strongly protest the decision by the federal courts to bring the case of *Gelfand v. Smith* to trial. Although the Socialist Workers Party is the immediate target of this suit, the impact will be felt by all those who want to exercise their right to free association.

The federal courts are claiming the authority to take away the most basic rights of a free organization. They are claiming the right to intervene in it, change its membership, change its leadership and change its policies.

The reason, of course, is not because the courts want to insure the success of the de-

fendants, who strongly criticize government policy. The implication is that anyone who wants to change government policy, or fight for social justice, needs the approval of the courts. This poses a particular problem for trade unionists who have consistently been in the forefront of social justice struggles.

## Benjamin Ramos

president, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Philadelphia

On behalf of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in Philadelphia, receive our revolutionary solidarity at a time when all working people are under constant attacks.

This is a time when millions of people can not find a job and shops are closing and/or moving, a time when schools are closing and racial tension prevails. There is no better time to unite and struggle. Civil rights violations are part of the offensive launched by the ruling class. In your particular case, when the government openly through the courts, the FBI, and the CIA attempts to crush those who struggle for social justice and change, we must keep in mind that this is part of the every-day oppression.

These tactics are being used with the Puerto Rican movement. Our determination, as well as yours, is to continue the struggle until victory.

## Jack McKinney

vice-president, Local 10, Newspaper Guild, and columnist for the *Philadelphia Daily News*

As a journalist, I am especially sensitive to moves by the U.S. government to suppress both the free dissemination of alternative points of view and the efforts to organize around those points of view.

Not coincidentally, we share some of those points of view.

Together we are partisans of the struggle

for a free and united Ireland, for the socialist republic envisioned by Connelly and Pearse.

We support self-determination for the Nicaraguan people, whose heroic and victorious struggle has inspired their brothers and sisters of El Salvador to take decisive steps towards their own liberation.

Finally, we recognize the connections between the current legal attacks against you and all other believers in democratic rights and the relentless pursuit of counter-revolution by the U.S. government and its allies in British-occupied Ireland, Latin America, and elsewhere.

Recognizing all this, I cannot but add my voice to the outcry against the present court assault against the Socialist Workers Party. It represents nothing less than the latest attempt to subvert the freedoms Americans have fought for, won, and codified in the Bill of Rights.

## Greater Houston American Civil Liberties Union

Judge Pfaelzer's refusal to dismiss *Gelfand v. Smith*, shows her apparent disregard of established limits to governmental monitoring of political groups.

The ACLU of Houston supports the Political Rights Defense Fund in its effort to keep this threat from becoming a dangerous precedent allowing judicial usurpation of the United States Constitution.

## Saratoga, New York, National Organization for Women

We of Saratoga NOW take the position that the allegations put forth by Mr. Gelfand are an insult to the intelligence of the U.S. District Court in which they are taking place. The courts have no business intruding into the internal affairs of a private organization, and this seems to be just one more step by the government to infiltrate into arenas where they presently have no control.

## Rev. Paul Mayer

Religious Task Force, Mobilization for Survival

At a time of growing militarism and economic injustice accompanied by the growth of official and unofficial right-wing activity, freedom of action of social-change and protest groups must be protected. These groups represent the voice of freedom, peace, and justice, which must be free to speak out and be heard during these dangerous times. Be assured of our solidarity and support during this struggle.

## Alice Green

assistant director of the American Civil Liberties Union of New York state

Judge Mariana Pfaelzer has ignored the Bill of Rights and through her action seeks to destroy not only the Socialist Workers Party, but all other political organizations that have the courage to work for just changes in our society.

I support your efforts against this outrageous attack on freedom.

## Prof. Bertell Ollman

New York University

This case threatens to establish the precedent of government interference in any political organization, from the NAACP to the National Organization for Women to the Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador.

Gelfand's claim that the Socialist Workers Party has been "taken over" by agents of the FBI and CIA flies in the face of the activities of the SWP.

In particular, the SWP has been in the forefront of efforts to halt government spying and disruption through its suit against the Attorney General, which has dramatically exposed FBI crimes and helped defend the political rights of all groups and individuals.

## Hollywood Ten victim calls for united front

BY ARNOLD WEISSBERG

SAN FRANCISCO — The Political Rights Defense Fund sponsored a "Solidarity Rally in Defense of the Bill of Rights" here March 19.

One of the speakers was Lester Cole. One of the Hollywood Ten jailed during the 1950s for opposing the McCarthyite witchhunt, Cole is a contributor to the West Coast weekly, the *People's World*.

He told the rally of the year he had served for his defense of the First Amendment and said he saw a new rise of McCarthyism.

"We have to ask ourselves where we are going," Cole said. "We have a common stake for a united front — Communists, the Socialist Workers Party, Democratic Socialists."

Other speakers included, Ed Jones, an organizer for the Glaziers union, which is working to organize the Atari workers; Walter Johnson, president of Department Store Employees Local 1100; Janet Gibson of the Grenada Solidarity Committee; Gretchen Mackler of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; Joe Lattore of the Cuba Resource Group; Tita Caldwell of the Guatemala News and Information Bureau; Alicia Muñoz of the Young Socialist Alliance and Barry Sheppard of the SWP.



Lester Cole

Militant/Tom Kirkpatrick

## SWP presses fight against harassment suit

Continued from front page

fand's principal lawyer at the trial said that he and the whole Fisher and Moest firm were "civil rights" attorneys. Just what kind of "civil rights" firm this outfit is became clear at the March 21 hearing when Moest explained to the judge his scheduling problems.

Moest said he had to appear soon in a New York court in defense of the "rights" of Rev. Sun Myung Moon, the notorious ultrarightist leader of the so-called Unification Church. Moon's "church" has links to the South Korean CIA. The "Moonies" pride themselves on their anticommunism and have been involved in physical attacks against demonstrations protesting the U.S. war in El Salvador.

Fisher and Moest have their posh offices in a swank complex in the Century City section of Los Angeles.

Their complicity in the Gelfand disruption effort has been further revealed since the trial.

The Fisher and Moest firm has been putting pressure on supporters of the fight against this kind of court harassment not to speak at protest rallies organized by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF).

At a PRDF rally in New York March 11 a leaflet was distributed by Gelfand's supporters. It concluded by urging that those interested in "more information," write "Robert C. Moest, Fisher and Moest, Attorneys for Plaintiff," and gave the firm's address and telephone number in Los Angeles.

This leaflet was published by a group called the Workers League. This group is the U.S. branch of the British Revolutionary Workers Party whose central activity for years has been carrying out a slander campaign against the SWP. During the course of the case Gelfand admitted that his legal costs — amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars — were being raised by the Workers League.

At the March 21 hearing Judge Pfaelzer proposed that the attorneys for the SWP document this connection to show who was behind the Gelfand suit.

The Gelfand suit provided an opening

for the government, using the courts, to facilitate the harassment and disruption of the SWP. It also provided the government with the opportunity to assert it had the right, through the courts, to review questions of membership and internal procedures in a working-class organization like the SWP.

This represents a danger to not only the SWP and other socialist parties but also to unions, Black rights organizations, women's groups and others who seek to organize opposition to policies of the employers or the government. That is why many organizations and individuals have joined in this fight against the threat to the basic constitutional right of freedom of association embodied in the Gelfand suit.

The use of the courts in this manner to attack organizations defending working people and the oppressed is not new, of course. Frame-ups, court injunctions against strikes, bogus suits to bleed groups like the NAACP — these and other devices have been used many times by the ruling class.

One such case that helps illustrate aspects of the fight against the Gelfand suit occurred in 1938. The target was Local 544 of the Teamsters in Minneapolis.

Beginning in 1934 truckdrivers in Minneapolis waged a series of battles that spearheaded the transformation of Minneapolis from an open shop bosses' paradise into a union town. Local 544, built along the lines of class-struggle principles in the course of this fight, was the bastion of the Minneapolis labor movement. It was the base from which the Teamsters union went on to organize the over-the-road drivers and become one of the most powerful unions in the country.

In 1938 the conspiracy of the employers in Minneapolis resulted in a lawsuit brought by five members of Local 544 who had been infiltrated into it by a company union. The suit aimed to cripple and disrupt the union, to remove its militant leadership including members of the SWP. This suit was part of a pattern of court actions against the Minneapolis Teamsters that culminated three years later in the first

trial under the thought-control Smith Act. The 1941 Smith Act trial resulted in the imprisonment of leaders of Local 544 and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party.

## The Fink suit

At the time of the 1938 suit the labor movement came to Local 544's defense. The case became known as the "fink suit" and the trial resulted in a victory for the union. At one meeting of the local Vincent (Ray) Dunne, a leader of the union as well as a leader of the SWP, explained the questions involved.

Farrell Dobbs described the meeting in his book, *Teamster Bureaucracy*.

"At that juncture a membership meeting of Local 544 was devoted to a special report on the suit. Ray Dunne recounted up-to-the-minute developments, concluding with some observations about basic issues at stake. The fight was not being made, he stressed, to vindicate a few union officers. It was a matter of defending labor's right to regulate its own internal affairs, of preventing finks and stool pigeons from working with ambulance chasers to disrupt trade unions."

The basic issue in the Gelfand fink suit is the same, and the point made by Dunne that finks have to team up with lawyers to pull off such a suit is also appropriate. But in 1938 Local 544 wasn't in the position to go after the finks and their lawyers. In the Gelfand case all supporters of democratic rights have just that opportunity.

Just as Dunne pointed out, concerning that earlier suit, the fight is not being made today to vindicate a few leaders of the SWP but in defense of the right of all organizations of working people and the oppressed to regulate their own affairs free of government interference.

The new stage of this fight to organize to penalize Gelfand and his lawyers has importance for every progressive organization and all who believe in democratic rights. Specifically, winning this new round will help discourage any future Gelfands and their legal co-conspirators from using the courts to attack anyone's rights in this manner again.





James Lafferty

# Rally in Detroit hears from auto unionists, rights fighters

BY SUSAN EPSTEIN

DETROIT — A broad array of speakers participated in a rally here March 11 protesting the use of the courts to curb the First Amendment rights of a political party.

The meeting, held at the Central Methodist Church, was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund to oppose the use of a federal court in Los Angeles to victimize the Socialist Workers Party.

Nearly \$4,000 was pledged or contributed toward PRDF's \$75,000 emergency fund.

Speakers included Horace Sheffield, president of the Detroit Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, who has been active for decades in the United Auto Workers union and civil rights movement; Chris Alston,

one of the early organizers of the UAW; civil liberties attorney James Lafferty; Robert F. Williams, veteran Black liberation fighter; Russ Ballant, editor of the Wayne State University campus paper, *South End*; Maureen Sheehan of the Detroit Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador; Dean Kimmuth, editor of the *Lansing Star*; and representatives of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Sheffield told the meeting, "I came to give personal witness to my belief that we have to stand up and fight."

Scoring the Los Angeles suit against the SWP, he declared, "I'm concerned that any judge should feel that they have the authority to regulate the internal affairs of any or-

ganization."

Chris Alston recalled the conviction of SWP leaders under the Smith "gag" Act on the eve of World War II.

"I was an officer of Packard Local 190 [of the UAW], and I tried to get some petitions to help them out, although I was not a member of their organization," he said.

"Some of my contemporaries told me, 'Don't do that. You're not a member of their organization!'"

"My position then, four decades ago," he explained, "was that if they put them in jail, they'll be putting you in jail later on too. Then came the Smith Act trials [following World War II] and some of them were put in jail."

Robert F. Williams described some of the contents of his FBI files which he recently succeeded in obtaining under the Freedom of Information Act.

In 1961 Williams was falsely charged with kidnapping while organizing the Black community in Monroe, N.C., against armed attacks by the KKK.

His 32-volume FBI file, Williams said, focused on the fact that he was a Black nationalist.

He described the files as asserting that the FBI did not want it to appear "that we are depriving a Black militant of his free speech rights."

Williams commented, "But then right in there they caution that only the most seasoned agents should be assigned to my case. They should cautiously approach the universities and campuses to keep me from speaking because I was not the type of person that should be speaking to young people."

Attorney James Lafferty said, "It's truly ludicrous to suggest that a court of the United States should sit in judgment on who is and who isn't a proper Marxist."

Scoring those who initiated the suit against the SWP, Lafferty said, "Imagine the absurdity of antiwar activists during the Vietnam War looking to the Pentagon to resolve differences among them."

"This case tells us something about people who would use such a forum to make that kind of decision," he declared.

## Phoenix PRDF hears miner, trucker

BY ANDY ENGLISH

PHOENIX — Defending working people's right to organize freely was the theme at a March 12 rally organized here by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). Over 60 people attended the rally held at Covenant Presbyterian Church, which heard a first-hand report from PRDF Executive Director John Studer on the trial of the Socialist Workers Party that had just concluded in Los Angeles.

Chairing the rally was Victor Aronow, a member of the National Lawyers Guild and a prominent supporter of civil liberties. He opened the rally by announcing that the judge had ruled in favor of the SWP.

Among the evening's highlights were remarks by James Lannan, a laid-off copper miner who organized a rally for jobs in Globe, Arizona, and comments by Bill Oesterhoudt, a leader of the independent trucker's strike in Arizona.

"Justice is not a favor that government grants its people," Lannan declared. "How else are you going to have a democratic government if the people can't assemble and speak as an assembly to the government? With regard to the present case, how in the hell can you have free assembly if someone from outside determines your membership?"

Lannan ended by saying, "I'd like to congratulate you and thank you for defending my rights as well. But there should have been no need for this struggle."

Referring to the government's attempts to break the trucker's strike, Oesterhoudt told the audience, "My phone was tapped. At every rally several of their people were there trying to disrupt. In one week, I was called a socialist, a communist, a conservative, a fascist, a revolutionary, and had my life threatened 17 times. Not bad for the average week."

Oesterhoudt stressed, "Our political

rights are being attacked from every angle, in every aspect of our society."

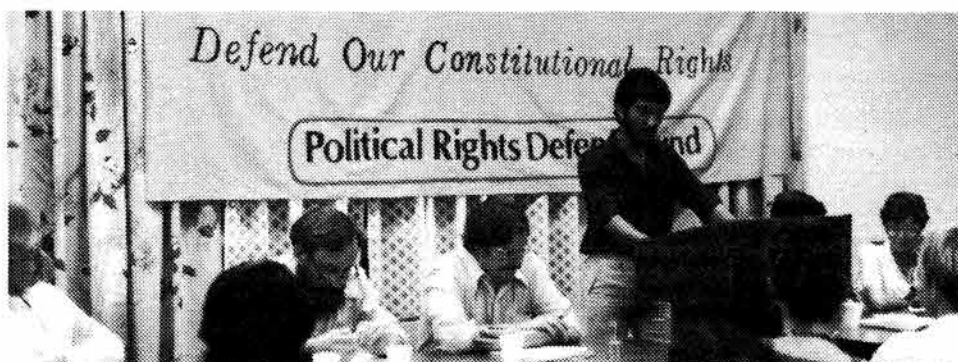
"We are working people — whatever aspect of this economy we work in — we are together, our plight is not dissimilar. Regardless of our political beliefs, we are working people and that is why we must stand together, period."

Also prominent among the speakers at the Phoenix rally was Hamid Sodeifi, an Iranian student who is being threatened with deportation by the government because of his membership in the Young So-

cialist Alliance.

Don McTaggart, a professor at Arizona State University and an activist in the Central America solidarity movement, congratulated PRDF on the ruling won in the Los Angeles trial.

Statements of support were also read from Gustavo Gutiérrez, Chicano activist; the Tri-City chapter of National Organization for Women; Louis Rhodes, Director of the Arizona Civil Liberties Union; and Alan Schultz, conductor of the Southern Arizona Symphony Orchestra.



Militant/Bill Natkin

Hamid Sodeifi, who faces deportation for socialist views, addressing Phoenix rally.

## \$30,000 received so far in emergency fund

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — The Political Rights Defense Fund reports good prospects for completing and exceeding its emergency fund goal. The committee is working to raise more than \$75,000 by May 1.

As of March 23, \$30,000 had been collected. A total of about \$65,000 has been pledged so far.

The emergency fund was launched in late February to help defray the most immediate costs of the court proceedings in the Gelfand harassment suit against the Socialist Workers Party. Actual expenses in the case significantly exceed \$75,000.

Moreover, the case is not over. As the article by Barry Sheppard in this issue of the *Militant* explains, PRDF will be pursuing the fight. While the judge has ruled that Gelfand must pay the attorneys fees and court costs incurred by the SWP in defending itself, actually collecting anything from Gelfand and his lawyers will require further legal action. This aspect of the fight is important in discouraging such harassment suits in the future.

In addition, the trial has drained resources away from other important cases PRDF is handling.

The most immediately urgent of these is the Supreme Court brief now being prepared in the case of Héctor Marroquín. A political refugee from Mexico, Marroquín has been denied asylum here and ordered deported because of his Marxist beliefs.

The committee is also fighting a deportation order against Hamid Sodeifi, an Iranian student who is being victimized because of his membership in the Young Socialist Alliance.

The defense committee has also undertaken the costly legal damage suit against the powerful Lockheed-Georgia Corp.

which fired 14 unionists on the basis of association with the SWP.

Much of the PRDF's emergency fund has been raised at a nationwide series of rallies which began in late February, with a number still to be held. (See listing this page.)

In Albany, New York, the Political Rights Defense Fund cosponsored a rally March 12 with the Social Responsibilities Council of the First Unitarian Church.

Despite the snowstorm that gripped the area, more than 40 people turned out and pledged more than \$1,500 to the emergency fund.

A meeting of 25 in the coal mining area of Morgantown, West Virginia, responded with pledges totalling \$2,250.

In Detroit, 65 people contributed and pledged nearly \$4,000.

The PRDF reports that the response to national mail appeals and ads have been exceptionally good, with \$10,500 received so far and contributions still coming in.

The wonderful response to the committee's fund appeal confirms that there is wide recognition that the suit against the SWP constitutes a very real threat to democratic rights.

That recognition has also been registered in the unusual breadth of endorsements by organizations and individuals, as well as the many prominent figures who have been speaking at the PRDF rallies.

Holbrook Mahn, PRDF's national coordinator, said that while the money raised so far has helped to relieve some of the acute financial pressure on the committee, there is still an urgent need for funds.

While confident that the \$75,000 goal will be surpassed, he stressed that the committee's key need now is to collect the outstanding pledges, and to do so as quickly as possible.

Meanwhile, if you haven't yet made a contribution, do it today. Simply clip and mail the coupon on this page.

### PRDF rallies

LOUISVILLE — Friday, March 25, 7 p.m. Manly Community Center, 7th and Kentucky.

DALLAS — Saturday, March 26, 7 p.m. Martin Luther King Center Library, 2922 M.L.K. Blvd.

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL — Saturday, March 26; refreshments 6 p.m., dinner 7 p.m., rally 8 p.m. St. Paul Labor Center, 411 Main St., St. Paul.

BIRMINGHAM — Sunday, March 27, 7 p.m. 205 18th St. S.

CINCINNATI — Sunday, March 27, 4 p.m. Union Terminal Auditorium.

NEWPORT NEWS — Sunday, March 27; reception 5 p.m., rally 6 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave.

MIAMI — Thursday, March 31, 7:30 p.m. Joseph Caleb Center, 5400 NW 22nd Ave.

## PRDF \$75,000 Emergency Defense Fund

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send contributions to PRDF, P.O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.



# Iran still battling imperialism 4 years after overthrow of shah

BY ERNEST HARSCH

On February 11, the people of Iran celebrated the fourth anniversary of their massive insurrection in 1979 that toppled the shah and his hated dictatorship.

In Tehran, several hundred thousand Iranians marched through the streets of the capital and rallied outside the gates of the former U.S. embassy, which has come to symbolize the decades of imperialist domination that the Iranian workers and peasants have had to suffer and against which they are still fighting.

Expressing their deep hatred of Washington's policies toward Iran, they burned a U.S. flag and shouted anti-imperialist slogans. And in response to the Iraqi regime's counterrevolutionary war against Iran, the demonstrators called for the overthrow of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and urged the Iranian government to pursue the war against the invaders.

The 10 days preceding the anniversary



were marked by numerous processions, meetings, and rallies organized in support of the revolution. Guests from other countries in the Middle East and North Africa and from a number of liberation movements attended the ceremonies, including Abu Saleh, a leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Although the February 11 action was not as large as previous anniversary demonstrations, it nevertheless reflected continued popular support for the revolution. Entering the fifth year of the revolution, the workers and peasants and their allies are still trying to find ways to push the revolutionary process forward in their interests, despite the many obstacles and difficulties they face.

This massive support for the revolution has even been acknowledged by an unlikely source: the big-business press in the United States. In a report in the November 14 *New York Times*, for example, R. W. Apple, one of the few U.S. journalists who have recently visited Iran, found that "those committed to the revolution" encompass "a majority of Iran's 38 million people, without doubt."

## A popular revolution

Beginning in early 1978, the Iranian people — workers, students, women, farmers, the unemployed, members of the oppressed nationalities — poured into the streets of cities and towns across the country to demand the ouster of the U.S.-backed dictator, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. Tens of thousands fell before the bullets of the shah's police and troops. Yet still they came out.

This revolutionary upheaval, unprecedented in the history of the Middle East, touched virtually all sectors of the Iranian population. But it was the Iranian workers who provided the backbone of the upsurge.

As the mobilizations continued, the working class came more and more to the fore. In October 1978, tens of thousands of workers began downing their tools in workplaces throughout Iran, a movement that soon developed into a general strike against the shah. The oil workers played a particularly key role, and by the last weeks of the shah's rule had taken over the oil fields and refineries and controlled them through workers committees.

In February 1979, shortly after the shah fled Iran, a massive popular insurrection overthrew the monarchy. Workers seized some key installations and communica-

tions centers and used them to help organize the uprising. Popular committees arose spontaneously and took over the maintenance of public services and helped direct the arming of the population. Many rank-and-file soldiers went over to the side of the revolution.

The overthrow of the dictatorship and the abolition of the hated SAVAK secret police soon inspired all the oppressed and exploited of Iran to raise their many pressing social, economic, and political demands — and to take action to try to attain them. Workers fought for higher wages and control over the factories abandoned by the shah's fleeing supporters. Soldiers in Tehran and a few other areas started electing their officers. Poor peasants seized the land of many large landowners. The oppressed nationalities (Kurds, Arabs, Azerbaijanis, Turkmenis) pressed for their national rights.

This revolution was profoundly anti-im-

## Iranian revolution today Part I

perialist. The Iranian masses demanded an end to all vestiges of imperialist domination over their country, particularly that of the "Great Satan" — U.S. imperialism.

### Inspiration to oppressed

The Iranian revolution also changed the face of politics throughout the region. It destroyed one of Washington's most powerful client regimes in the Middle East and provided an inspiration to the oppressed masses of other countries.

In many respects, the revolution that overthrew the shah's tyranny was similar to the one that toppled the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua that same year. But there was one crucial difference. Unlike in Nicaragua, the working people of Iran did not have a leadership like the Sandinista National Liberation Front that was rooted in the masses and that could lead the workers and peasants to take political power in their own hands.

Thus while the shah had been overthrown and many individual capitalists and landlords had fled, the ruling classes were able to retain a shaky hold on power.

A new regime headed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini took over. Khomeini enjoyed a tremendous popular following because of his staunch opposition to the shah's rule, but his government was a capitalist one.

This government sought to represent the interests of the capitalists and landlords. To that end, its general aim was to disarm the masses, slow down and halt the revolutionary mobilizations, and reforge some ties with imperialism.

But it found itself in an extremely contradictory situation. It had been thrown up by the revolution and derived its political authority from the revolution. Its attempts to impose capitalist stability ran directly counter to the demands the working masses were raising. Not only was the Khomeini regime unable to push the masses back, but the continuing mobilizations forced it to make repeated concessions, or lose its base and authority.

Moreover, Prime Minister Mehdi Bazar-gan and other figures most closely identified with the capitalists were driven out of the government within the first year of the revolution, in the wake of the occupation of the U.S. embassy. Later, President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr was removed in the course of the war against the imperialist-backed Iraqi invasion. The interests of the capitalists, merchants, and landlords are

being represented more and more in the government by Iran's clerical strata.

### Imperialists back Iraqi invasion

Washington and the other imperialist powers hate the Iranian revolution. They fear the powerful class forces of the workers and peasants that have been unleashed and the prospect of a further extension of the revolution, both within Iran and beyond its borders.

The imperialists are also opposed to the Khomeini government. Given its origin in the revolution, they have no confidence in its ability to rein in the Iranian masses and they see it as an obstacle to crushing the revolution. As part of their attacks against the Iranian revolution itself, they have been seeking to overthrow the Khomeini regime.

Washington imposed an economic blockade on Iran following the occupation of the U.S. embassy in Tehran in late 1979. It sponsored several abortive coup attempts. In April 1980 the Carter administration sent in a U.S. military force under the guise of seeking to rescue the U.S. embassy hostages. Its aim was to link up with proimperialist forces in Iran and overthrow the government. Like the other attempts, it failed.

Then, in September 1980, the imperialists launched their most serious attack on the revolution yet. They gave a go-ahead to the Iraqi regime to invade.

Saddam Hussein, who also feared the example of the Iranian revolution, sent tens of thousands of troops across the border and carried out massive bombing raids on major Iranian cities. The Iraqi troops managed to occupy thousands of square miles of Iranian territory and inflict widespread death and destruction in the western oil-producing regions.

Washington sent a naval task force to the Persian Gulf area in a show of support for the Iraqi invaders. The proimperialist regime in Saudi Arabia gave Saddam Hussein hundreds of millions of dollars in aid.

As the war continued, the Kuwaiti, Egyptian, Sudanese, and Jordanian regimes also provided money and arms — and even some troops — to Hussein.

In launching the invasion, Hussein and the imperialists hoped to take advantage of the domestic turmoil in Iran and the disorganization within the Iranian army to strike a massive blow that would bring down the Khomeini regime. But they underestimated the response of the Iranian masses.

Following the Iraqi troops' initial ad-



Left, Iranian children seek shelter from courageous Iraqi war against Iran as maj-

vances, the invasion bogged down and the military situation remained stalemated for nearly a year. Then in late 1981 the tide began to turn in Iran's favor.

Through a series of major offensives, the Iranian forces were able to push the Iraqi troops out of most of Iran and even drive across the border into Iraq itself. Large numbers of Iraqi troops surrendered, reflecting the growing demoralization of the Iraqi army. According to the International Red Cross, Iran now holds 45,000 Iraqi prisoners of war — seven times the number of Iranians held by Iraq.

A key role in this success has been played by the various mass organizations, which have mobilized the population as a whole behind the war effort.

Above all, it has been the Baseej-e Mustazafin (Mobilization Corps of the Oppressed) that has borne the brunt of the fighting. An all-volunteer force, it has recruited workers and youths from the cities, towns, and villages throughout Iran to fight at the front. Thus far, it has provided military training to some 2.5 million Iranians.

Altogether, more than 400,000 Iranians have served at the front at one time or another.

### Iraq still aggressor

Following the entry of Iranian troops into some border areas of Iraq, the imperialists raised a loud howl of alarm, charging that Iran was the aggressor.

But for the Iranian people, the war remains a defensive one. Although much of the Iranian territory previously held by the Iraqi forces has been liberated, Iraq still occupies some 350 square miles of Iran. Iraqi jets continue to bomb Iranian towns and villages and Iraqi artillery units frequently

## Iranian revolutionary Babak Zahraie h

Iranian revolutionary Babak Zahraie was called to Tehran's Evin Prison January 17 for questioning by the prosecutor's office. He was placed under arrest there and has been held ever since. He has been denied the right to receive visitors. No charges have been made public.

Zahraie, a central leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) of Iran, spent years in exile during the tyrannical rule of the shah. Living in the United States, Zahraie was active in the anti-shah student movement and in the movement against the Vietnam War. Because of these activities, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) attempted to deport him back to Iran in the early 1970s.

Zahraie and his supporters successfully exposed the deportation move as a conspiracy between the U.S. government and the shah's secret police, SAVAK. Protests by opponents of U.S. support to the shah, anti-Vietnam War activists, Blacks, and others forced the INS to withdraw its deportation proceedings.

Zahraie went on to help found and lead the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), which helped win the release of religious figures, writers, and other political prisoners in the shah's jails, including Ayatollah Hussein



Babak Zahraie

Ali Montazeri and Hojatolislam Hashemi Rafsanjani. CAIFI also exposed the U.S. role in training SAVAK torturers and propping up the repressive regime of the shah. It denounced attempts to restrict the political activities of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini when he was living in exile in France.

In early 1979, Zahraie returned to Iran and participated in the insurrection that toppled the monarchy. Since that time he has been active in helping advance the revolution and in defending the Islamic Republic from imperialist attack. He and his party, the HKE, have supported and par-





**i bombardment. U.S. imperialists have en-**  
**art of drive to crush revolution.**



re rockets across the border.

In an effort to cover up this continued aggression, Hussein has claimed that his troops are carrying out a "voluntary" withdrawal from Iran and has repeatedly called for a cease-fire.

Answering this propaganda ploy, the Iranian mission to the United Nations stated in February, "The Iraqi regime has roven with its unfounded claims of voluntary withdrawal, and its savage bombardment of civilian targets after each military defeat, that its call for peace cannot be seriously considered because such a regime will only use peace for re-organization of its armed forces, leading to another sudden aggression. The only alternative to the Muslim people of Iran and their combatants on the warfronts is to make the regime heed their legitimate demands through military victories and by inflicting losses upon the army of aggression."

As the war drags on, the imperialists have been increasing their direct backing to the Saddam Hussein regime. In December, the French government sold Hussein some \$2 billion worth of arms, according to the Iraqi regime. In mid-February, French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson stopped off in Baghdad to assure Hussein of Paris' continued backing.

This has been coupled with threatening U.S. military maneuvers in the region. In early December, for example, some 2,500 U.S. Marines carried out military exercises in Oman, just across the Gulf of Oman from Iran.

#### Assassinations and bombings

In addition to the attacks against their revolution from without, the Iranian masses have had to contend with terrorist ac-

## ld in Evin Prison

icipated in the mobilizations against the invasion of Iran by Iraq. He served as editor of *Kargar*, a socialist newspaper put out by the HKE, until it was banned in 1982.

HKE members Bahram Atai, Mohammed Falsafi, and Sohaila Farhangi are also being held in Evin Prison.

Shanaz Dilmaghani, an HKE member arrested in the fall of 1982, was freed March 15.

Supporters of the Iranian revolution are urged to send messages calling for Zahraie's release. Such messages should request:

"As a supporter of the Iranian revolution and an opponent of U.S. imperialist attacks against that revolution, I urge you to free anti-imperialist fighter Babak Zahraie, currently held in Evin Prison.

"His continued imprisonment — based on no crime against the revolution — can only harm the just struggle of the Iranian people."

Messages should be sent to the committee recently established by Ayatollah Khomeini to investigate violations of constitutional rights:

Seta'd Peygiri, Karimkhan Ave., Iran-shahr, Tehran, Iran.

Copies should be sent to the *Militant*.

tions within Iran carried out by imperialist agents and a variety of monarchist, bourgeois, and petty-bourgeois groups opposed to the revolution. These include the People's Mujahadeen Organization, which announced that it was "launching war" against the regime in June 1981; it has claimed credit for many of the attacks, and has repudiated or condemned none.

Hundreds of Revolutionary Guards and government officials — including a prime minister and president — have been killed in these counterrevolutionary attacks. But the attacks have also claimed the lives of many ordinary working people.

Some of the most devastating bombings have taken place in crowded marketplaces, railway stations, and the working-class neighborhoods, such as those in south Tehran. In October 1982, for example, a powerful bomb ripped through Imam Khomeini Square in Tehran, killing more than 60 people and injuring some 700. The victims included children, elderly people, and many workers.

Increasingly, those carrying out these counterrevolutionary actions are lining up with the Iraqi regime's own attacks against the revolution. Some of the monarchist and bourgeois forces have had bases in Iraq for several years. And now the People's Mujahadeen — who originally had a position on paper in opposition to the Iraqi invasion — is seeking closer ties with Saddam Hussein as well.

On January 9, People's Mujahadeen leader Massoud Rajavi met in Paris for four hours with Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tareq Aziz. Without giving any details of their talks, Rajavi characterized the meeting as "an important political turning point on the regional level and for the world in relation to the Iran-Iraq war." He chimed in with the Iraqi propaganda machine, deploring what he called the Iranian regime's attacks on "civilians and the defenseless people of the Iraqi cities."

#### Masses mobilize for defense

For the Iranian workers and peasants, the war remains the central political question. They know that a defeat for Iran would spell the end of their revolution, and that a victory would make it easier for them to advance it.

Thus, support for the war effort remains high.

On one day alone, February 3, Iranian newspapers reported donations to the war effort from Islamic *anjomans* (societies) in a number of major Tehran factories:

- At the Iran National auto factory, workers donated 4,859,226 rials [81 rials = US\$1].

- Those at the Cheat-e Ray fabric plant gave 21,413,413 rials.

- The Islamic anjoman of the Pars-Khudro auto plant collected 39,601,705 rials in contributions. The same plant has sent 175 volunteers to the warfront, and another 1,000 to help behind the lines and in the reconstruction efforts in the war zones.

- Workers of the Naz vegetable oil factory donated 1,237,316 rials. Thirty of them have volunteered to fight at the front.

The continuation of the war with Iraq

has served to deepen even further the anti-imperialist sentiment of the Iranian masses.

*New York Times* reporter Apple described this sentiment in the November 14 issue:

"Three years after the seizure of the American embassy, an act that led to 444 days of captivity for a group of United States diplomats and soldiers, Iran appears, on the surface at least, more resolutely anti-American than ever. The four American reporters in the group of visitors were greeted everywhere with condemnations of American imperialism.

"At a military cemetery, inside the notorious Evin prison, at the war front and outside the embassy itself, there were chants of 'Death to America!' Signs in Teheran and Dizful, and conspicuously on the facade of the airport terminal at Shiraz, made the same point. The Oil Minister, Mohammed Gharazi, welcomed the Americans to a news conference with a furious 20-minute harangue against the United States, delivered with a baleful squint and not the slightest sign of flexibility."

#### Iranian foreign policy

Since the revolution, representatives of Iran have been attending a wide variety of international conferences, and meeting with officials from many different governments. They have been taking positions on most major international questions.

The immense hatred of the Iranian masses for U.S. imperialism has been a key factor in shaping the Iranian government's foreign policy.

According to a review of the Iranian revolution issued in February by the Iranian mission to the United Nations:

"In its external relations, during the past year, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has expanded diplomatic relations with a number of progressive countries in Africa and Latin America. After the triumph of the Islamic Revolution, the external relations of Iran had to be revised because they were based upon a set of norms and understandings that had become irrelevant. . . . The ideological basis of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy became the struggle against imperialism and Zionism and that of assisting the oppressed peoples of the world to join this struggle."

This side of Iran's foreign policy has been particularly evident around Central America. The Iranian government has officially recognized the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) as the legitimate representatives of the Salvadoran people, and has sharply condemned U.S. imperialism's intervention in the region.

Addressing a meeting of foreign ministers of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries in Managua, Nicaragua, January 13, Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati declared:

"We have always supported Nicaragua against the conspiracies of the Great Satan for exerting pressure on and suppressing the Revolution here. Besides, with due regard to our friendly relations with Cuba, we support the anti-imperialist policies of

that country against the Great Satan and condemn the measures taken by America against that country. . . .

"In connection with the crisis in the Malvinas Islands, and considering the legitimate rights of the people of Argentina and the support and confirmation of the Latin American countries to this effect, we condemn the flagrant and avaricious aggression of the old monster of world Imperialism, the British government. We also support the rights of the people of Puerto Rico for independence and liberty."

The Middle East is obviously an area to which the Iranian government pays considerable attention. It has been extremely militant in its denunciations of Israeli policies, and has mobilized millions in the streets of most Iranian cities to condemn the crimes of the Zionists. Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, thousands of Iranians volunteered to go to Lebanon to fight the invaders (some did, although they have been kept largely behind the Syrian lines in the Bekaa Valley). Iran backs the struggle of the Palestinian people for their right to self-determination, led by the Palestine Liberation Organization.\*

Articles in the official press have also come out in support of various African liberation struggles, including those against the apartheid regime in South Africa and the fight of the Western Saharans against the Moroccan monarchy. Others have supported the fight of the Muslim people of the southern Philippines against the Marcos dictatorship and backed North Korea against U.S. threats and pressures.

Although the Iranian regime has taken a general anti-imperialist stance, there are some major contradictions in its foreign policy. As a capitalist government, it obviously does not view world politics from a working-class perspective, as do the revolutionary leaderships in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. According to the Iranian authorities, for example, the Soviet Union is an imperialist power. But the fact is that capitalism was abolished there decades ago. This has made the Soviet Union the object of unrelenting imperialist hostility since 1917, including military invasion and war, and today it faces the most formidable military machine ever assembled.

The Iranian press frequently carries articles condemning Moscow, particularly its actions in Afghanistan. A common slogan of the Iranian regime is "Neither East nor West."

However, the sharpest condemnations are reserved for Washington. Summarizing a speech by Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Majlis (parliament), the *Tehran Times* reported:

"The Majlis speaker stressed that the Islamic Republic had repeatedly declared its readiness to confront the U.S. directly instead of indirectly through its regional agents. 'When our people commenced its struggle against the U.S., it prepared itself for these tasks,' he said.

"Rafsanjani emphasized that the Islamic Republic was fully ready, adding that the U.S.'s history in Vietnam, El Salvador and elsewhere showed that such moves would no longer frighten [the] people of the world."

In our next article, we'll report on struggles by workers in the factories and the fight for democratic rights.

*To be continued*  
**From Intercontinental Press**

\*There have been some articles in the Iranian press recently that attack the PLO leadership in a sectarian fashion, accusing it of having sold out to imperialism. A column in the December 21 *Tehran Times*, for example, falsely charged that the PLO had agreed to Reagan's Middle East "peace" plan. It bemoaned the "tragic decline of the PLO's stand and its ominous integration in the Western strategy."

In this light, the invitation to PLO leader Abu Saleh to attend the ceremonies marking the anniversary of Iran's revolution was an important indication that Tehran's differences with the PLO have not gotten in the way of its support for the fight being waged by that organization.



# Is Soviet economy crisis-ridden? Behind the myths of U.S. media

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

The boss press is waging a campaign to convince working people in this country that the Soviet economy is crisis-ridden. The situation in agriculture, according to pro-big-business "experts," is especially disastrous. This, we are told, is why the Soviet Union depends on massive grain imports.

Some journalists even say conditions in agriculture were better under tsarist rule. The Russian empire was a major exporter of grain, wasn't it? Writing in the November 5, 1982, *New York Times*, Max Frankel, for example, bemoaned the loss of "the Czar's once fertile land."

Soviet industry is also pictured as crisis-ridden. Production and labor productivity are allegedly stagnant, even declining. Some "experts" go so far as to claim that the Soviet economy is teetering near the brink of collapse. They gloat that the "failure" of the Soviet economy shows, once and for all, that it is impossible to run a modern, complex economy without capitalists.

Several months ago this view of the Soviet economy took some hard knocks from an apparently unlikely source, the CIA.

Actually this isn't as unlikely as it seems. A key function of the CIA is to keep the U.S. ruling class informed about the Soviet Union and other workers states.

## CIA report

In his introduction to the CIA report, released in December 1982, Senator William Proxmire, a Democrat from Wisconsin, pointed out, "Analysts in the West have typically focused on Soviet economic problems. The attention to the negative aspects of the Soviet economic system and to the failures of performance is appropriate and necessary."

"The danger in such an approach is that, by overlooking the positive side, we see an incomplete picture, which leads us to form incorrect conclusions. The Soviet Union is our principal potential adversary. All the more reason to have accurate, balanced assessments of the state of its economy. One of the worst things we can do is to underestimate the economic strength of our principal adversary."

The report concludes that "an accurate, balanced assessment" shows the Soviet economy will continue to experience "positive growth for the foreseeable future."

This, by the way, sharply contrasts with the contradiction experienced by the U.S. economy every few years due to the normal operation of the capitalist business cycle.

The CIA report further states that "an economic collapse in the USSR is not considered even a remote possibility."

## Soviet economy's growth

The CIA admits that over the last 30 years the Soviet economy has grown rapidly. Washington's spy agency estimates the Soviet Gross National Product (GNP) grew at an average annual rate of 4.6 percent. The official figure for the U.S. economy during the same period averaged 3.4 percent. According to the report, "the value of Soviet capital assets expressed in constant prices increased almost 11-fold between 1950 and 1980 and about 4.4-fold from 1960-1980." The fact that economic expansion continued at this level, "long after the USSR had recovered from wartime devastation," is considered "phenomenal" by the CIA.

In some branches of industry Soviet production leads the world. For example, in 1977 the United States produced 113.7 million metric tons of steel. The Soviet Union produced 146.7 million metric tons. In 1978 572.5 million metric tons of crude petroleum were produced in the USSR; U.S. production was 425 million metric tons.

The Soviet Union produced 127.1 million metric tons of cement in 1977, compared to the 72.6 million metric tons produced in the United States.

The USSR also led the United States in the production of cotton yarn that year, producing 1,597 thousand metric tons compared with 1,145 thousand metric tons produced in the United States.

The continued expansion of Soviet industry has led to the virtual disappearance of unemployment. This stands in vivid contrast to massive unemployment that workers in all capitalist countries suffer today. In most of these countries joblessness is at the highest level since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

The prolonged slump on the world capitalist market has also hurt the Soviet economy by cutting into sales to the capitalist world. But unemployment has not reappeared there. Instead, the Soviet economy continues to experience a growing labor shortage amid the current recession and longer-run stagnation of world capitalism.

## Soviet agriculture a failure?

Perhaps no other aspect of the Soviet economy has been more distorted in the capitalist press than Soviet agriculture.

In tsarist times Russia was a major exporter of grain, since only a thin layer of Russian landowners, government bureaucrats, and capitalists were able to buy much food. The majority of the people in the tsar's empire were peasants and ate what they grew themselves. Workers' wages were so low they could afford only a scanty diet. Since most people had little ability to pay for bread at home, Russian landlords and grain merchants turned to the world market to find buyers.

In years of bad harvests, millions of Russian toilers were victims of famines. Many simply starved to death. Not for nothing was the demand for bread so prominent in the 1917 Russian revolution.

During the early years of Soviet industrialization, which began in earnest in the late 1920s, agriculture was largely neglected. The Stalin government poured disproportionate resources into heavy industry at the expense of agricultural development. Resistance by farmers to forced collectivization in the early 1930s hobbled agricultural production further. Finally, the invasion of the Soviet Union by German imperialism led to a terrible destruction of lives and wealth. In the 1930s and 1940s hunger and famine stalked large areas of the Soviet Union.

The aftermath of these negative factors weighed heavily on Soviet agricultural progress in the post-World War II period. Actually, it's only been in the last two or three decades that the policies of planned development that have marked Soviet industry were systematically extended to agriculture. Just as in industry, the methods of economic planning have brought impressive results.

Compared to the years between 1961 and 1965, the average annual production of grain in the Soviet Union was 67 percent higher in 1976-1978. During the same period, production of raw cotton rose by 71 percent, sugar beets by 61 percent, vegetables by 49 percent, meat by 57 percent, milk by 44 percent, and eggs by 111 percent.

## Biggest wheat producer in the world

The U.S. capitalist press virtually never mentions that the Soviet Union actually produces more wheat than the United States. In fact, it is the biggest wheat producer in the world. In 1979, a poor harvest year in the Soviet Union, 90,100 thousand metric tons of wheat were produced in that country. This compares to the 58,289 thousand metric tons in the United States the same year. Overall, Soviet agricultural production is about 80 percent of the U.S. level.

The high level of grain production in the USSR explains how the Kremlin has been able to keep down the price of bread for decades, despite the great increase of paper rubles in circulation. According to the *Kansas City Times*, bread prices haven't increased since 1955. The price of bread is about \$.10 per loaf, far less than in the

United States. In addition to these very low bread prices, milk, meat, and other basic foods are also cheap, according to the *Kansas City Times*.

No less a source than the CIA report admits, "Despite the large scale expansion in agricultural imports, the Soviet Union remains basically self-sufficient with respect to food."

Why then does the Soviet Union import so much grain?

The reason is the big increase in the living standards in the Soviet Union. "The good life for the Soviet populace," the CIA report declares, "in the form of a rising standard of living, has been of importance to Moscow too for almost 30 years."

Desired goods in the Soviet Union do not go unsold because people lack money to buy them. That problem largely disappeared when the capitalists were tossed out. Imported grain is not needed for bread. The Soviet people have enough of that. It is used as feed for stock.

As the standard of living rises, the Soviet people are shifting toward a diet richer in protein, rather than heavily weighted toward bread and potatoes. Increasingly the Soviet diet consists of meat, poultry products, and eggs.

In tsarist times bad harvests, which still plague Soviet agriculture, would mean famine. Today it means lines at stores and less beef.

## Productivity

The weakness of agriculture in the USSR compared to the United States is not so much the level of food production as it is productivity. While the productivity of labor has been advancing, the Soviet Union still uses considerably more labor in agriculture than the United States to produce a comparable amount of food. In an economy that has a serious labor shortage, this is a big problem.

Part of this productivity lag flows from natural conditions. The Soviet Union is located much further north than the United States. It thus contains less arable land. For example, only around 33 percent of the total agricultural land is south of the 48th parallel. (This is near the Minnesota-Canadian border). This means that growing conditions are more difficult and seasons are shorter. Another problem is that rainfall tends to vary a lot from year to year. As much as 70 to 80 percent of Soviet farm land is prone to drought.

Where climate conditions are comparable to those of the United States, Soviet yields for many crops are also comparable. In 1975-79 for example, Soviet grain yields per harvested acre were 84 percent of the yields obtained in five U.S. farm

states and the Prairie provinces of Canada. When land that lies fallow is included, the Soviet yields were 114 percent of the North American. Cotton yields in the Soviet Union are superior to those of the American Southwest.

To be sure, this is not the picture for all crops. Hay yields are still far inferior to those in the United States, even where climate conditions are similar. In addition storage, roads, and other infrastructure is inadequate. While the planned economy has made immense progress in agriculture in just a few decades, large pockets of age-old backwardness remain.

## Myth of private plots

One of the most persistent myths in the capitalist press is that of the relative weight of private plots in Soviet agriculture.

Soviet farmers (and other Soviet citizens) are allowed to cultivate small plots of land privately. They can either consume the products or sell them on the open market.

This is not new. It has been official Soviet policy since the 1930s. This reflects the reality that, notwithstanding Stalin's forced collectivization, the transition from private to socialized farming (that is, farming by collective and state farms) is a gradual process that extends over many years. The existence of private plots show this process is not completed in the Soviet Union, even today.

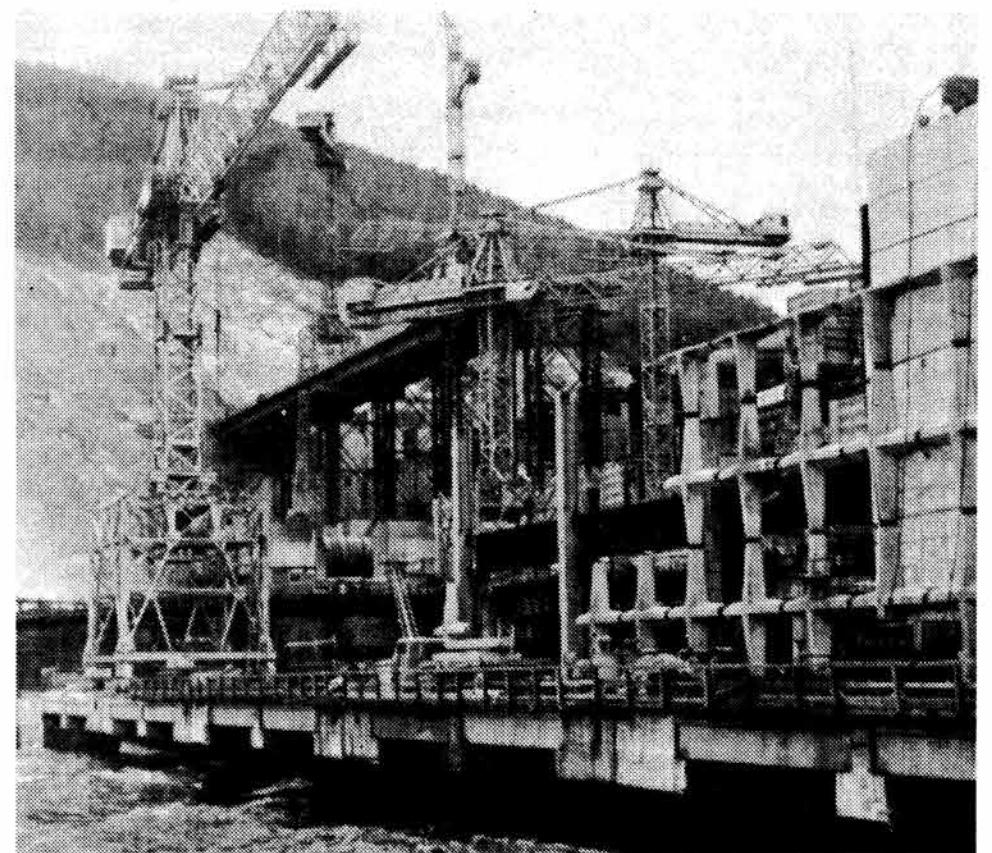
The U.S. press, however, continues to create the impression that the weight of private plots is growing. Only the Kremlin's alleged attachment to "Marxist dogma" prevents it from solving agricultural problems the only way they can be solved — by returning to private enterprise, and abandoning the collective and state farms.

For example, it is frequently reported that the bulk of potatoes are still grown privately, not collectively. What is not mentioned is that, unlike most other agricultural products, the level of potato production has increased very little over the last 20 years.

In 1976-78 potato production was only 4 percent higher than it was in 1961-65. This is not surprising. Potatoes play a less and less important role in the diet. Production of potatoes remains largely private because potato production is still a backward branch of Soviet agriculture.

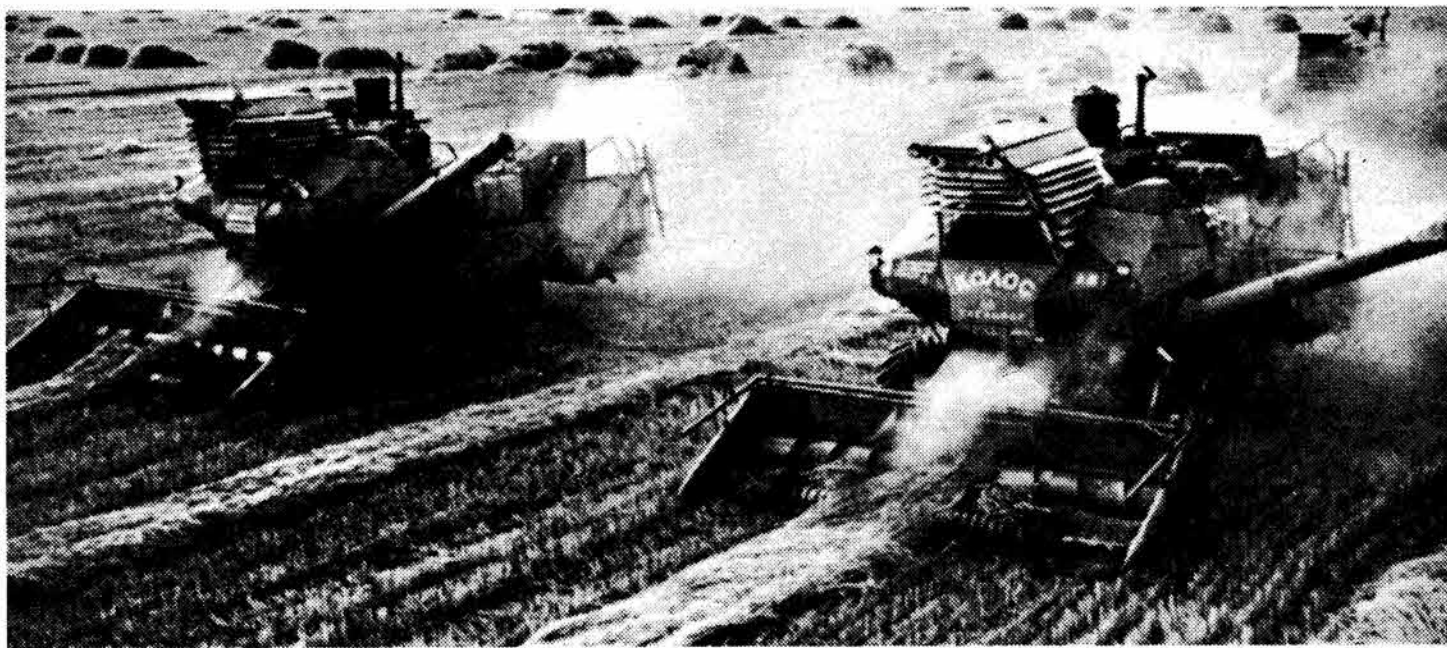
In reality the role of private plots has been declining. In 1960 the average Soviet farmer obtained 42.9 percent of his income from cultivating his private plot. By 1976 income from private plots had dropped to only 26.3 percent.

In fact, the private plots are withering away faster than the Moscow government



Methods of economic planning have brought impressive results in Soviet economy. There is virtually no unemployment, economy is limited mainly by shortage of labor.





Soviet combines. USSR is world's largest wheat producer.

would like. Soviet farmers increasingly demand to be treated like Soviet workers. They want the same social security, educational, and cultural opportunities and the same hours of work. Less and less do they resemble the peasants of old, working from dawn to dusk on his or her tiny private farm.

Nonetheless, the private sector fills needs that the collective and state farms are not yet able to meet. Potatoes, fruits, and other products are still produced privately. This is why the Kremlin periodically embarks on a campaign of encouraging Soviet citizens to cultivate small plots of land privately.

#### Real economic problems

There is no general crisis in the Soviet economy, if by that is meant a decline in production or massive hunger. This does not mean, however, that the Soviet economy faces no serious problems or even partial crisis (that is, falling production in certain branches of industry or agriculture).

The most important difficulties are those it has little or no control over.

To begin with, the Soviet Union is faced with huge military expenditures needed to defend itself from imperialist aggression. Unlike the United States, it has no large surplus of unused productive capacity and labor power (that is, massive unemployment). So labor and materials that could otherwise be used to produce consumer goods or expand the means of production are employed in building up its armed forces.

This is a necessity that has been imposed on the Soviet workers state since the revolution of 1917. Twice imperialist powers invaded Soviet territory — during the 1918–20 civil war, when troops from 14 countries invaded, and the German imperialist invasion during World War II.

The need to defend itself against the gigantic nuclear arsenal of imperialism has been a drag on Soviet economic development. This, in fact, is one aim of the massive U.S. nuclear arms buildup.

Another problem, one that has been getting worse, is the labor shortage. Capitalism does not face this problem. U.S. workers can only wish that this difficulty existed here.

Under the capitalist mode of production, massive unemployment is the rule, not the exception. Millions are idled and many factories are closed or used only partially. The degree of unemployment and underutilization of capacity varies with the ups and downs of the business cycle. But unemployment and excess productive capacity rarely disappear, even during the short-lived peak of a boom. There is always a reservoir of unemployed workers, what Marx characterized as the "industrial reserve army."

Except for periods of all-out military mobilization, such as during World War II, a huge gap exists between the physical capacity to produce and the amount of production that is profitable for the capitalists to carry out. Resources are never fully mobilized for either economic growth or for meeting human needs. This is irrational from the standpoint of the producing majority, but not from the standpoint of a system based on private ownership of the means of production. The capitalists decide how many workers and how much plant capacity to put into motion on the basis of how much profit they expect to make.

As a result, the growth pattern of the capitalist economy is jerky and slow compared to that of the Soviet economy.

In the Soviet economy, production is for use, not for profit. Instead of capitalist firms competing against one another for profit, production in the USSR is carried out according to an overall state plan. Therefore, as long as a product meets some need, it can always be sold.

#### Labor shortage

The Soviet economy is limited primarily by its physical capacity to produce. That is, by the supply of labor power, means of consumption, raw materials, machines, factories, transport, and other means of production on one side, and by human needs on the other. Crises of overproduction — where needed products pile up in warehouses because they cannot be sold at a profit, and production is thus brought to a standstill — do not occur in the Soviet economic system.

To a much greater extent than the capitalist economies, the Soviet economy, therefore, tends to run up against bottlenecks of supply of materials, transport, and labor shortage. It's as though the economy was operating under the strain of boom conditions all the time.

For many years this tendency did not manifest itself in its full force. Industry was still so little developed, starting from a low base at the time of the revolution, that it could not absorb all those seeking industrial employment.

But this is no longer true. The continued growth in demand for labor power now increasingly outstrips supply. This is the primary reason that the rate of growth of the Soviet economy has slowed down in recent years.

The world capitalist crisis also creates big problems for the Soviet economy. The Soviet Union sells commodities on the world market in exchange for dollars (and other capitalist currencies). With these dollars it purchases goods used to raise living standards or to increase economic growth. For example, the Soviet Union may sell oil on the world market; with the proceeds, it buys advanced technology from major capitalist countries. The drop in the demand for oil makes this more difficult today.

Credit crunches work in the same direction. It becomes more difficult and increasingly expensive for the Soviet Union to borrow money in order to import goods.

These problems of the Soviet economy are further worsened by the stepped-up economic warfare waged by the Reagan administration. Reagan has attempted to block the support of new technology to the Soviet Union and to strangle the USSR's access to credit. This slows Soviet imports and thus Soviet economic growth. It also hurts U.S. workers and farmers, since reduced exports to the Soviet Union means more unemployment for workers and fewer markets for farmers.

#### Parasitic bureaucracy

The above difficulties flow from natural conditions and from factors unavoidable during the transition to socialism in a world economy still predominantly capitalist.

But there are other problems, as well. Since the rise of Stalin in the mid-1920s, the Soviet government has been governed by a parasitic bureaucratic layer that consumes a considerable amount of resources in the form of lavish material privileges —

much better food, homes, access to special stores, large cars, and so on. The resources diverted to maintain these privileged consumption levels could otherwise be used to improve the condition of the workers and farmers, or expand the economy.

Furthermore, the bureaucratic caste has usurped political power and maintains its grip with totalitarian methods. This is how it protects its privileged social position.

The lack of democracy for workers and farmers means that the country's economic plans lack the necessary amount of involvement and feedback from the producers themselves. As a result, the plans are frequently arbitrary and fail to take proper account of available resources or social needs. The inevitable disproportions and bottlenecks are greatly magnified. Speculation, black marketeering, and corruption thrive in this atmosphere. All this disorganizes planning.

Moreover, the lack of democratic worker participation in administering their state is a drag on morale, initiative, and other factors vital to raising labor productivity in a workers state, the main yardstick of lasting progress.

In his own way, Yuri Andropov, Brezhnev's successor as general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, has been forced to acknowledge the results of some of these factors. Andropov and other Kremlin leaders have made widely publicized attacks on corruption and launched a drive to increase labor discipline. Soviet workers are being urged to report instances of corruption to the party.

Despite the publicity these pronouncements have received, they do not amount to a real attack on gross privilege and inequality. Like Brezhnev before him, Andropov's social and political base is the parasitic bureaucracy. This sharply limits the extent of the housecleaning that Andropov or any other section of the Soviet leadership will carry out.

In fact, much of the brunt of the Andropov campaign is falling on Soviet workers. In reality, however, it is the entire system of bureaucratic privilege that undermines class consciousness, and thus labor discipline, in the Soviet Union.

The answer to these problems is the removal of this bureaucratic layer and its replacement by a government based on the involvement of the Soviet workers and farmers themselves in all aspects and at all levels of social and economic planning. To a much greater degree than was the case under Lenin and the early Soviet govern-

ment, conditions today are ripe — in fact, cry out — for this.

In the first years of the revolution, the vast mass of the Soviet people could neither read nor write. Most were peasants rather than wage workers.

Today this situation has been transformed. Most of the population are workers. The collective farmers are gradually losing their peasant character and acquiring the same outlook as industrial workers and state-farm workers.

According to the CIA's report on the Soviet economy, "Literacy is by now almost universal in the USSR" and the "educational level of the population has been rising rapidly. Twenty-three percent of those over 16 in 1979 have completed at least a secondary education (10th grade in the Soviet Union) compared with only 14 percent in 1970."

The greatest advances have been among the peoples of Central Asia. Under the tsars these people lived under conditions of extreme oppression and backwardness. Illiteracy was almost universal.

According to the CIA report, "A particular effort is being made," by the Soviet government, "to expand the education of the indigenous nationality groups in the Central Asian republics. The USSR wants to upgrade the skills of the relatively large pool of labor available there and possibly encourage out-migration by assigning these better educated young people to labor-short areas."

#### A dynamic, progressive society

The Soviet workers state is a dynamic and progressive society. Its economy has made and continues to make tremendous progress, in spite of obstacles thrown up by the parasitic bureaucratic caste.

Why then does the capitalist press lie about an alleged economic crisis there?

An immediate reason is the deep recession in the capitalist world. This prolonged economic slump is leading workers to question capitalism. Are such crises really necessary?

Not being able to deny that crises of overproduction are inevitable under capitalism, the ruling class claims that even worse would be in store for workers and farmers in this country if they overthrew capitalism. Without employers guided by the profit motive, the workers would never be able to run the economy. The "failure" of the Soviet economy proves the point.

The only problem with this capitalist propaganda is that the Soviet economy isn't a failure. The bosses, therefore, have to present a one-sided "analysis" of the problems of the Soviet economy in order to make it seem a failure. They are afraid that working people would draw some obvious lessons if we knew the facts.

Not only that capitalists are unnecessary for production, but that they are an actual and growing hinderance. It is the capitalists, as a class, who are responsible for the crises of overproduction that throw millions out of work. We could do much better without them.

This is the lesson of the successes of the Soviet economy.

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# —THE GREAT SOCIETY—

**That explains that** — A Census Bureau statistician says there are "lots and lots" of reasons why



**Harry Ring**

women earn less than men. One important reason, he observed, is they generally get paid less.

**Sippin's no sin** — Christian Brothers, which is operated by a

Catholic order and does a brisk business in wine and brandy, is promoting its sacramental wine with tasting parties for priests. A favorite, the brothers find, is a sweet white wine. Why white? If it dribbles, it doesn't stain the vestments.

**Looking ahead** — A Tennessee bank's rent-a-bull program permits local, hard-pressed farmers to rent a "performance-tested" bull at a moderate monthly rate. Maybe the bank figures it will mean more calves to repossess.

**Sounds reasonable to us** — A Chicagoan was prosecuted for fail-

ing to file income tax returns over a four-year period. He testified he thought paying taxes was voluntary and cited the 1971 tax booklet, which said, "Each year, American taxpayers voluntarily file their tax returns and make a special effort to pay the taxes they owe." The jury acquitted him.

**But is he a big-time crook?** — John Akers, an Ohio prisoner, has tossed his hat in the presidential ring. The nation has been electing con artists all along, he says, so why not a pro? "I am a real convict," he declared. "It is high time

the people took a convict and made him the president instead of electing a president who should be in prison."

**Fast-track job** — A CIA help-wanted ad in the Cincinnati *Enquirer* advises that the agency offers "some of the most interesting years of your life" plus "training and knowledge few people will ever have."

**O'er the ramparts he watches** — Richard Moe, whose Connecticut company makes windshield wipers, has banned Japanese cars

from his parking lot. "As Communism has taken over one country at a time," he warns, "so the Japanese are taking over one industry at a time — automobiles, motorcycles, television. . . . They're making Scotch whiskey now."

**Science at work** — A geologist testified that the heavy acid content in upstate New York lakes is the result of natural chemicals in the region, not industrially created acid rain. The geologist was retained to testify by Con Edison, the utility giant.

## —CALENDAR—

### ARIZONA

#### Tucson

**Copper Workers Under Attack: What's Happening With the Negotiations.** Speaker: Dan Fein, United Steelworkers of America Local 7508. Translation to Spanish. Thur., March 31, 7:30 p.m. El Pueblo Neighborhood Center, 101 W Irvington. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 622-3880.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Oakland

**Education is a Right.** Speakers: Miguel Zárate, Socialist Workers candidate for school district; Dr. Cecilia Arrington, chair, Ethnic Studies Department, Merit College; others. Sat., March 26, 7:30 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

**Building a New Nicaragua.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., April 2, 7:30 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

#### San Francisco

**Class: What Is Socialism?** Tues., March 29, 6 p.m. (class will be held in Spanish Sat., March 26, 4 p.m.) 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**The Freedom Struggle in Southern Africa.** Speakers: Masilo Mabeta, African National Congress, graduate student of political science at Harvard; Ernest Harsch, author, *South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt* and staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*. Sun., March 27, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Fl. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Stop Police Brutality: Defend Pontiac-**

**Montgomery Victims.** Speaker: Rev. Solomon Smith, chair, Ad Hoc Committee for Montgomery Defense Fund. Translation to Spanish. Sun., March 27, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MINNESOTA

#### Virginia

**New Steel Contract: the Continuing Attack on Working People and How We Can Fight Back.** Speakers: Pat Viring, laid-off miner, member of Young Socialist Alliance; Paul Iversen, member of Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees Local 1711; others. Wed., March 30, 7 p.m. 112 Chesnut St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Iron Range Militant Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

### MISSOURI

#### Kansas City

**Revolution Marches On: Nicaragua in 1983.** Eyewitness report. Speaker: Marty Pettit, member, International Ladies Garment Workers Union Local 131, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Translation to Spanish. Sun., March 27, 8 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

#### St. Louis

**Emergency Picket Line to Protest Escalation of U.S. Intervention in El Salvador.** Sat., March 26, 12 noon. 815 Olive St. (near old Post Office). Ausp: Latin America Solidarity Committee. For more information call (314) 726-2393.

**Socialist Workers Campaign Rally and Grand Opening.** Speakers: Helen Savio, SWP candidate for Board of Education; Bob Allen, SWP candidate for alderman, 28th Ward. Sat., March 26; slide show on Grenada, Cuba, and Nicaragua, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 3109 S Grand, #22, 2nd fl. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Why Reagan Fears Grenada.** A Panel. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 25, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 925-1668.

#### Schenectady

**The Irish Struggle Today.** Speakers: Austin Devine, Capitol District Irish Prisoners of War Committee; others. Fri., April 1, 8 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**Revolutionary Nicaragua Today.** Talk and slide show by Paul Freeman, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from study tour of Nicaragua. Sun., March 27, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

**The Struggle For Freedom in Ireland.** Speaker: Alec Marron, treasurer of Detroit chapter, Irish Northern Aid, native of Belfast. Sun., April 3, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Philadelphia

**Working Class Solution to the Capitalist Crisis.** Socialist Workers Campaign rally. Speakers: Bill Osteen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; Katy Karlin, Sam Farley, and Mike Finley, SWP candidates for city council. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 26, 7 p.m. 5811 N Broad. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP 1983 Campaign Committee. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

#### Pittsburgh

**El Salvador Will Win: Stop Reagan's Dirty War.** Speakers: Ginny Hildebrand, Socialist

Workers Party candidate for Pittsburgh city council, member, United Mine Workers of America; others. Sat., March 26, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., 3rd fl. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

**The Jobs Crisis — The Socialist Solution.** Speaker: Gail Skidmore, Socialist Workers candidate for Allegheny County Commissioner, laid-off steelworker, member of Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., April 9, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., 3rd fl., (East Liberty) Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

### TEXAS

#### San Antonio

**The Socialist Alternative.** Speakers: Stephanie Brooks, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., April 1; reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 337 W Josephine St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

### UTAH

#### Price

**Forward Ever, Backward Never: Four Years of Grenada Revolution.** Speaker: Richard Rathers, laid-off coal miner, member of Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 26, 7 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

### WASHINGTON

#### Seattle

**Eyewitness Report from Nicaragua.** Speakers: Dean Peoples, member, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 46, Socialist Workers Party; Francine Barr. Sat., April 2, 7 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

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**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

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

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

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**MICHIGAN:** Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

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**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.



## School prayer battle in Alabama

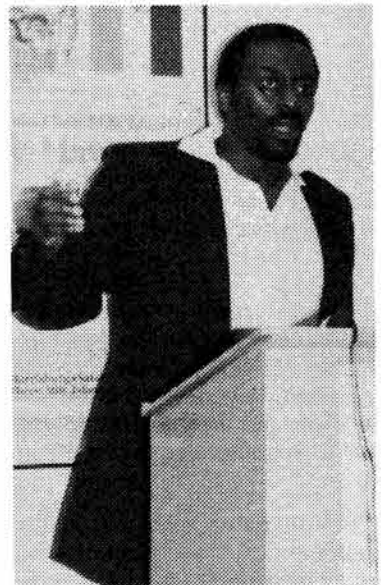
BY MELISSA MORIARITY

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — If Democrats and Republicans in Alabama have their way, all public-school children will start their day with a prayer — written by the son of the former governor, Fob James.

The Bill of Rights prohibits such government-established religion. Yet Federal District Judge Brevard Hand in January upheld the Alabama school prayer law. And he upped the ante by basing his approval on the assertion that the Bill of Rights does not apply to individual states.

Leading the fight for separation of church and state is Ishmael Jaffree, a Black attorney from Mobile who filed suit against prayer in Alabama schools.

Jaffree was the featured speaker



Militant/Andy Rose  
Ishmael Jaffree

at the Militant Forum in Birmingham February 26. "If Judge Hand's decision is allowed to stand," he said, "not only will my children's right to be free from state-sanctioned prayer continue to be violated, but freedom of speech, of association, and of religion will go out the window."

"For example, if a state such as Alabama decided once again that it was a crime for whites to associate with Blacks, they could do that. The consequences could be extreme."

Jaffree originally filed suit in 1981 against three teachers and the Mobile County School Board when they refused to stop religious activities in his children's classrooms. In 1982 he amended the suit to also challenge a newly passed state law mandating teacher-led prayer. The law even included the suggested prayer.

When the case went to trial last November Judge Hand "allowed the trial to be turned into a circus," Jaffree said. The judge permitted over 600 right-wingers to join the case as "intervenor" in favor of school prayer.

Lawyers for these intervenors introduced over 59 textbooks, including math books, as evidence that "the religion of secular humanism" permeates the school room.

In ruling on the case, Judge Hand openly said that Supreme Court rulings against school prayer were wrong and that he was seeking to overturn them.

Hand also ordered Jaffree to pay all court costs, including a bill of over \$5,000 submitted by the intervenors.

Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell issued an injunction against Hand's decision and against implementation of the

prayer law until appeals in the case are decided.

Sheldon Schaffer, chairman of the Civil Liberties Union of Alabama, also spoke at the Militant Forum as well as Sonja Franeta, representing the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

Franeta told the forum, "The 'prayer' forces are not only intent on prayer. At the same time we've seen giant cuts in public-school funding, a concerted attempt to cut back on equal education opportunities for Blacks, tirades against sex education and birth control for teenagers, and efforts to ban books."

## Ohio farmer free after filing for bankruptcy

Doug Dailey, a London, Ohio, farmer who was jailed January 28, was released March 14 after he filed for bankruptcy.

Dailey and his wife, along with hundreds of members of the Family Farm Movement, tried to prevent a sheriff's auction of their 191-acre farm. It was bought up by the Production Credit Association (PCA), to which the Daileys were indebted.

Dailey was jailed for refusing to turn over his financial records. Then the PCA began trying to take away his farm equipment, which he had stored with friends.

"I decided I had to file bankruptcy when I saw the PCA was trying to force a dangerous confrontation with the Family Farm Movement by trying to collect my equipment from friends without search warrants or prior notice," he said.

## Police brutality on trial in Richmond, Calif.

BY MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO — Darnell Alston struck his fists against the witness stand. His voice trembled with rage as he described how police officers who had arrested him for unpaid traffic fines pounded him almost senseless against the wall of the Richmond, California, jail.

Earlier, Emilio Gallegos spoke from the witness box of a nightmarish evening when policemen ordered their German shepherd dog to attack him after he allegedly failed to obey a traffic signal. Gallegos awoke on the ground with his arm shredded to the bone.

Alston and Gallegos are 2 of the more than 40 victims of police brutality who have testified against the Richmond police department and city council during an explosive civil rights suit which opened last December in U.S. District Court in San Francisco.

The \$7 million wrongful death suit was brought to court by the families of Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory, two Black men who, in separate incidents, were shot to death inside their own bedrooms by Richmond cops.

The two families are represented by attorneys of the NAACP and the American Civil Liberties Union. They contend that the killings were part of a "pattern and policy" of police terror which is directed against the Black community and sanctioned by the Richmond city government.

During the last five years several hundred citizens' complaints

have been filed that charge the police with false arrests, excessive force, sexual molestation, and other misconduct. Since 1980 Richmond police have shot to death six Black men.

On February 25 the Militant Forum in San Francisco heard a first-hand report from leaders of the movement to stop police brutality in Richmond. Oliver Jones, an NAACP attorney who represents the plaintiffs in the Roman-Guillory suit, said that the trial is part of a national campaign by the NAACP to prevent "habitual police abuse of Black and other minority peoples."

Jim Chanin, an ACLU attorney who is also involved in the Roman-Guillory trial, told the Militant Forum that many cases of police violence in Richmond have been traced to a grouping of white cops who refer to themselves as "cowboys." These self-proclaimed fans of the Wild West often wear Western garb and boots as they carry out their bloody brand of "street justice."

Four of the "cowboys" have been named as defendants in the Roman-Guillory suit, in addition to Richmond police chief Leo Garfield. "There is nothing more dangerous than a handcuffed prisoner," Chief Garfield testified in court on March 8. "Policemen are going to be killed and citizens are going to be killed. It goes with the task."

Calvin King, chairman of People for Justice, a Richmond-based community action group, announced to the Militant Forum that there will be a march and rally in Richmond on Saturday, April 23, to demand an end to police brutality and to protest the city council's indifference to citizens' complaints.

# Sam Pollock: a leader of Toledo Auto-Lite strike



Militant  
Sam Pollock speaking at meeting celebrating publication of *Labor's Giant Step*. In rear is A.J. Muste.

BY FRANK LOVELL

Sam Pollock, a central leader of a historic 1934 strike that helped pave the way for the birth of the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations), died in Los Angeles March 4 at age 73. He was part of the workers movement and a socialist throughout his life.

During the 1930s depression, Pollock was a leader of the Lucas County Unemployed League, the Toledo-area branch of the National Unemployed Leagues (NUL). Its principal leaders were members of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, a radical grouping led by the late A.J. Muste.

The NUL organized the unemployed to fight against starvation welfare standards and sought to unite unemployed and employed workers.

Toledo was fertile ground for an unemployed organization. At one point a third of the city was on welfare.

But among those who were working, a drive to establish industrial unions developed, as it did nationally.

Initially, these organizing efforts around the country were defeated. Striking workers were hit with court injunctions and suffered brutal assaults on their picket lines by local cops, national guardsmen, and com-

pany thugs. Scabs were herded into plants and strikes broken.

Toledo was a turning point.

In April 1934, workers at the Toledo Electric Auto-Lite Co. went on strike. An injunction was quickly issued limiting pickets to a handful. Within a few weeks, there were 1,800 scabs in the plant.

The strikers sought the help of the militant, influential Lucas County Unemployed League, which responded immediately.

The antipicket injunction was extended to the Unemployed League.

The League decided to defy the injunction.

Sam Pollock wrote a letter to the judge who issued the injunction telling him the organization would "deliberately and specifically violate the injunction." (See letter this page.)

The injunction was defied, on a huge scale. As many as 10,000 workers, employed and unemployed, were mobilized to shut the plant down. Cops and national guardsmen were marshaled against them.

For a graphic account of the battles that followed, read Art Preis' invaluable history of the CIO, *Labor's Giant Step*.

Along with Pollock and Ted Selander, Preis was a central leader of the Auto-Lite battle.

He writes:

"With their bare fists and rocks, the workers fought a six-day pitched battle with the National Guard. They fought from rooftops, from behind billboards, and came through alleys to flank the guardsmen. . . . The fury of the onslaught twice drove the troops back into the plant."

On June 4, the company capitulated. It signed a contract granting exclusive recognition to the striking union, plus a wage increase.

In the year and a half that followed, a score of other auto plants in the city were organized and the first successful strike conducted at a General Motors plant.

These victories opened the way for the nationwide organization of the auto industry in the United Auto Workers, CIO.

Preis' gripping account of the Auto-Lite

strike is part of a key chapter in *Labor's Giant Step*, "Three Strikes That Paved the Way." The others were the victorious Minneapolis Teamster strikes of that year, and, during that same time, a San Francisco general strike in support of a longshore walkout.

Sam Pollock went on to become a union organizer. He helped build the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's union in the Cleveland-Akron area and then served for many years as president of the local.

Pollock was a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party, and served on the party's national committee. He resigned from the party in 1947 but remained a sympathizer for many years.

Throughout his years in the union movement, Pollock supported progressive causes. During Washington's hate-Cuba drive of the early 1960s, he was a partisan of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. He supported the 1954 Montgomery bus boycott. And he was one of the few union officials to participate in 1967 in the first national coalition against the Vietnam war.

In the 1950s, Pollock pioneered in establishing a union-sponsored medical service plan and became a recognized authority in the field. After his retirement, he moved to Los Angeles and taught on the subject at California State University, Northridge.

A memorial meeting was held at the university by his colleagues and friends.

## LABOR'S GIANT STEP

BY ART PREIS

The story of the rise of the CIO includes an account of the 1934 Toledo Auto-Lite strike that helped pave the way for the organization of basic industry in the U.S.

538 pp., \$8.95 paper

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

## Pollock's letter to judge

May 5, 1934

His Honor Judge Stuart  
County Court House  
Toledo, Ohio

Honorable Judge Stuart:

On Monday morning May 7, at the Auto-Lite plant, the Lucas County Unemployed League, in protest of the injunction issued by your court, will deliberately and specifically violate the injunction enjoining us from sympathetically picketing peacefully in support of the striking Auto Workers Federal Union.

We sincerely believe that this court intervention, preventing us from picketing, is an abrogation of our democratic rights, contrary to our constitutional liberties and contravenes the spirit and the letter of Section 7a of the NRA.

Further, we believe that the spirit and intent of this arbitrary injunction is another specific example of an organized movement to curtail the rights of all workers to organize, strike and picket effectively.

Therefore, with full knowledge of the principles involved and the possible consequences, we openly and publicly violate an injunction which, in our opinion, is a suppressive and oppressive act against all workers.

Sincerely yours,

Lucas County  
Unemployed League  
Anti-Injunction  
Committee

Sam Pollock, Sec'y



# Emergency Nicaragua protests

Continued from front page

gaining time and space to prepare elite military forces," and "create new areas of tension in Central America."

In the United States, emergency actions were being planned. (See story page 4.)

On March 23, 75 labor and religious leaders held a press conference in Washington, D.C., where they released a statement against U.S. intervention in Central America signed by 1,300 prominent Americans.

The statement called for an end to all U.S. military aid and intervention in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala, and an end to U.S. "covert operations and all other destabilization activity against Nicaragua."

Terry Herndon, executive director of the 1.7 million-member National Education Association, told reporters "We feel outrage. It is simply not right that our neighbors should be brutalized."

Rev. William Sloane Coffin, pastor of the Riverside Church in New York, asked, "What right does a North American power have to decide who lives, who dies, in Latin America?"

Among the signers of the statement were leaders of the United Auto Workers, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and the National Council of Churches.

These are important beginnings. But much more needs to be done — immediately. U.S. working people have an enormous stake in blocking the U.S. government's plans to further escalate its war against Nicaragua.

The rightists who have invaded Nicaragua are remembered and hated by the Nicaraguan people, and thus have little hope of scoring big military victories.

But, as an editorial in the Sandinista National Libera-

tion Front (FSLN) daily paper *Barricada* warned, while there is "no doubt that the Somozaists will be completely wiped out in not too long a period," U.S. imperialism "may try to divert its defeat into a military conflict between Nicaragua and Honduras, serving as a pretext for aggression of a larger scale."

At the United Nations, U.S. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick claimed that the Sandinistas' warnings of a U.S.-backed invasion from Honduras or the United States were "a myth," but at the same time she openly expressed support for the rightist attacks, calling the Somozaists "democrats" who are "thirsty for freedom."

On March 23, President Reagan gave a speech calling for a massive increase in the military budget to counter the "Soviet threat." He pointedly singled out Nicaragua, Cuba, and Grenada as the sources of that "threat" in the Western hemisphere — in a further move to prepare the American people for an escalation of U.S. intervention in Central America.

As the Nicaraguan government has repeatedly pointed out, the war against Nicaragua is totally interrelated with the U.S. war against the liberation forces in El Salvador.

U.S. working people can play a pivotal role in staying the hand of U.S. imperialism, and coming to the aid of our brothers and sisters in Central America.

Emergency protests to say no to Washington's war plans are needed today — picket lines, press conferences, speak-outs, union resolutions — actions that can involve labor, the Black and Latino communities, farmers, women, and draft-aged youth.

The strong antiwar sentiment among working people makes such a response possible, as well as necessary.

We must demand "End the U.S. war against Nicaragua!" "No Vietnam in Central America!"

# EPA scandal and capitalist rule

An Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) draft report was changed to suppress references to the responsibility of Dow Chemical Corp. for dumping the deadly poison dioxin in Michigan waters, regional EPA officials disclosed March 18.

The draft report was changed after it was shown to Dow. Dropped from the final report was the draft's conclusion that discharge from Dow's Midland plant "represented the major source, if not the only source" of dioxin contamination in two Michigan rivers and in Saginaw Bay.

Nothing has been done to clean up the Michigan dioxin contamination, the regional EPA officials charged, because of Dow's refusal to provide data.

Millions of working people are confirming their suspicions that Dow, and other corporate giants, are poisoning them with toxic waste dumping. They are also learning that EPA, instead of prosecuting violators of environmental regulations, is covering up for them, and gutting or ignoring what federal regulations do exist.

It is an educational process similar to what happened when some of the lies were exposed about government policies during the Vietnam War. Dow was in the news then, too, as the manufacturer of napalm, which burned to death thousands of Indochinese workers and peasants.

The revelation of EPA's collusion with Dow is the most recent in a series of exposures of the agency's real role as a protector of the interests of big business, not of working people's health and safety.

The disclosures began when then-EPA head Anne Burford, on President Reagan's orders, claimed "executive privilege" and refused routine congressional requests for EPA documents. The ensuing fight over the documents brought much to light:

- EPA has made sweetheart deals with corporations seeking to cut and avoid penalties for toxic dumping.
- The so-called Superfund, established in 1980 to pay for cleaning up toxic dumps, was used to influence election campaigns.
- White House and EPA officials have intervened on behalf of companies in which they had financial interests.
- High officials at the agency, with White House guidance, established a "hit list" to purge the EPA of anyone thought to favor enforcing regulation of industry.
- The EPA was shredding documents by January 4, lending credence to charges of perjury and to suspicions that the agency had much to hide.

The exposures led to the resignation of Burford on March 9, after she had been cited for contempt of Congress for refusing to provide documents. Other top EPA officials, including Rita Lavelle, head of the Superfund, had been fired February 7.

These officials were sacrificed by the administration in the hopes that such a move would dampen the growing outrage among working people to the callous disregard for their lives and those of their children.

Working people in both urban and rural areas are the most affected by the deterioration of environmental and health standards. Most of the thousands of toxic waste dumps throughout the country are in areas like Times Beach, Missouri, and Warren County in North Carolina. The rich don't live near them.

Reagan, and especially his interior secretary, James Watt, claim that the opposition to gutting environmental controls comes only from prowilderness groups.

These, Reagan said at a March 11 news conference, are "environmental extremists" who won't "be happy until the White House looks like a bird's nest."

It's not clear what Reagan has against bird's nests. It is clear he wants to open up wilderness and seaside recreational areas for corporate profit.

But here, too, it is working people who are most affected. It is they who most use publicly owned recreational areas, for hunting, fishing, camping, boating, swimming, etc. The rich have their own private shooting preserves, marinas, tennis and golf clubs, and summer estates.

Big business and its government continue to argue that "relaxation" of environmental controls as well as new curbs on other health and safety regulations are necessary. Why? So that private industry can operate more profitably and provide jobs.

But the old arguments don't wash so well any more. A recent Harris Poll, the March 21 *Business Week* said, "presented people with the hard alternatives, such as factory closings. The response . . . was overwhelming support for uncompromising environmental enforcement no matter what the economic consequences. Among the most uncompromising supporters of strict enforcement: blue-collar workers and their families."

Faced with a dangerous and growing credibility gap, the pollsters and their government decided the EPA's image needed to be refurbished. The illusion that it sometimes protects people rather than profit must be given some credence.

Enter William Ruckelshaus, proposed new director of the EPA as of March 21. Ruckelshaus was the founding head of the agency and resigned from the Nixon administration rather than be tainted by the Watergate stench. A supposedly clean figure.

But Ruckelshaus in 1975 became a senior vice-president of Weyerhaeuser Co., one of the biggest timber and wood companies in the country.

Since he joined it, Weyerhaeuser has fought EPA regulations against the spraying of herbicides containing dioxin on forests and rangeland.

Prior to his Weyerhaeuser stint, Ruckelshaus formed a Washington law firm with several other ex-EPA lawyers and represented corporations seeking relief from environmental controls.

James Watt, no less, was reported by the March 22 *New York Times* to be "telephoning conservative senators to assure them that Mr. Ruckelshaus would follow the previous policy line of the Administration."

They needn't worry.

What has been exposed so far is only the tip of an iceberg. Toxic waste dumping is far worse than what we know, and the complicity of government agencies at all levels, headed by Democrats and Republicans alike, goes much deeper.

Nonetheless, "Sewergate" has already taught working people a lot about how the government operates, not to protect them, but to protect the profits of the corporate rich.

# Excerpts from the Sandinistas' 1969 political program

The U.S. government is escalating its war against the Nicaraguan people, with the goal of overthrowing the Government of National Reconstruction, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

As the Nicaraguan government has repeatedly explained, the reason for Washington's hostility is the inspiring example of social progress that has been set by this workers and farmers government.

Printed below are a few excerpts from the 1969 program presented to the Nicaraguan people by the

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

FSLN. Written 10 years before the victory of the revolution, it is being carried out in practice today.

The entire program is reprinted in *Sandinistas Speak*, a collection of speeches, writings, and interviews with leaders of Nicaragua's revolution. It is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. The price is \$4.95, plus \$0.75 for postage.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) arose out of the Nicaraguan people's need to have a "vanguard organization" capable of taking political power through direct struggle against its enemies and establishing a social system that wipes out the exploitation and poverty that our people have been subjected to in past history.

The FSLN is a politico-military organization, whose strategic objective is to take political power by destroying the military and bureaucratic apparatus of the dictatorship and to establish a revolutionary government based on the worker-peasant alliance and the convergence of all the patriotic anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic forces in the country.

The people of Nicaragua suffer under subjugation to a reactionary and fascist clique imposed by Yankee imperialism in 1932, the year Anastasio Somoza García was named commander in chief of the so-called National Guard (GN).

The FSLN has seriously and with great responsibility analyzed the national reality and has resolved to confront the dictatorship with arms in hand.

### The agrarian revolution

The Sandinista people's revolution will work out an agrarian policy that achieves an authentic agrarian reform; a reform that will, in the immediate term, carry out massive distribution of the land, eliminating the land grabs by the large landlords in favor of the workers (small producers) who labor on the land.

A. It will expropriate and eliminate the capitalist and feudal estates.

B. It will turn over the land to the peasants, free of charge, in accordance with the principle that the land should belong to those who work it.

C. It will carry out a development plan for livestock raising aimed at diversifying and increasing the productivity of that sector.

- D. It will guarantee the peasants the following rights:
1. Timely and adequate agriculture credit.
  2. Marketability (a guaranteed market for their production).
  3. Technical assistance.

### Labor legislation and social security

The Sandinista people's revolution will eliminate the injustices of the living and working conditions suffered by the working class under the brutal exploitation, and will institute labor legislation and social assistance.

A. It will enact a labor code that will regulate, among other things, the following rights:

1. It will adopt the principle that "those who don't work don't eat," of course making exceptions for those who are unable to participate in the process of production due to age (children, old people), medical condition, or other reasons beyond their control.
  2. Strict enforcement of the eight-hour work day.
  3. The income of the workers (wages and other benefits) must be sufficient to satisfy their daily needs.
  4. Respect for the dignity of the worker, prohibiting and punishing unjust treatment of workers in the course of their labor.
  5. Abolition of unjustified firings.
  6. Obligation to pay wages in the period required by law.
  7. Right of all workers to periodic vacations.
- B. It will eliminate the scourge of unemployment.
- C. It will extend the scope of the social security system to all the workers and public employees in the country.



# Should Marxists back Harold Washington?

One of the most talked about election campaigns is occurring in the "Second City," Chicago. Why? A liberal Black Democrat named Harold Washington "upset" the powerful Democratic Party machine and won the party's nomination for mayor of Chicago.

There has never been a Black mayor of Chicago — the most segregated major city in the country.

And the last time there was a Republican mayor was in 1927. In the past most Chicagoans who cared would ask,



## BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Malik Miah

"Who is the Republican candidate? What's his name?"

Not today. Washington was elected mainly by a huge Black voter turnout.

Now, many of the most backward and racist elements in the city have decided to throw their lot in with the Republican candidate, Bernard Epton. Incumbent mayor Jane Byrne recently announced her decision to run a write-in campaign hoping to tap the anti-Black, anti-Washington sentiment. Racist literature has begun to circulate in white neighborhoods.

Although most top Democrats in the city and country, including the major union leaders, have endorsed Washington, it's not clear they will turn out the vote for him.

On the other hand, most Blacks are excited about the prospect of having a Black mayor. Not out of belief that this will bring great change to their lives — it hasn't happened in Los Angeles, Detroit, Gary, Newark, or Atlanta, to name a few cities with Black mayors — but because after decades of racism a change in color, they hope, may bring some benefits.

The progressive sentiment of Blacks for political representation and relief from racist oppression, however, is totally misplaced in supporting Washington.

The view that Washington is "pro-people" and anti-business and machine is especially being peddled by his liberal and left backers.

This "progressive" Democrat is being supported by such left papers as the *Daily World*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party; *In These Times*; and the *Guardian* — all of which claim to be socialist or Marxist.

How is it possible for a socialist to back the candidate of a party that is responsible for the day-to-day administration of the capitalist class's oppression and exploita-

tion of Blacks and other working people?

Generally they point to the fact that there are differences in the capitalist parties — as in all parties. There are progressive pro-working-class individuals inside these parties, they say. Thus, they argue, these "progressives" should be supported in order to push the capitalist parties to the left.

The clearest explanation of this view was presented by Manning Marable, director of The Race Relations Institute at Fisk University and vice-chairperson of the Democratic Socialists of America (an organization that advocates working inside the Democratic Party as the road to socialism).

In a column in the March 16 *Guardian* Marable writes, "The progressive momentum which carried Washington to victory . . . was in essence against the racist and pro-capitalist hegemony of both major parties over the lives of Black people."

He continues, "Washington merits the critical support of all Marxists. . . . If we decide to stay outside of the reformist battle to mobilize Black voters, simply because Washington is a 'liberal Democrat,' we will alienate and isolate ourselves from the Black masses and inadvertently aid the forces of police brutality, corporate dominance and racism. Simultaneously, we must criticize the more rightist tendencies in Washington's bloc, in order to push the boundaries of Chicago politics further left."

Marable concludes, "In the context of an overtly racist society, the battle for militant reforms cannot be fully successful unless the left also views the electoral terrain as one point from which an antiracist politics may be articulated."

Are reforms won by supporting "progressive" Democrats? Can the Democratic Party be pushed to the "left" by socialists and Black activists?

And is it true that working people advocating independent politics against the capitalist parties are an "aid" to "the forces of police brutality, corporate dominance and racism?" If that were really true we all would be obligated to go door-to-door not only for every "progressive" capitalist politician, but also for the "moderates."

We've always been told that reforms and change only come by working within the system of capitalism. In particular, we are told, it means voting for the capitalist political parties.

Accommodation with the system and those parties that oppress us, however, has never brought Blacks and other workers gains, much less full equality and freedom. Never.

Every gain won by Blacks and labor over the years has been through our own struggles, our own mass actions against the employers and government. Laws were adopted, including the famous civil rights legislation of the 1960s, only after mass struggle.

Reforms, despite Marable's contention, are not won at the ballot box, but through militant struggle. They are a by-product of mass action, political action, directed against the employers and their government, courts, and legislators.

What about the role of electoral politics in this fight, this ongoing class struggle? Participation in elections, running independent candidates against Democrats and Republicans, can be an important part of the struggle for working people's rights. However, electoral politics in and of itself cannot bring fundamental change. It is only one vehicle — and not the most effective — to fight for a program and perspective.

Unfortunately in Chicago and U.S. politics in general, working people do not have our own political party to participate in elections. Candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties — Black or white — all support capitalism and oppose independent politics against the two-party system.

Harold Washington is no different. In fact, the radical-talking Democrats like him go out of their way to promote the two-party system in order to counter motion toward forming a labor party today or building anti-capitalist formations like the National Black Independent Political Party.

Manning Marable's role is to give Marxist coloration to this effort to corral Blacks and other workers into the Democratic Party. He points to the political "isolation" of Marxists — it's true, we're not a majority today — and then argues that we can increase our influence by telling Blacks and other workers to vote for a capitalist candidate.

Wrong! The road for Marxists and other revolutionary fighters is to tell the truth — and there are a lot more Black and white workers open to hearing that truth today than Marable thinks.

What Blacks and other workers need — in Chicago and nationally — is a working-class party in the elections. We need a labor party based on the unions, the ready-made political and organizational base to fight for our needs. Blacks would be a major part of such a party.

What Chicago needs is not an Epton, a Byrne, or a Washington.

The only choice is Ed Warren, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. Warren, a laid-off garment worker, presents a program that speaks for the interests of Blacks and other working people. He exposes the fact that Reaganism is simply a code name for day-to-day bipartisan politics of the Democrats and Republicans on domestic and foreign policies.

And Warren is for building a labor party.

That's why the real progressive choice in the April 12 election is Warren. To vote for anyone else is to vote against our own interests.

## LETTERS

### Objectivity

I can come nowhere near agreeing with everything that the Socialist Workers Party and your paper stand for. I find them interesting despite basic philosophical disagreements, particularly on the methods of organizing and running a socialist party. We see alike many of the same flaws in society; ultimately we see the same cure for them, but we part company in the roads we take to reach our ultimate goal.

Your paper supplies me with news on things not available in the free market press. Often the commentaries and opinions I read cause me to think about issues that would otherwise go unnoticed, though I differ many times. I think your paper does a good and important work.

I must add my voice to several others, however, in complaining about the frequent and glaring journalistic errors made by your reporters. Unbiased news reporting does not mean traditionalist nor procapitalist reporting: it means giving *all* the facts in a case.

When your paper does news reporting, it is usually responsible for reporting facts that have been omitted or obscured by the popular media. You need not add descriptive adjectives painting this guy in the black hat and that one in white. The facts you report, *on their own merit* will tell me that the police officer who shot an unarmed Black was acting improperly. You need not speak of martyrs or "racist cops."

Your paper serves a purpose in raising the class-consciousness of

many workers. My chief reason for writing this letter is to point out that relatively minor changes in your approach toward news could boost your effectiveness in this area by eliminating the doctrinaire pedantry so offensive to the American people in general.

Jeffrey S. Burns  
Carthage, Missouri

### Rights of all

To all the "intelligent" people that are screaming about tougher laws — tougher parole and more prisons — you need to sit down and really think about what you are getting yourselves into.

Somehow, through election, our country is being led by an extreme right-wing, religious fanatic straight out of the McCarthy era. He believes everything can be solved by more laws, more police — with less restrictions — more military buildup, to the point that martial law of the whole world could be attempted, if god should instruct our president to do so.

If you think our president could never gain such total power, look up the Executive Order No. 11490 of Oct. 20, 1969. This order states the president may invoke martial law under "any national-emergency type situation."

The clincher is, who decides what constitutes a national emergency?

Why the president — of course.

All the rights you are asking to be taken from the criminal now,



"... According to federal guidelines, this will save us the embarrassment of phoning your parents . . ."

will eventually be taken from the working class as well. Believe it or not, it's probable.

Any person — not to mention a president — who would submit a ridiculous proposal such as "allow tainted evidence to be used in court, as long as police gathered it in good faith" has to be senile — most likely insane. The police agencies have been waging war on minority groups and left-wing organizations as it is for years. They don't need free rein to wage more.

A prisoner  
Wisconsin

### Correction

An error appeared in the article "U.S. pushes 'pacification' in El Salvador" in the March 25, *Militant*. The sentence on page 19 about "strategic hamlets" in Vietnam should have read:

To ensure that normal life could not be restored outside the "strategic villages" chemical defoliants like Agent Orange were spread wholesale to destroy crops and woodlands.

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send

reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: **Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.**

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.



## Eastern Airlines Machinists stand up to company takeback demands



Miami Machinists meeting March 18 voted against takeback contract. Company wants to freeze wages.

BY BOB SCHWARZ

MIAMI — On March 18, 72 percent of Eastern Airline's 13,500 mechanics, baggage handlers, and other ground personnel around the country rejected the airline's latest contract offer to District 100 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM).

*Tentative agreement on a new three-year contract between International Association of Machinists officials and Eastern Airlines was reached five hours before a midnight March 23 deadline. The proposal is to be voted on by the union's membership.*

The strike was scheduled to begin midnight, March 23, unless Eastern made a new offer.

A week earlier Eastern did just that to prevent a strike. Taking advantage of a union provision mandating a vote on any

proposal that substantially improves the company's last contract offer, Eastern forced the union to halt strike preparations just 10 minutes before a midnight, March 12, strike deadline. Eastern proposed a one-and-a-half-year wage freeze, followed by 6 percent raises every six months and a final 11 percent raise.

Union leaders urged rejection of that offer. The wage freeze for the first half of the three-year contract and the delay of one-third of the total raise until the last month would reduce the total increase in earnings over the life of the contract to 8.4 percent.

Shortly after the IAM officers announced Eastern's offer would be put to a vote, management spokespeople started saying the vote wouldn't be fair if conducted by the union. They demanded they have "observers," suggesting that ballot boxes might be stuffed with "no" votes. Then the company suggested a "neutral party" be brought in to supervise the vote.

Leading up to the March 18 vote, union members reported stepped-up harassment on the job.

One mechanic told the *Militant* that it's "like two armies" at work, with the supervisors roaming the property looking for damage to company property so they can accuse the union of sabotage.

"I voted 'no' because of my pride," he explained. "We [workers] have fought 100 years for someone to represent us. If we vote 'yes' we go back 100 years."

This sentiment was echoed by many others going into the March 18 meeting. Chants of "vote no" could be heard as thousands of Miami IAM members filed past the ballot boxes. Many wore buttons that said "Strike" and "Proud to be union." They also wore red ribbons, which symbolized opposition to the company campaign urging workers to wear yellow ribbons and "I love my Eastern job" buttons.

Workers told of being "written up" when they were out sick from an on-the-job injury approved by the company doctor; the danger involved in crew reductions the new contract would impose; how the new contract would lead to job losses; and how their wages were several dollars per hour below the industry standard.

IAM members' willingness to fight worries not only Eastern, but the entire capitalist class. "More than any other group of airline employees, mechanics at the nation's major air carriers have adamantly opposed making contract concessions," complains a recent issue of *Business Week*.

Big business would like to make the model the new contract between American Airlines and 10,574 members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU). Concessions in the TWU contract include elimination of cost-of-living-adjustments in wages, the use of part-time workers for up to 12.5 per-

cent of the full-time work force and "an unlimited right to cross-utilize people in their own pay grade and a limited right to use a lower-paid guy in a higher classification." And lastly, it reduces average pay rates for new hires by 32 percent below current levels.

Recently, after pleas of imminent bankruptcy by the company, Pan Am workers agreed to extend a 1981 wage freeze and delay restoration of a further 10 percent wage cut until 1984.

IAM members at Trans World Airlines recently approved a last-minute company offer substantially better than Eastern's just before they would have gone out on strike. Northwestern's IAM District 143 struck 26 days last year to win better wages and beat back a company demand for use of part-time workers. In the final settlement workers improved their wages, but were still forced to concede that some employees could be ordered to work out of their classification.

The high stakes in this confrontation at Eastern are indicated by the increasingly open preparations by the airlines for an all-out union-busting attempt. In the Northwestern strike, which shut down two-thirds of their domestic flights, company spokespeople threatened to begin replacing striking workers with scabs. Eastern has also threatened to use scabs if there is a strike.

The confrontation between Eastern and its workers, thus, is the concern of the entire working class. Already the TWU International President William Linder has pledged the TWU's support in the event of a strike.

TWU Local 291 in Miami has also pledged its support.

The fight of the IAM can become an important step forward in resisting the drive by the employers to break the labor movement.

## 2,000 unemployed demonstrate in D.C. for jobs

BY MALIK MIAH

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "We are here to demand jobs" chanted 2,000 jobless steel, auto, textile, and other industrial workers on the steps of the Capitol March 15.

Most of those present came from the industrial regions in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Maryland, and West Virginia. Many of the buses were free and paid for by unions such as the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), the United Auto Workers, and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) and churches affiliated to the National Council of Churches.

The USWA international paid for several thousand leaflets that were distributed in the Pittsburgh area. Leaflets were posted at ACTWU-organized garment shops in Philadelphia. Many USWA locals in the Pittsburgh area donated money, organized plant-gate collections, and made announcements at local meetings to build the protest.

There were 14 buses from the Pittsburgh area, 6 from Philadelphia, 6 from Baltimore, 2 from Cleveland, and others from Columbus and Toledo, Ohio; Rochester, New York; East Chicago, Indiana; Flint, Michigan; and Erie, Pennsylvania. Demonstrators came from a total of 22 cities.

Some of the most popular signs were: "Jobs not war," "Health care for all, jobs now," "Save our homes, stop foreclosures and evictions," and "Extension of unemployment benefits."

At least 25 percent of the rally was Black. This included a small group of activists from the National Black Indepen-

dent Political Party (NBIPP) in Baltimore. They distributed a statement in support of the rally and lobbying effort.

"History has proven," the statement said, "that we can not rely on Congress or the government to cure the ills of the Black community. Both Democrats and Republicans offer piecemeal solutions to the crisis" and support budget cutbacks "which go to support violations of human rights, human dignities, and lives in places like El Salvador and Nicaragua."

Called a "mass lobby for jobs and justice," the action was sponsored by the recently formed National Unemployment Network. The Network was initiated by the Mon Valley Unemployed Committee (MVUC) based in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, and the Philadelphia Unemployment Project (PUP).

The MVUC gained national prominence last fall and early this January after it conducted three months of agitation against housing foreclosures and evictions. That campaign led the Allegheny County sheriff to withdraw 42 owner-occupied homes from a list of properties that were to be sold to pay back-taxes and past-due loan payments. The success also gave a boost to unemployed workers in other cities to demand immediate relief from the government.

Paul Lodico, a leader of the MVUC, explained that the call for the March 15 national day of lobbying came out of a planning meeting held January 22.

The day's events included a 11 a.m. rally and several hours of lobbying of congressmen.

At the rally, speakers included leaders of

the MVUC and PUP; unemployed workers who told of their plight; a disabled veteran who said a special delegation would go to the Veterans Administration to protest cutbacks; and Johnny Fair, a grievance committeeman for USWA Local 2610 at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore. Fair criticized the recently negotiated basic steel concession contract and said the \$4.9 billion House jobs bill would do little to relieve unemployment.

John Conyers, Democratic congressman from Detroit and a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, also spoke. He, as well as other speakers, hit Reagan's huge military budget.

No one, however, openly condemned or made the connection between the Demo-

crats' and Republicans' war in Central America and their austerity policies at home.

The focus of the rally and lobbying efforts was to support the many bills proposed for welfare relief, a public works program, and extension of unemployment benefits.

There was some mention of the AFL-CIO's proposal for a \$68.5 billion two-year jobs program. It was seen as a step forward. The speakers did not discuss how to realistically build a movement to force the government to provide immediate relief and did not discuss what role the organized labor movement should play.

At the wrap-up session at the end of the day, some of the workers expressed frustration after a long day of lobbying. The cochair of USWA Local 1397 at U.S. Steel's Homestead Works told the *Militant* that "lobbying gets you nothing. Those people only listen to protests that shake things up."

Other workers indicated they preferred direct-action tactics like those used in Allegheny County to fight housing evictions.

Because many of the demonstrators, if not most, were once employed as steelworkers, they were convinced that the unions have to be an active part of the fight to force the government to extend unemployment benefits, stop housing foreclosures, and start a serious public works program to provide jobs.

The anger shown at the rally and after the lobbying reflects the sentiments of the nearly 20 million unemployed and underemployed in the country. They want government action, and they want it now.



Militant/Yvonne Hayes  
Many marchers were unionists