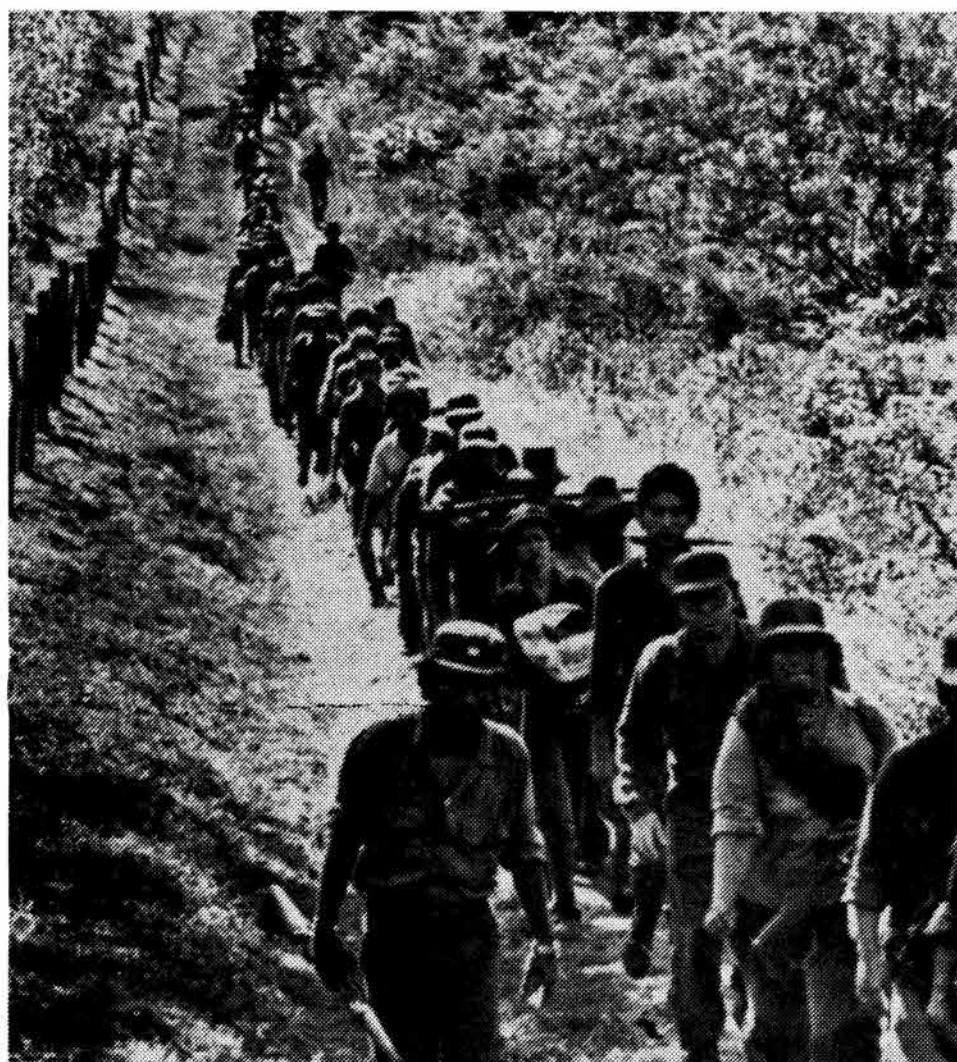


THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

U.S. drive to isolate Cuba sets stage for war moves

Washington steps up Nicaragua blockade threat



Nicaraguan militia on march last month. Country remains mobilized to defend Sandinista revolution against U.S. intervention.

By Larry Seigle

The Reagan administration has stepped up its efforts to prepare the political ground for a military move against the advancing revolutions in the Caribbean and Central America. A relentless barrage of threats, accusations, and attempts at provocations is aimed at justifying military operations that have already been mapped out.

On November 28, Secretary of State Alexander Haig claimed that Cuba has "40,000 to 50,000 mercenaries deployed abroad" posing a "threat to peace and stability" on a world scale.

Haig accused the Cubans of engaging in "subversion, propaganda, and interventionism" in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Colombia. He denounced the Cubans for providing aid to the revolutionary government in Nicaragua.

The secretary of state did not offer any evidence to back up the charges of Cuban "interventionism." Cuban President Fidel Castro has repeatedly challenged Haig to offer proof of his accusations against Cuba — a challenge that Washington has pretended not to notice.

'Secret' report leaked

In a "classified" report entitled "Cuba's Covert Activities in Latin

America," which has recently been leaked to the press, the Reagan administration asserts that Cuba has made the island of Grenada "a virtual client," and Cuba's "immediate goals are to exploit and control the revolution in Nicaragua and to induce the violent overthrow of the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala."

According to an article on the document in the December 2 *Washington Post*, the circulation of the report is "part of an administration drive, including public statements by its highest officials, to depict Cuba as an increasingly dangerous menace to international stability."

According to the *Post*, "Haig and other senior administration officials have refused to rule out military or other action in Central America. . . . Discussions on the matter within top levels of the administration are reported to be at a sensitive stage."

On November 30, Edwin Meese III, the White House counselor, called in reporters to explain that earlier assurances from President Reagan that the administration has "no plans for putting Americans into combat" did not rule out direct U.S. military moves. "What the president has said is that we are not sending American forces into any country. Other ac-

Continued on page 4

Polish cops break up student sit-in

By Suzanne Haig

The Polish government has stepped up its attacks against Solidarity, the 10-million-member independent union, as strikes by workers, farmers, and students continue.

On December 2, more than 1,000 riot police battered down the campus gates of a Warsaw firefighters' academy and broke up an eight day sit-in by 340 cadets who are demanding basic academic rights and want to be excluded from use in police actions.

A crowd of 7,000 angry workers, separated from police by Solidarity "workers' guards" shouted encouragement to the cadets and jeered the cops, calling them "Hitlerite lackeys and dogs."

While the government claims there were no injuries when the cadets were removed, a member of Solidarity, who read an account of the attack to the crowd, reports that shots were fired and tear gas and truncheons used against the students.

This is the most serious attack since March, when police beat up workers and farmers in Bydgoszcz.

On November 22, police broke up the initial meeting of a newly formed political discussion club being held at the Warsaw apartment of Jacek Kuron, a major advisor to Solidarity.

Although no one was arrested, and activists were able to move their meeting to the Solidarity office, police conducted a five-hour search, and Kuron was ordered to appear for questioning at police headquarters.

On November 26, Solidarity members were arrested for plastering up uncensored posters in Plock and Chorzow. Twenty-five people in Chorzow, a big industrial center in Silesia, were clubbed and beaten by police. Workers have threatened to strike unless the authorities responsible are prosecuted and the workers released.

At a November 27-28 Communist
Continued on page 17



Banner proclaiming 'Strike' across gates of Warsaw University. Some 100,000 students across Poland are on strike.

Where the fight for peace begins today

In Mid-November, thousands participated in U.S. campus teach-ins against the threat of nuclear war. Thousands more have demonstrated in this country against the MX missile, the neutron bomb, and the draft.

Encouraged by the massive marches in Europe against U.S. nuclear weapons, these protests in the United States signal deep concern with Washington's escalating militarization and the threat it poses to humanity.

Today, that threat is posed in an immediate way in Central America and the Caribbean. The U.S. government openly states it is preparing military moves to turn back the popular revolutions there. Alerting opponents of U.S. nuclear weapons to this danger can help mobilize new forces against U.S. military intervention in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Grenada, and Cuba.

On November 30, the United States and the Soviet Union began talks on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe. Two weeks earlier, President Reagan had given a speech posing as a man of peace. But Reagan had insisted that the Soviet Union remove its existing medium-range missiles from Europe in exchange for the United States not expanding its own missiles on the continent.

These events received extensive, front-page coverage in the capitalist media.

By contrast, the very real steps toward a U.S. military move in Central America have been downplayed by the same media.

But there is no question that the plans are proceeding. On November 30, White House Counsel Edwin Meese III again confirmed that a blockade of Nicaragua or Cuba — an act of war — is one of several military options the United States is considering.

Reagan's nuclear saber-rattling in Europe, combined with his hypocritical talk of slowing down the arms race, is an integral part of the military preparations in Central America.

The expanding U.S. arms budget, talk of a "limited" nuclear war in Europe, and suggestions of dropping a "demonstration" bomb there are all aimed at getting ready to go to war. But the immediate threat is not a nuclear war with the Soviet Union, nor Washington being able to achieve "first strike" capacity in the near future. Reaching that capacity would require a massive diversion of resources with a far greater impact on the U.S. economy than even the current military spending has produced.

Rather, Washington is attempting to put itself in a better position to wage war against the colonial revolution, which is making its greatest

headway today in Central America and the Caribbean.

Cuban leader Fidel Castro pointed to this in an October 24 speech: "Why do they want these arms, not just nuclear arms, but conventional ones as well?" Castro asked.

"The enormous cost of the arms race is not only the result of strategic nuclear weapons but also of a considerable increase in conventional weapons: bringing battleships back into active service, building more aircraft carriers, more landing-craft.

"In short, the United States is preparing for a policy of interventionism throughout the world."

Yes, the U.S. rulers do intend to fight wars. And they are building up their armed might in Europe as further nuclear blackmail against the Soviet Union, in order to facilitate the use of the massive U.S. military forces against the colonial revolution.

Today, Washington needs to fight the same kind of wars it has fought ever since World War II — against workers and peasants around the world trying to throw off imperialist and capitalist domination.

In the last thirty-six years: the United States has gone to war against Korea and Vietnam; it has sent troops to Lebanon, the Dominican Republic, and more recently, Iran; it has backed mercenary invasions of Guatemala and Cuba.

Today, Washington's sights are fixed on Central America and the Caribbean. But the rest of the world is not "at peace" either. Washington has stepped up its economic strangulation of Vietnam; its surveillance flights and provocations against North Korea; its threats against Libya and Iran; and its support to South Africa's murderous raids on Angola and Mozambique, and to Israel's terror against the Arab peoples.

The roots of war today and the path toward peace were laid out by Castro in his speech to the conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, held in September. Castro pointed to the gross disparity of living conditions between the industrialized capitalist nations and the colonial and semicolonial world. In the latter, he reported, there are 570 million undernourished; 800 million illiterate adults; 1.5 billion totally lacking medical care; 1.3 billion whose annual income is less than \$90; and 1.1 billion unemployed.

"On innumerable occasions we have insisted that what underlies the issue of peace — a cardinal concern of all peoples of the world — is the economic and social injustice prevailing on our planet," said Castro.

"There will be no solution to the tensions, con-

traditions, and political conflicts that threaten and preturb international relations, until a new economic order is established in the world to promote the peoples' all-round development and reduce inequality among nations.

"The current world economic situation is characterized by the notorious inequality existing between developed and underdeveloped countries. Hundreds of millions of human beings, in countries comprising more than three-fourths of the world population, live in poverty, go hungry and are the victims of illness and ignorance.

"As long as this dramatic situation suffered by the great majority of mankind is not solved through the implementation of new world economic relations based on equity and justice, little progress will be made towards effective and lasting peace."

Today, the workers and peasants of Central America and the Caribbean are on the front lines of that battle for "effective and lasting peace" — in their struggles to get the imperialist boot off their necks so they can achieve a social and economic order based on their own needs, not on private profit. The coming confrontation there with U.S. imperialism has enormous ramifications for the millions who have marched in Europe and the United States for peace and against the threat of nuclear war. They have a direct stake in mobilizing against the immediate danger of war that exists today: first and foremost, the preparations now underway for U.S. military aggression against Central America and the Caribbean.

The greatest responsibility falls on the U.S. working class. The revolutions in the colonial and semicolonial world, and the rising combativity of labor from Western Europe to Poland to Japan, are buying time for the U.S. working class to organize itself into a political power that can challenge the barbaric war makers on their home territory and end once and for all their threat to annihilate the world.

Ultimately, it is the U.S. workers who must disarm the Reagans, Haigs, and the capitalist class they serve by abolishing capitalist rule and establishing a workers government. There is no other road to world peace.

Crucial steps along that road can and must be taken today by sounding the alarm on U.S. military plans in Central America, explaining how these plans mesh with Washington's escalation of the arms race, and uniting all those who want peace in the biggest campaign possible against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

A holiday gift idea for you...



And... a special offer at this holiday season on a 'Militant' tote bag. Only \$3.50 (that's \$2 off our regular price.) Bag is 14"x15", with waterproof lining. In natural canvas with a green 'Militant' logo. (Offer good through January 1, 1982.)

In this holiday season, remember those readers behind bars. Help us keep the 'Militant' coming to them next year. Enclosed is \$_____ for the prisoners fund.

Remember your friends this year with a subscription to the 'Militant'. Send the coupon below and we will rush them a card right away informing them of your gift.



Name _____			GIFT CARD TO READ FROM:		
Address _____			Name _____		
City _____	State _____	Zip _____	Address _____		
<input type="checkbox"/> One year \$24 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 months \$3 <input type="checkbox"/> 6 months \$15			City _____ State _____ Zip _____		
			Total enclosed \$_____		

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

The Militant

Editors: CINDY JAQUITH
DOUG JENNESS
Business Manager: NANCY ROSENSTOCK
Editorial Staff: Connie Allen, Nelson Blackstock,
Steve Bride, Fred Feldman, Nelson Gonzalez, Wil-
liam Gottlieb, Suzanne Haig, Margaret Jayko, Harry
Ring, Stu Singer, Larry Seigle.

Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for air-mail rates to all other countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

'A month of struggle'

Report from Grenada

By Pat Kane

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — November has been an important month for the people of Grenada, as they continue to defend their revolution and develop their mass organizations.

November 11 was Angola Day, when 3,000 people rallied in the northern town of Sauteurs to celebrate the sixth anniversary of Angolan independence. Speakers from Angola, Namibia, and Grenada's People's Revolutionary Government stressed the close ties between the African liberation struggles and the Grenadian revolution.

Angola is suffering from imperialist attacks, and similar threats now hang over Grenada. Tension is mounting throughout the region. The latest addition to the U.S. military presence in the area was the arrival of the aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Eisenhower* in Barbados.

The Grenadian people are ready to meet any military moves against their revolution. Every Wednesday is "Militia Day." Thousands of youth and workers have already joined the militia, and Radio Free Grenada is campaigning for still more volunteers.

The PRG is sponsoring an International Solidarity Conference in St. George's, to be attended by delegates

from around the world, including the United States. [Next week's *Militant* will report on this important conference.]

The Grenadian people see their best defense being mass mobilizations and international solidarity.

The National Youth Organization (NYO) is preparing its first national congress, which will be held December 12-13. The NYO aims to have 7,000 members by the congress, and had already recruited 5,200 by mid-November.

The National Women's Organization has set itself a membership target of 5,000 by December, and is well on its way to reaching this figure.

All this in an island with a total population of just 110,000!

On November 14, the weekly *New Jewel* protested what it termed "another practice invasion" of Grenada staged by U.S. troops in exercises off Puerto Rico. The first of these occurred in August, under the code name "Amber and the Amberines," a deliberately transparent reference to Grenada and its sister islands in the Grenadines.

Denouncing the current U.S. military maneuvers in the Caribbean,



Thousands of Grenadian youth and workers have joined militia in month of November.

which are scheduled to continue until December 7, the *New Jewel* affirmed:

"All this is further demonstration of the increased desperation of Reagan and U.S. imperialism to stop the forward march going on in countries like Grenada, Cuba, Nicaragua, as well as in El Salvador, where the masses are not giving up one inch in their struggle."

"As for us in Grenada, U.S. imperialism, and particularly the Reagan administration, have a special grudge against us. They have tried in several, diverse ways to sabotage us economically, politically, diplomatically; they have tried propaganda, destabilization, lies, rumors, counterrevolutionary assassination, murder — every possible thing. . . .

"Now that they have been holding

another practise invasion for our country, it is necessary for us to continue to be on our guard and continue to take our militia practise more seriously, and prepare ourselves to beat back the imperialist mercenaries and soldiers when they come."

The mass organizations mobilized here for the November 22 commemoration of "Bloody Sunday." This marks the day in 1973 when the Gairy dictatorship, then in power, brutally attacked and nearly killed six leaders of the New Jewel Movement, which is now the governing party.

Every day, Radio Free Grenada announced that "November is a month to remember, a month of struggle." The activity of the Grenadian people will ensure that their struggles are successful.

South African mercenaries foiled in coup attempt

By Margaret Jayko

The CIA and the South African government are strongly implicated in the third and latest attempt to overthrow the government of France Albert René, the president of the Seychelles Islands.

On November 25, 100 men and women, posing as rugby players, arrived at the Seychelles airport. Hidden in their luggage were grenades, rocket launchers, and submachine guns. When an airline clerk discovered the weapons, the mercenaries took 100 hostages and shot it out with the Seychelles army for five hours.

Forty-four of the mercenaries then hijacked an Air India plane and took it back to South Africa, where they were arrested.

The Seychelles Foreign Minister telegraphed the United Nations saying the mercenaries were "presumably of South African origin." It denounced the "ruthless attack" that was committed "upon a peace-loving people who above all are struggling with determination to overcome the legacy of colonialism and underdevelopment."

The ninety-two islands that make up the Seychelles have a total population of 64,000. They are located midway between Africa and India. As the *New York Daily News* pointed out it "provides an ideal spot for airlifting expeditionary forces throughout the region and for basing submarines."

"The islands have assumed a strategic importance because they command the main route for tankers leaving the Persian Gulf for Western Europe and the United States," the *News* added.

The country became a colony of France in 1756, who lost it to Britain in 1814. In 1965 Britain placed three of the islands at the disposal of the U.S. government for military purposes for fifty years. The lease on a U.S. tracking station set up in 1962 on the largest and most populous island was extended in June of this year by the René government until 1990.

The Seychelles achieved independence from Britain in 1976, with the grudging support of James Mancham, who became the first president. Mancham wanted the Seychelles to be to Bri-

tain what Puerto Rico is to the United States. He was a good friend of the racist regime in South Africa, and under his administration the country was a "splendid place for parties, tourists, and tax-evading funds" as the ads described it.

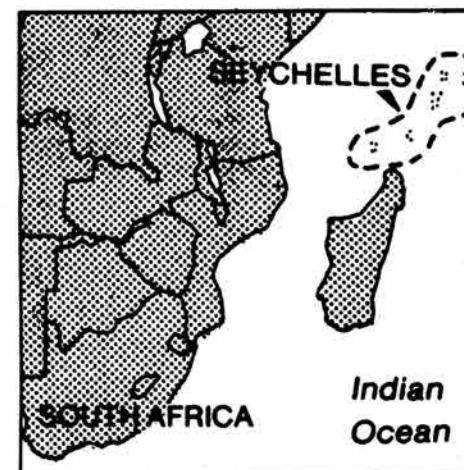
René, who was the prime minister under Mancham, seized power in 1977. He promised economic development and an end to the rampant corruption.

The Seychelles are now a member of the Nonaligned Movement, and the government officially supports many of the African liberation movements.

Washington has claimed ever since René came to power that the Seychelles are an outpost for the Soviet Union and pose an obstacle to the U.S. naval buildup in the Indian Ocean, which René opposes.

Mancham, who now lives in London, denied advance knowledge of the attempted coup, though he says he was asked to support it while it was underway.

The *Johannesburg Star* reported that the invaders were recruited in Johan-



nesburg with money supplied from the United States.

The South African *Sunday Tribune* said that unnamed mercenary sources in South Africa said they received financial backing from the CIA, and that a senior South African official had been in contact with the mercenaries.

Black African governments have accused South Africa of sponsoring the invasion.

The CIA has denied these charges, and so has the South African government. However, South African Foreign Minister Botha admitted that he had been approached several times for assistance in overthrowing the Seychelles government. He claims he always refused.

An exiled Seychelles journalist has taken responsibility for the invasion and says he will try again.

The invading force was recruited in South Africa and was mainly composed of former members of Rhodesian (now Zimbabwe) and South African elite army troops. There were also some Europeans, an Australian, and an American. They were led by "Mad Mike" Hoare, a long-standing racist, professional mercenary resident in South Africa.

The South African authorities let thirty-nine of the mercenaries go scot-free, including twenty-two of the twenty-three South Africans. The other five were charged with kidnapping instead of hijacking, a charge that will be more difficult to convict them on.

N.Y. rally demands 'U.S. out of Mideast'

By Rick Congress

NEW YORK CITY — On November 28, 3,000 people marched and rallied here as part of a worldwide show of support for the freedom struggle in Palestine.

November 29 was designated two years ago by the United Nations General Assembly as an International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People.

Buses came to the New York action from as far away as Chicago and Detroit. There were also rallies in Los Angeles and the northern California Bay area.

In addition to Arab and Palestinian activists, participants included mem-

bers of Black and Puerto Rican organizations, and El Salvador solidarity activists.

Along with anti-Zionist and pro-Palestinian slogans, marchers chanted, "Nicaragua today, Palestine tomorrow."

The march and rally were sponsored by the November 29 Coalition, which is sponsored by over seventy-five groups, including the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Workers World Party, Brigada Antonio Maceo, Casa de las Americas, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, National Black United Front, and a whole host of groups organized in solidarity with Palestine. Its demands

are: support for the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; condemnation of Zionism as a form of racism; U.S. military aid to Israel be stopped; an end to U.S. intervention in the Middle East.

Speakers at the rally included Abdeen Jabara and Egbal Ahmad, both prominent Arab activists in this country; a representative of the Black United Front; Dave Dellinger; and Arnaldo Ramos of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador. The main speaker was S. El Hout, a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization delegation to the United Nations.

... drive to isolate Cuba

Continued from front page

tions, whether blockade or otherwise, have not been precluded," he said.

Struggles closely linked

One of the major goals of Washington's escalating offensive is to isolate Cuba, making the revolutionary island more vulnerable to U.S. moves, while at the same time weakening the close links between the Cuban revolution and the liberation forces in Central America.

Haig's accusation that Cuban troops are fighting in El Salvador is strictly for propaganda use. No evidence to substantiate it has ever been offered. Civil wars like the one raging in El Salvador are not exported. They are the result of the crisis of a decaying social and economic system. Washington understands this as well as the Cubans do.

But what the U.S. imperialists can't tolerate is Cuba's unshakeable solidarity with the rebels in El Salvador, and the close relations it has forged with the revolutionary governments that have come to power in Grenada and Nicaragua.

The U.S. ruling class is haunted by the specter of a chain of workers and farmers governments coming to power, from Nicaragua right up to the Mexican border — a specter that is taking on more tangible form every day.

At the heart of its efforts to block the advance of this revolutionary upsurge are Washington's efforts to quarantine Cuba. The United States hopes to isolate Cuba diplomatically, and to drive a wedge between the Cubans and forces such as the Revolutionary Democratic Front in El Salvador and the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

This strategy has even found an echo within some sections of the American movement in solidarity with El Salvador. Some of the liberals within this movement have suggested that it would be a mistake to link protests against U.S. intervention in El Salvador to opposition to Washington's threats against Cuba.

These forces apparently believe that the fight against U.S. intervention in El Salvador would be strengthened if the Salvadoran rebel fighters would take their distance from Cuba. But every move against Cuba is also aimed directly at all the anti-imperialist forces throughout Central America and the Caribbean.

'Only a first step'

As the Sandinista daily newspaper *Barricada* explained in its November issue: "A blow against the Cuban revolution would only be a first step. Other blows would fall on all of us. We must not allow ourselves to be fragmented, we must strengthen unity through international solidarity."

Don Rojas, editor of the Grenadian newspaper, *Free West Indian*, made exactly the same point in a recent interview with the *Militant*. "We certainly appreciate any manifestation of support and solidarity with our revolution — and with the revolutions of Cuba and Nicaragua as well," he said. "We consid-



Salvadoran guerrilla fighters in camp in liberated area of Morazán.

José Lavanderos

er ourselves to be three prongs of the same fork."

In a recent speech in Havana, Cuban Communist Party leader Jesús Montané explained the same idea from the vantage point of the Cuban revolution:

"We live in a world that every day turns out to be more tightly interconnected. Now there are no isolated peoples or isolated causes. Every victory of the forces of progress is a victory for all, and every setback hits each of us equally."

"To extend solidarity to other peoples," the Cuban leader went on, "is not only an elementary obligation of principle, it is also a fight in defense of your own people."

Montané explained that the escalation of threats against Cuba is the direct result of "the failures of Yankee imperialism in its efforts to block the glorious Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua; to crush the heroic and admirable struggle of the people of El Salvador and Guatemala, who are battling with arms in hand against the blood-thirsty tyrannies propped up by the United States; and in its efforts to intimidate the Cuban revolution and to force it to yield."

"What we can say to you, dear comrades," Montané added, "is that Cuba will not fail, either in solidarity or in combat."

Mexican pressure point

One of the channels that Washington is seeking to use to pressure Nicaragua is the Mexican government. As White House Counselor Meese put it, Washington's tactic "involves putting pressures on Nicaragua by other nations in the area."

Mexican President José López Portillo has spoken out against reported plans for U.S. intervention in Central America, warning Reagan that such a move would be a "gigantic historical error."

The Mexican capitalist class is caught in a tightening vise between the rise in the anti-imperialist struggle throughout Central America, on the one side, and on the other, fears that the "dominoes" could topple right across the Guatemalan border into Mexico itself.

The Mexican rulers fear that U.S. military intervention would result in spreading the revolutionary upheaval. That does not hinder them, however, from using the threat of such intervention to argue for a more "moderate" course in Nicaragua, and in El Salvador as well. They desperately want to slow down the struggle, and restore some kind of stability in the area.

Thus, while the Mexican government acts on the international arena as a friend of Nicaragua — even providing some important aid — and has recognized the rebels in El Salvador as a "representative political force," it has slammed the door hard on the guerrillas fighting in neighboring Guatemala.

As the Guatemalan civil war has intensified in recent months, the Mexican regime has stepped up its roundups and deportations of Guatemalan refugees. Buses from Guatemala are stopped and searched at the border. In one incident earlier this year, 400 Guatemalans living in Campeche were deported aboard buses that were commandeered by the Guatemalan army as they crossed the border. Reports tell of Guatemalans rounded up near the frontier, tied together with rope, and marched back across the border.

Following a visit by Haig to Mexico in late November, Mexico agreed to act as "communicator" between Washington and Managua.

As *New York Times* correspondent Alan Riding put it in a story from Mexico City, "Mexico's own growing alarm at Cuban influence in Nicaragua and increasing violence in Guatemala has earned it greater credibility as a 'communicator' in Washington's eyes."

Clearly, the Reagan administration hopes that the Mexican regime will intercede to encourage those who would like to see the Nicaraguan revolution bend under the pressure of threats from Washington.

Dangerous provocations

In the meantime, Washington is seeking not only political cover but a provocation that could provide the immediate excuse for military action. In an incident that reeks of such a plot, a U.S. Marine guard at the American embassy in Managua, along with two other employees, were arrested on charges of assault and theft.

According to the Managua police, the Marine robbed a woman he went out with, stealing several hundred dollars. Then the Marine and two other employees chased another Nicaraguan and beat him up on the outskirts of Managua.

When the Marine was arrested, the American embassy demanded his immediate release, claiming U.S. Marines at the embassy enjoy diplomatic immunity.

Fortunately, the potentially explosive situation was defused when the Nicaraguan government simply deported the three men to the United States.

However, there can be no doubt that Washington's next provocation has already been planned.

U.S. army 'advisers' linked to Honduras kidnappings

U.S. military advisers were involved in the attempted kidnapping last month of Salvadoran refugees who had fled across the border into Honduras, according to an official of the National Council of Churches.

James Gettings, a leader of the church body, charged in Tegucigalpa, the Honduran capital, that U.S. military advisers "arrived at the Honduran refugee camp at La Virtud two days before Salvadoran troops entered Honduras to kidnap thirty refugees." Gettings' charges were reported by the Associated Press.

The Salvadoran soldiers were unable to carry out their plan because of the presence in La Virtud of an international delegation, including an aide to U.S. Representative Ronald Dellums, Gettings, and Bianca Pérez Jagger.

However, some 200 refugees were killed as they tried to cross the border to escape from the Salvadoran army, according to reports from Radio Venceremos, the radio station of the Farabundo Martí Liberation Front.

Thousands of Salvadorans have fled to the area around La Virtud. Salvadoran soldiers, with the complicity of the Honduran military, have repeatedly crossed the border, trying to force the refugees to return to El Salvador.

In recent weeks, the Salvadoran army has carried out a genocidal offensive against the population of Cabañas province, along the Honduran border. According to the Cuban press agency Prensa Latina, the military operation "includes bombardments with explosives and chemical agents, burning of towns, destruction of cultivated fields, robberies, rapes, and indiscriminate murders which up to the present are estimated at more than 300."

The Salvadoran junta claims that the refugee camps on the Honduran side of the border are merely hideouts for the guerrillas.

According to Gettings, the U.S. military advisers arrived in La Virtud prior to the Salvadoran armed forces and "spoke with Captain Emmanuel Flores Mejía, the official in charge of the Honduran army in that zone, and they coordinated the operation with their colleagues from El Salvador."

On November 23, a *New York Times* dispatch from La Virtud confirmed the presence of U.S. soldiers there.

"Three United States military advisers were in La Virtud in July," reported the *Times*. "They said that one of their missions was to help the Hondurans control the refugees, who they said were providing supplies and a place of rest for the guerrillas. According to the villagers, two American advisers were here earlier this month."

According to the *Times* story, "A foreign diplomat here who asked not to be identified said 'several governments have an interest in having this area available for military actions along the border' and want the refugees moved."

— L.S.

Paris march hits U.S. threats

Ten thousand people marched in Paris November 28 against U.S. intervention in Central America.

The action was called to commemorate the murder of six leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) one year ago in El Salvador. The FDR and Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front delegations in France called for the demonstration, which was endorsed by the Communist Party, Socialist Party, and the two main union federations.

In addition to slogans calling for victory to the Salvadoran people's struggle, marchers directed chants

at the U.S. government's threats of military action in Central America: "Imperialist hands off Nicaragua," "Imperialist hands off Cuba," "No to U.S. intervention in Central America!"

The great bulk of the demonstrators came from groups organizing solidarity with El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala. Also participating were the Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, and the Revolutionary Communist Youth.

The Communist and Socialist parties organized small contingents, as did the union federations.

Armed goons patrol polls

Black voting rights attacked in N.J.

By Claire Moriarty

NEWARK, N.J. — In the recent state elections, the Republican National Committee deployed an armed force of about 200 in some seventy-five precincts in New Jersey. Their operations were confined to Black and Puerto Rican districts.

Many of the men were armed off-duty cops; others were leased for the occasion from a "security firm" owned by Newark Republican State Assemblyman Anthony Imperiale. The all-white mercenaries wore armbands and called themselves the National Ballot Security Task Force.

At a cost to the Republicans of \$90,000, the men were paid to post thousands of four-foot-high placards "warning" that the areas were "being patrolled" by the task force. The signs offered a \$1,000 reward to anyone with information leading to conviction on "voter fraud."

Alva Athill, a poll worker in Newark's central ward, said she saw five white men tell several elderly Blacks "not to vote because it wouldn't make any difference." She reported that when she questioned the men, one of them replied, "You better not be around here after dark."

Other voters report being stopped by the goons outside polling places and ordered to show voter registration cards. It is not necessary to have cards in order to vote.

Only about 1,700 votes appear to separate Democratic gubernatorial candidate James Florio from the apparent victor, former Republican Assemblyman Thomas Kean. State Attorney General James Zazalli ordered the 2.3 mil-

lion ballots impounded and a recount is in progress.

But it is unlikely the ballots they are counting are accurate. In addition to intimidating voters, there is at least one case reported of five men from the Republican task force who entered the Essex County hall of records in Newark where some ballots were stored. They claimed they only "photographed" a voter tally sheet.

As the recount began, President Reagan touched down at Newark International Airport to confer with the Republican candidate. Kean reported that Reagan warned him to "make sure those numbers hold up."

As soon as the scandal erupted, John Kelly, the man in charge of the paid thugs for the Republican National Committee, dropped from sight. National Committee Regional Field Director James Shearer reported that Kelly told him he was in Oklahoma meeting with FBI and Justice Department officials.

Kelly emerged from hiding two weeks after the elections. The Republicans announced he would be suspended, with pay, pending an investigation of "discrepancies" on his resumé.

Republican National Committee Chairman Richard Richards describes Kelly as a "damn good performer" in Reagan's 1980 election campaign and on the Interior Department transition team.

In 1974 Kelly was fired from his job as bailiff in Manhattan Family Court for twice threatening people with a gun. In 1976 he was arrested for impersonating a cop; the charge was later dismissed.

Kelly's attorney, John Barry, admits, "There is no question Kelly said he ran the [armed task force] program, but all



James Harris, 1981 SWP candidate for New Jersey governor, issued statement blasting 'armed assault on civil rights.'

of his activities were subject to the supervision of the state Republican committee."

Kelly fingered Anthony Imperiale as the man in charge of task force "street operations" for Essex County. Imperiale, a former Newark city councilman, has a history of organizing racist goon assaults against the city's Black majority.

Imperiale at first denied the charge as a "prefabricated lie."

"I'm a state legislator," he told reporters. "I don't put up signs. I didn't drop anyone off wearing armbands. If the Democrats are making charges that I knew about this, then tough crap on them. It's the Democrats who have a reputation of stealing votes."

Confronted later with Kelly's disclosure, Imperiale stated, "I never denied it. It must have been a mistake."

"Street operations" in Camden, Mercer, Atlantic, and Union counties were "left to the discretion" of the Republican chairmen there. John Hansbury, Mercer County chairman, admitted the task force had been deployed in Trenton, the state capital and Kean's assembly district.

The force in Trenton included fourteen off-duty cops from the police department and county sheriff's office. Hansbury contended that "there was no intimidation whatsoever."

Despite the growing scandal, State Attorney General James Zazalli "tabled" plans for further investigation. Essex County prosecutor George Schneider determined there is "no evidence" that the hired hoodlums affected

the outcome of the elections. He refused to impanel a grand jury for further inquiry.

The Voting Rights Act adopted by Congress in 1965 makes it illegal for anyone to "intimidate, threaten, or coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person for voting or attempting to vote."

Outrage at the intimidation tactics and the cover-up that followed drew together an ad hoc coalition for a news conference at Newark's Robert Treat Hotel. Trade unionists, civil rights figures, and women's rights activists addressed reporters.

Irene Smith, president of the New Jersey NAACP, noted the effects of threats and intimidation on voters "already weary of the polls." In angry tones she called for a defense of the right to vote in New Jersey's Black community.

Christine Carmody-Arey, New Jersey state coordinator of the National Organization for Women (NOW), reported that NOW has written U.S. Attorney William French Smith "urgently requesting" a "public investigation" by the Justice Department.

James Harris, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New Jersey, issued a statement blasting the "armed assault on civil rights." He said that this attack "came fast on the heels of the government-organized sweep of the Black community following last month's robbery of the Brink's truck in Nyack, New York. And it converges with the bipartisan drive in Congress against the 1965 Voting Rights Act."

Gay rights bill defeated in New York

By Margaret Jayko

NEW YORK — On November 23, the General Welfare Committee of the city council here voted six to three to reject a bill that would have banned discrimination on the basis of sexual preference in housing, employment, and public facilities.

This is the tenth time in as many years that the bill went down to defeat.

Although Mayor Koch claims to support the bill, and testified in

favor of it, gay rights activists have charged that he's failed to use his office to get it passed.

Sharp debate on the bill occurred in the two days of public hearings. Among its most outspoken opponents were Jewish religious leaders, the Catholic church hierarchy, and the New York City Police and Fire Departments.

Recently, Rep. Ted Weiss (D-N.Y.) introduced a bill into Congress that would amend the 1964 Civil Rights Act to include gay rights.

PATCO speakers head political rights rallies

By Matthew Herreshoff

In the next two weeks, supporters of political rights will hold rallies in cities from coast to coast.

Mario Dones, president of UTIER, the striking Puerto Rican electrical workers union, will headline a huge New York rally.

In Cincinnati, Vice-Mayor Thomas Brush will be a featured speaker.

The rallies, sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), are the high point of the group's fall campaign in defense of civil liberties.

In over forty cities, the rallies are providing broad platforms for victims of government repression, and for supporters of democratic rights.

Officials of the striking Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) are keynote speakers at fifteen of the rallies. PATCO has been hard hit by government strike-breaking, FBI spying on picket lines, and union activities and meetings.

Leaders of the National Black Independent Political Party are slated to speak at seven rallies. The Black party is helping to lead the response to the government's attempts to smear the

Black movement and others as "terrorist," following the Brinks armored car robbery in Nyack, New York.

Leaders of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will also speak in many cities. Local trade union leaders and leading civil libertarians are scheduled to speak across the country.

The U.S. government's war plans in Central America and the Caribbean will be a theme at every rally. The government's war drive is closely tied to its drive against democratic rights. Leading antiwar activists are speaking at almost every rally.

With plans set in nearly every city, it is clear that PRDF's fall rallies will be the broadest ever.

They have become a rallying point for victims of government attacks and supporters of civil liberties.

The rallies are an important political response to the government's stepped-up attacks on political rights.

A big goal of the rallies is to raise funds to fight ongoing legal battles in defense of civil liberties.

Reaganism versus democratic rights — at home and abroad

Protest government spying and disruption

Speakers:

Bogdan Denitch: representative, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee
Mario Dones: president, UTIER, electrical workers union in Puerto Rico
Peter Fisher: Trade Unionists for Democratic Action
James Haughton: Metropolitan Committee Against Government Terrorism
André Kahlmorgen: fired Lockheed-Georgia worker
William Kunstler: attorney
Kevin Lynch: public affairs editor, United Auto Workers District 65
Vernon Mason: general counsel, National Conference of Black Lawyers
Gregory Pardlo: Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization official, New Jersey
Annette Rubenstein: chairperson
Larry Seigle: National Committee of Socialist Workers Party
Father William Smarth: Haitian Fathers

Saturday, December 12, 7:30 p.m. \$3 donation
Martin Luther King Labor Center, 310 West 43rd St., New York, N.Y.
Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (212) 533-2902

The rallies are building support and raising funds for the Socialist Workers Party's and Young Socialist Alliance's lawsuit against government spying, harassment and disruption, and for related legal efforts.

To wage these battles, PRDF has launched a \$125,000 fall fund-raising effort. So far, \$49,000 has been collected. Funds raised at the rallies will help take the fund over the top by the January 31 deadline.

By Cindy Jaquith

BIRMINGHAM, Britain — U.S. Chrysler workers have a lot in common with workers at British Leyland (BL) in Britain. Both have seen their wages cut and their jobs taken away without even a struggle by the labor movement.

British Leyland makes the Mini Metro car, but it is better known in the United States for its production of the Jaguar, Land-Rover, and Triumph. The company is nationalized, like much of British industry.

Several years ago BL began to go under financially. It appealed to the government for help. The Labor Party was in power, and it responded by appointing Sir Michael Edwardes to head up company operations.

'Survival plan'

Edwardes came up with a "survival plan" for British Leyland — survival at the expense of the workers. The idea was to rationalize production and drive down wages to make the company profitable again.

A young shop steward at BL's Longbridge plant here in Birmingham described the results to the *Militant*: "They told us, 'the wage rises will be low for a little

Minister Margaret Thatcher, of the Tory Party. His job was to grind the BL workers further into the ground, strip away even more of the severely weakened union power, and set an example for workers in other industries.

The 3.8 percent increase offer was a deliberate test of Thatcher's policy that no wage increases exceed 4 percent. If the 58,000 BL workers challenged that and won, millions of other workers would also be inspired to fight for a living wage.

A major confrontation was brewing as the strike deadline approached. Thatcher's whole program of saving ailing British capitalism by increasing unemployment, cutting wages, and slashing social services was being challenged. A national walkout by the BL workers was sure to get the solidarity of millions of unionists. Some even predicted that the Thatcher government might fall if the strike won, just as the miners' strike in 1974 brought down the Tory government of Edward Heath.

The workers at British Leyland felt they had no choice but to fight. "Blokes have worked their backsides off for this company," said a maintenance worker at Longbridge. "This strike is not just about

BL, as well as Len Murray, head of the Trades Union Congress, the British equivalent of the AFL-CIO, said they now thought a strike was unwise.

The senior shop stewards met the next day to vote on the offer. Meanwhile, the strike was on, with hundreds of pickets at most plants, and 2,000 outside the Cowley plant in Oxford.

Angry picketers also poured into the shop stewards' meeting, fearing that the top union officials would get the stewards to call the strike off. "You're trying to stitch a deal up!" they shouted.

Under this pressure, the stewards voted 238-12 to continue the strike. Mass meetings at each plant were scheduled for the next day, where the stewards would report back and the workers would make the final decision on whether to continue the strike.

'I'm backing England'

Terence Duffy, head of the AUEW, appealed that night to his members to go back to work. There was no more money, he insisted. "I am backing England," he declared. "I believe we have reached a time of diminishing returns."

The vote at the mass meetings the next day was 25,058 to accept the offer and return to work; 19,963 to continue the strike.

The strike was over. What happened?

The *Guardian*, one of Britain's main dailies, suggested the workers were more conservative than their leadership. "... the stewards were faced with voting figures which showed that their own enthusiasm for continuing the potentially crippling strike was not shared by a majority of the labour force."

BL workers interviewed by the *Militant* saw it a little differently. One worker at the Land-Rover plant, where the vote was evenly split, explained what happened at his union meeting. "The shop stewards said the deal was no good, that we should strike. Some right-wing stewards warned us the strike might cripple the economy.

"But none of them explained how we could win the strike. Some of the workers didn't trust the top officials. It was clear they weren't for a strike.

"So there was a feeling we might as well go back to work.

"As one guy who voted to go back said, 'I voted to keep my job, not for the wage deal.'"

A worker at the Rover Solihull plant, due to be shut down this month, said, "The shop stewards simply didn't answer the questions on people's minds. Like, where will the money come from for a bigger wage increase?

"They didn't explain how the strike would actually be fought. Everyone knew it would be a big battle."

'Economics' vs. 'politics'

"There's a tradition in the labor movement here," explained a young shop steward at the Longbridge plant. "The unions look after economic matters; the Labour Party takes care of political matters.

"But that doesn't work anymore. You can't fight on a plant-by-plant basis and win, no matter how militant you are."

As explained by these workers, the problem seems very similar to what we face in the American labor movement. Any attempt today to take on the employers, even if only on "economic questions," very quickly runs up against political questions, and up against those who hold political power in the government and the courts.

Efforts to avoid politics, or worse and more common, to accept the capitalists' political framework that "the pie is shrinking" and you have to accept a lot less, spells defeat.

What if the BL union officials had demanded that the company's books be opened to see where the money has actually been going? What if they pointed to the billions being spent by the British government for U.S. nuclear missiles and demanded that money go for a real wage increase at British Leyland and other industries? What if they appealed to workers throughout Britain — to the unemployed Black and Asian youth, and other victims of Thatcherism — and built a giant solidarity movement behind the BL strike?

That kind of political perspective, taking head-on the lie that the workers, not the bosses, are responsible for unemployment and inflation, would have given the British Leyland workers the weapon they needed to go into battle with confidence.

They got the opposite perspective — class collaboration — from the union leaders and from the leadership of the Labor Party.

British workers, and American workers too, need a labor party and a union leadership that doesn't start from the idea of pleasing both the workers and the bosses, doesn't try to dissolve the class struggle into appeals to save "the nation," and doesn't look at strikes as "tragedies" to be avoided at all cost.

Experiences like that of British Leyland have convinced many British workers that big changes are needed in the Labor Party. The debates over that question will be the subject of our next article.

British auto workers fight for wages and dignity



British Leyland workers at mass meeting to vote on contract offer

while, and then everything will be okay again."

"But what has actually happened, by the company's own figures, is that BL workers have gone from being second or third top paid in the country to number ninety-two. Pay is down by 30 percent in real terms and productivity is up by 30 percent.

"Sixty-four thousand jobs have been lost since Edwardes took over.

"And the union's power in the plants has been drastically whittled down."

Most workers at British Leyland make less than \$200 a week now. Many also get public assistance in order to get by. Inflation is currently running at 11.7 percent.

The heads of the eleven different unions that represent BL workers supported the "survival plan" and discouraged strike action against it. The Labor government also backed the plan, despite the fact that the Labor Party is based on the trade unions and is supposed to defend the interests of the working class, not the bosses.

BL workers were divided over the "survival plan." Some hoped it would work. Most reluctantly accepted the wage cuts, if they were lucky enough to keep their jobs. Only a minority favored trying to fight for higher pay.

Change in mood

That changed with this year's contract negotiations. The BL workers demanded a £20 across-the-board wage increase per week (£1 = U.S. \$1.9) and a 53.5 percent increase for sixteen-year-old apprentices.

They also asked for more holidays, a reduction in the workweek, and improved sick and layoff pay.

Edwardes's response was brutal — a 3.8 percent increase, take it or leave it. The measly offer amounted to £2.50 a week for the highest-paid workers.

And if you strike, Edwardes threatened, we'll close down British Leyland completely, forever.

This "offer" was so outrageous that even the union officials supported a strike this time. In plant after plant, the workers voted overwhelmingly for a strike on November 1 if their demands were not met.

The liberal capitalist press portrayed Edwardes as a bit "unreasonable."

But Edwardes was simply carrying out his job for the British auto kings and the government of Prime

more cash — though we could all do with more money — it is against the bloodmindedness of management."

"Call it the need to keep our dignity, if you like," said another. "But we think our very rights as free men are at stake in BL now."

No backing down

Faced with this militancy, Thatcher and the ruling class had no intention of backing down. At the last minute, Edwardes made a tiny increase in the bonus rate, but that was it.

As the BL strike deadline neared, the ruling class unleashed a ferocious propaganda campaign in the media. Newspapers declared that as many as 450,000 related jobs in the auto industry would be lost if the strike went on.

Special propaganda was beamed at the West Midlands, where BL is concentrated and unemployment is already 16 percent.

One Tory politician predicted a disaster for the area worse than World War II. "The West Midlands faces devastation to its already weakened economy of a magnitude that the might of the Nazi bombers in five years of war could not bring about," he said.

In a further twist of the knife, the government announced that if the strike "forced" British Leyland to close, the workers would initially get no unemployment benefits.

Enormous political pressure was coming down on the BL workers. And not only from the capitalists and their Tory Party.

Michael Foot, the head of the Labor Party, pleaded with Thatcher to intervene (as if she wasn't already fully involved) to "stop this tragedy."

Foot said, "Anyone who talks to the management and unions, as we have done, would come to the conclusion that there is a possibility of a settlement without victory or defeat for either side, but solely a victory for the nation as a whole."

As the workers began preparing for picket duty, the union officials met for a last time with Edwardes. The BL executive stuck to his 3.8 percent; the officials retreated. The majority came out of the meeting telling the media it was now clear there was no more money to improve the offer.

The leaders of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW), one of the main unions at

What strategy for the Steelworkers?



Steelworkers marched with other unionists on Solidarity Day, September 19, in Washington, D.C. This massive response to Democratic- and Republican-party-supported attacks on union rights and social services shows the growing anger among workers and the potential for a united political and social movement by labor and its allies.

By Stu Singer

After the first two articles in this series were written (see November 27 and December 4 *Militant*), U.S. Steel Corporation offered \$6.4 billion to buy Marathon Oil Company. The steel industry giant said it had \$2.6 billion available in cold cash and billions more in lines of credit from banks.

U.S. Steel and Mobil Oil are now in a bidding war to buy Marathon.

As the article in last week's *Militant* pointed out, the steel barons "are not in business to make steel. Their purpose is to get the biggest return on the investment of the stockholders."

The U.S. Steel move into oil is only the latest and biggest maneuver by the steel companies to improve profit rates. U.S. Steel already has huge investments in chemical plants. National Steel has been buying savings and loan banks and owns 20 percent of a large stock brokerage company. Armco has bought so many other companies that they dropped the word steel from their name. Jones and Laughlin and Youngstown Sheet and Tube are now part of the LTV conglomerate which is pouring money into military production, not steel.

Diversifying their investments does not mean the steel companies plan to stop making steel. But instead of investing in modernizing steel making, they are putting more effort into intensifying the work and cutting wages of steelworkers.

Crying poverty

News about the U.S. Steel bid for Marathon was featured in newspapers throughout the country. It made quite an impression in steelworker communities.

One question steelworkers are asking is, where did U.S. Steel get the money?

The company has been crying poverty. They've been closing plants. Tens of thousands of steelworkers are laid off. The Supplementary Unemployment Fund has run out. "Participation teams" to increase productivity are being pushed with the help of union officials. The employers have been screaming, again, about the pain of imports.

Steel industry representatives, often with union backing, have been demanding reductions in health, safety and environmental rules and giant tax breaks.

The Reagan administration and congress have been giving them almost everything they want. U.S. Steel expects to get over \$100 million a year for

the next five years in federal tax giveaways.

This is one source of the funds to be invested in oil.

For years union officials have leaned on the argument that the steel industry is in trouble and union members have to sacrifice. Don't protest plant shutdowns, make concessions on contracts, campaign against imports — that's been the ABC of union politics.

A slap in the face

The multi-billion dollar bid for Marathon Oil knocks away this crutch. For the largest steel company to do this at the very moment it is demanding concessions in the basic steel contract, is a real show of contempt for the union leadership.

Steelworkers union President Lloyd McBride recently said the companies were in trouble because the union had "done too well in collective bargaining . . . these chickens are coming home to roost."

But how will McBride justify concessions to U.S. Steel with the company flaunting its wealth?

The union officialdom operates under the strategy that what's good for the companies is good for the workers. The oil company move may be good for profits. There's no way it's good for steelworkers.

What strategy should the union adopt?

Open the books

Steelworkers are legitimately concerned about company finances. The union should demand access to company records. Their ledger books, financial statements, computer printouts should be pried open, published, studied by the ranks of the union.

If information we now have about company finances were widely known by steelworkers, union-industry cooperation would have fallen apart long ago.

When the Youngstown mills were closed, steelworkers protested, but many accepted the argument that those old mills were unprofitable.

A look at the company books would have shown something different. In the first place, U.S. Steel is not run as a collection of plants with separate profit and loss statements. The company is an integrated whole, enjoying enormous advantages because of their large number of iron and coal mines, mills, railroads, ships, and barges. The scale of

production for U.S. Steel is a great source of wealth.

The fact is the Youngstown mills were among the most profitable for U.S. Steel. A steel mill that was still running after seventy years, like in Youngstown, had paid off all its fixed costs of land, plant, and machinery many times over.

Then why were they closed?

Because U.S. Steel could make an enormous, quick profit of hundreds of millions of dollars through tax write-offs.

And use the money to buy an oil company.

Another consideration, a crumb tossed to the union officials, was that closing the mills in Youngstown would eliminate one of the centers of opposition to the union's "official family," the bureaucracy.

30 for 40

As the truth gets out about how the companies operate, what kind of demands can the union raise to protect steelworkers?

One way to defend jobs is the demand for a shorter work week with no cut in pay.

Divide up the number of hours of work among the number of steelworkers. If one million labor hours are needed to meet the production for one plant, 667 workers can have jobs at thirty hours a week or 500 can work forty-hour weeks. The thirty-hour week at forty-hours pay will cost the company extra money. The forty-hour week at forty-hours pay costs the workers jobs.

Affirmative action

The layoffs and plant shutdowns have given the companies a chance to gut affirmative action programs for Blacks and women. Affirmative action should uphold the programs during layoffs. The mechanism is already there.

Affirmative action is carried out by meeting hiring and advancement quotas to reach percentage goals. Dual seniority lists already exist in the steel industry for bidding procedures.

The same dual seniority lists should be used in layoffs to prevent lowering the percentage of women and Blacks in the work force.

The steelworkers union was strengthened when pressure from the ranks forced it to support affirmative action. The company violations of affirmative action through layoffs do not just hurt women and Blacks. They weaken the whole union. One of the most militant parts of the union is cut out.

Right to strike and vote

Some reformers in the union pose the right to strike and the right to vote on

contracts as unrelated. For example, the Chicago-Gary area opposition leaders who recently came out in support of the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement, still claim to support the right of basic steelworkers to vote on the contract.

But it's not worth much to vote on a contract you have already agreed not to strike over.

It should be an elementary right of steelworkers to be able to read, study, and discuss contract proposals, vote on them, and exercise the strike weapon to win a better contract. These are not separate issues.

Union officials express time and again that the union cannot contemplate a strike because the economy is in bad shape and because the government is too hostile. Look at what they did to the air controllers, they say. You'd have to be crazy to think about striking now, even the more progressive union leaders argue.

The issues of the right of the members to vote and to strike are tied to the approach of the union leaders to the companies and the government.

The union cannot defend members against the companies and defend company profits at the same time. Neither can the union defend members without a strategy of taking on the government.

A labor party

Government policy affects every aspect of the relationship between workers and bosses. The government is involved in tax policy, safety and environment rules, hours of work, unemployment insurance, antistrike injunctions, union elections.

The antilabor offensive of the companies and the government today make clearer than ever that the government is not a neutral body.

The Democrats and the Republicans are the parties of the bosses.

With the Democratic Party "friends of labor" voting along with the Republican enemies of labor, millions of workers can see we have no friends in the government.

Labor's friends will come from the labor movement and its real allies: Blacks, women, farmers.

As long as union officials are tied to the bosses, they are tied to the politicians and parties of the bosses also.

Taking on the companies means taking on the government too.

Sometimes the idea of a labor party is presented as a way to get a few spokespeople for labor into the government. The point of organizing a labor party is much more than that.

Continued on next page

'We made their money'

By Mark Zola

PITTSBURGH — U.S. Steel's bid to pay six and a half billion dollars to buy an oil company did not set off celebrations in the mill towns of the Monongahela River Valley. More than 6,200 of the 26,000 basic steel workers employed by the steel giant in this area are laid off; others are on short work weeks.

The November 19 announcement sent waves of shock and anger through the mills, unemployment lines and homes of Homestead, Rankin, Braddock, Duquesne, McKeesport and Clairton.

"There's no security any more in the mills. I believe in ten years Homestead's going to be a ghost town. These open hearths they use are outdated," Jerry Bodner, a thirty-two year veteran of the U.S. Steel Homestead Works argued.

At the Edgar Thompson Works in

Braddock more than a third of the work force is laid off. Kim Bell, a blast furnace worker there, reacted to the merger reports like many others: "My first thought was how unfair. Then, the more I thought about it, the angrier I got. U.S. Steel is forgetting that we made their money and now we're out on the damn streets."

The November 20 *Pittsburgh Press* reported that steelworkers union President Lloyd McBride expressed some concern about the oil transaction. McBride says he intends to press the company to meet "some very definite obligations to the nation and its people, and to its employees."

The newspaper noted that those obligations include modernizing facilities. The company promised big investments for Mon Valley mills recently when the union leadership joined in seeking extensions of time for pollution cleanup.

Reagan's economic plan for the rich



By William Gottlieb

A good many workers have figured out that the Reagan administration's economic "recovery" program is actually aimed at redistributing wealth in favor of the rich.

And now this has been publicly admitted by none other than David Stockman, President Reagan's budget director. *Washington Post* journalist William Greider has published Stockman's revelations in the December issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

'Trickle down'

Stockman explained the origin of the phrase "supply side economics." "It's kind of hard to sell 'trickle down,'" Stockman explained, "so the supply-side formula was the only way to get a tax policy that was really 'trickle down.' Supply-side is 'trickle-down' theory."

The trickle-down "theory" holds that if profits of the rich and big business are increased at the expense of the working class, an economic boom will result. More jobs will thus be created. Thus, money will 'trickle down' to the working class.

Stockman explained, "The original argument was that the top bracket was too high, and that's having the most devastating effect on the economy. Then, the general argument was that, in order to make this palatable as a political matter, you had to bring down all the brackets." However, Stockman points out, "But, I mean, Kemp-Roth [the name of the Reagan tax-cut bill] was always a Trojan horse to bring down the top rate."

Did Stockman actually believe that the tax cuts for the rich would lead to the economic boom that Reagan promised in his campaign? "I've never be-

lieved that just cutting taxes alone," Stockman explained, "will cause output and employment to expand."

One of Reagan's most repeated campaign promises was that he would not tamper with the Social Security system. However, Stockman told Greider that Reagan had no intention of keeping this particular promise. But the problem was how to sell Social Security cuts to the American public.

Stockman explained that the idea was to paint the Social Security system as being on the verge of bankruptcy. Then it would be possible, he explained, for "the politicians to make it look like they were doing something for the beneficiary population when they are doing something to it, which they normally wouldn't have the courage to undertake." (original emphasis)

Stockman expressed his disappointment to Greider that Reagan has not moved ahead faster with massive cutbacks in Social Security.

Stockman, however, boasted to Greider that the \$4 billion Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) jobs program has been shut down, and the trade adjustment assistance for unemployed industrial workers has been slashed.

Still, Stockman thinks his accomplishments are rather modest. "Those were powerful spending programs that have been curtailed," Stockman mused, "but there was kind of a consensus emerging for that anyway, even before this administration." Stockman did not mention whether the "consensus" included those unemployed industrial workers who have had their unemployment payments reduced, or the CETA workers who have been thrown out on the streets.

Stockman told Greider that he believed that certain cosmetic "cuts" would have to be made in programs that benefit big business. So he pushed for a \$752 million cut in the budget of the Export-Import Bank, a government agency that finances foreign trade. It so happens that among the bank's clients are Boeing, Lockheed, General Electric, Westinghouse, McDonnell Douglas, Western Electric, and Combustion Engineering.

Stockman explains, "I sort of innocently asked, well, isn't there a terrible political spin on this? It's my impression that most of the money goes to a handful of big corporations, and if we are ever caught not cutting this while we're biting deeply into social programs, we're going to have big problems." Stockman went on, "So then I went into this demagogic tirade about how in the world can I cut food stamps and social services and CETA jobs and EDA jobs and you're going to tell me you can't give up one penny for Boeing?"

Reagan decided that Stockman had a point in proposing the cuts in the Export-Import Bank's budget. But while the administration took this demagogic stance, it knew full well that Congress would not cut the funds to the bank.

One area that was beyond the reach of Stockman's budget cutters was the Pentagon, what with Reagan planning the biggest military buildup in peacetime history.

While agreeing with Reagan on the need for a massive military buildup, Stockman did believe that it would be done more efficiently and cheaply. "The whole question," Stockman said, "is blatant inefficiency, poor deployment of manpower, contracting idiocy, and, hell, I think that Cap's [a reference to Reagan's Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger] going to be a pretty good mark over there. He's not a tool of the military-industrial complex."

However, "Cap" proved to be a pretty good "tool for the military-industrial complex" after all. Stockman pointed out, "They got a blank check. . . . So I let it go."

Bidding war

By last spring, it was pretty clear that Reagan's "assumptions" about falling interest rates and rising tax revenues from a booming economy were already unraveling. Even some Wall Street bankers were becoming concerned about the impact of military-primed deficits on financial markets. So they put pressure on Reagan to scale back on some of his tax giveaways.

In June, every business from real estate to oil sent their lobbyists to Washington to make sure their particular tax giveaways were retained. Soon, in

Greider's words, a "bidding war" broke out between Democrats and Republicans. Each party tried to exceed the other in granting tax giveaways to big business. Then the White House itself jumped in, and it became a three-way bidding war. As Stockman put it, "The basic strategy was to match or exceed the Democrats, and we did." By the time the dust had settled, big business had netted a cool \$750 billion in tax giveaways over the next five years.

The results even astonished David Stockman, case-hardened supporter of "free enterprise" that he is. "Do you realize the greed that came to the forefront?" Stockman implored, "The hogs were really feeding. The greed level, the level of opportunism, just got out of control." It is interesting to note that Stockman can't find any other metaphor for the ruling class he serves except "hog."

With the economy in recession and the unemployment lines growing longer by the week, the administration has to come up with a "new" strategy. According to Greider, Reagan is trying to shift the blame onto the Democrats in Congress. Just like Carter blamed the Republicans. The political shell game between the two big-business parties goes on and on.

As Christmas approaches the rich are relishing their tax cuts, as working people suffer from the triple blow of cutbacks in social spending, rising prices, and recession-caused layoffs.

But you have to give David Stockman credit for one thing. He made the best case for a labor party that anyone has made in a long time. And he wasn't even trying.



DAVID STOCKMAN

...strategy for the Steelworkers

Continued from page 7

For one thing, a labor party would be another fighting organization for working people, not just an election apparatus.

The giant turnout of half a million workers at the September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration was an example of the labor movement and its allies acting in a united way and acting politically.

The weakness of Solidarity Day was that the labor officialdom has no intention of following it up. The failure to use the momentum and example of Solidarity Day to launch a campaign to defend the PATCO strike is a crime. The bureaucrats committed another crime when they unveiled "Solidarity Day II" at the AFL-CIO convention a few weeks ago.

Solidarity Day II is set for November 2, 1982 — election day. Instead of a massive show of strength, it will be a show of weakness. Demonstrate by going to the

polls and voting for the Democrats who are no friends of labor.

A labor party would be the ongoing political apparatus to mobilize labor and its allies against budget cuts and strike breaking, for civil rights and women's rights, against the war drives of the capitalist government, and in solidarity with workers throughout the world.

A labor party would be a political vehicle to fight for a workers government: a government that is on the side of workers, farmers, the unemployed, oppressed nationalities and women.

A workers government would nationalize industries that threaten plant closings, instead of awarding them with tax giveaways.

A workers government would pass laws for a shorter work week with no cut in pay; enact and enforce stricter safety rules for industry; support strikes, not break them.

Working people are the majority in

society. We need a government that represents us, not the capitalist minority.

An outmoded system

Steelworkers are caught in the decline of an irrational, outmoded system, capitalism. We live in a society organized around production for profit, not human need.

The capitalists are trying to make the workers pay for the economic crisis of their system.

Steelworkers have a potentially powerful weapon to begin defending themselves in this crisis — their union. But the union has become conservatized and corrupted. Its entire leadership is tied into a way of thinking and operating based on seeing the interests of the workers and companies as identical.

This strategy is a failure. The union bureaucracy is becoming more conservative as they try to sell more conces-

sions and weaker contracts to help out the bosses.

But the union is not the leadership. And the ranks are not becoming more conservative. They are learning more about how the system works. They are radicalizing. The ranks of the union have not been defeated or demoralized.

The challenge for steelworkers today is greater than when the union was first built.

It will take radical solutions, not half-way measures, and certainly not more retreats.

New ideas and demands to start fighting back are percolating among the union members. As this fightback begins, a new leadership will be thrown forward.

The immediate tasks are to tell the truth, keep the ideas percolating, promote discussions, and encourage, build, and participate in the fightback actions that develop.

International Socialist review

Science and superstition Materialism vs. the mystical physicists

The Tao of Physics, by Fritjof Capra, Bantam, 1977. The Dancing Wu Li Masters, by Gary Zukav, Morrow and Co., 1979. The Eye of Shiva: Eastern Mysticism and Science, by Amaury de Riencourt, Morrow and Co., 1980.

Reviewed by Cliff Conner

In the 1960s, the infatuation of many Americans with eastern mysticism reached epidemic proportions. Hundreds of thousands read Zen koans and Taoist texts; a few joined cults, chucked their worldly goods, and moved into ashrams.

In one sense, this was a reaction to the hollowness of the popular fad-culture that surrounds us, but ironically it was itself a major fad. For some, the frenetic search for novelty found a gold mine in the esoterica of the East.

The newness has worn off and more than a few erstwhile mystics have floated off to other pursuits, but the widespread fascination with eastern mysticism left its mark. One result has been the appearance of a rash of popular books attempting to reconcile modern physics with traditional eastern philosophies.

There are three best-sellers that constitute the program of the mystical physics cult; I'll refer to them as *Tao*, *Wu Li*, and *Shiva* for short. While all are devoted to dissolving the achievements of modern physical science into mystical abstractions, they are not totally without redeeming value.

Wu Li is the most useful of the lot; a critical reader stands to gain some insights into modern physics. *Shiva*, on the other hand, is predominantly special pleading for mystical religiosity. *Tao* is somewhere in between.

Although these are theology texts masquerading as science books, the subject they deal with is certainly worthy of attention: what philosophical conclusions can be drawn from the revolutionary development of scientific knowledge that began at the turn of this century? How have relativity theory, quantum mechanics, and particle physics contributed to our understanding of the world?

The answers that *Tao*, *Wu Li*, and *Shiva* give are

old, soured wine in new bottles. Ever since the late nineteenth century discovery that electrons are better described as clouds of electrical charges than as tiny solid spheres, proponents of philosophical idealism have been declaring the "disappearance of matter," which "proves" the falsity of the materialist philosophical outlook. This is the essence of the physics-mystics' case as well.

The opposition of the materialist and idealist outlooks is the most fundamental of all philosophical divisions. Materialism holds that the world of material reality exists *external* to our minds (or any minds) and *independent* of our perceptions of it. The material world existed *prior* to the existence of intelligence and would exist even in the absence of intelligence; intelligence is a product of the evolution of matter. Therefore, matter has priority over mind.

The opposite outlook, idealism, awards mind priority over matter. Some extreme variants deny the real existence of anything that is not perceived: if nobody hears a tree falling in the forest, then no sound (and therefore no tree) exists. Others attribute all of reality to the prior existence of some universal mind. This is the idealistic essence of all religious thought, whether it takes the form of one or more gods, or the most abstract form of a disembodied, all-pervasive, universal consciousness.

Although many scientists harbor idealistic philosophical notions, the practice of science is fundamentally a materialist endeavor. It is the search for lawful explanations for natural phenomena. Supernatural explanations — involving gods, for example — are ruled out by definition.

As science has progressed, idealism has been forced to retreat. As more knowledge of the material world has been gained, it has cut the ground from under superstition and irrationalism. The aim of the mystical physics cult is to find a basis for idealism in the physical sciences or extort it illegitimately.

The territory they have staked out is the borderline area between what is known and what is not known about the material world. These are realms

foreign to direct human perception — the micro-world of subatomic entities and the gigantic stretches of intergalactic space measured in light years.

The laws of nature on these levels of reality are far removed from our everyday experience. They violate our commonsense notions. The physics-mystics attempt to dazzle us with this strangeness; the purpose of mysticism, after all, is to mystify. The aim of science, by contrast, is to clarify.

The mystic is anxious to prove that knowledge of the material world is unattainable. A favorite citation from the Taoist text is, "He who knows does not speak; he who speaks does not know." Science is the pursuit of knowledge that can be spoken, shared, and put to practical use.

Ostrich Syndrome

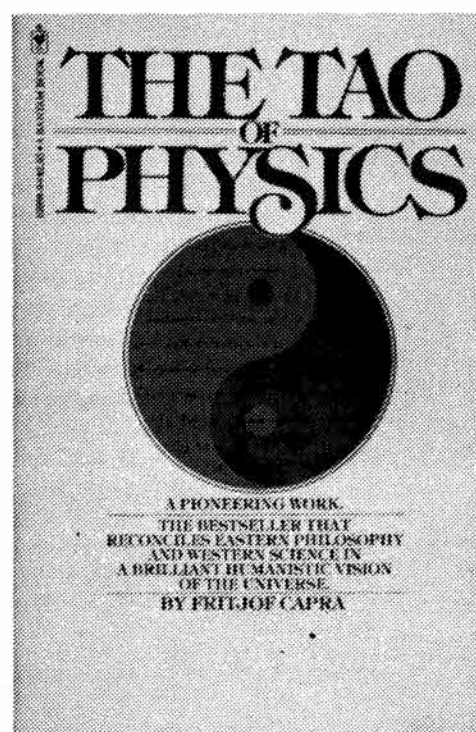
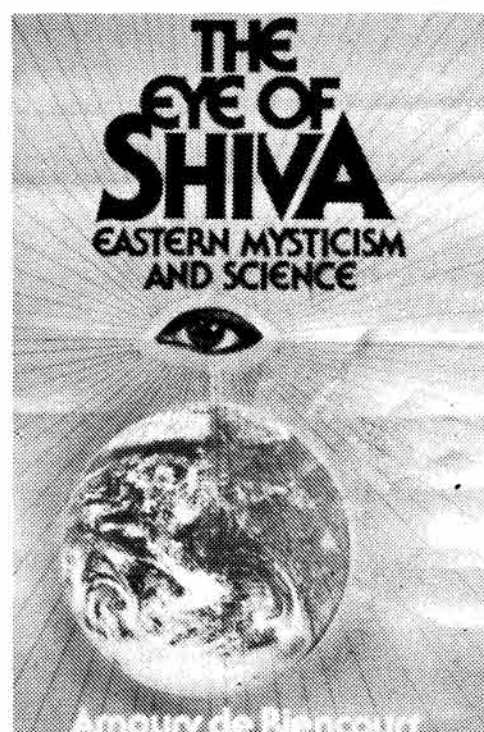
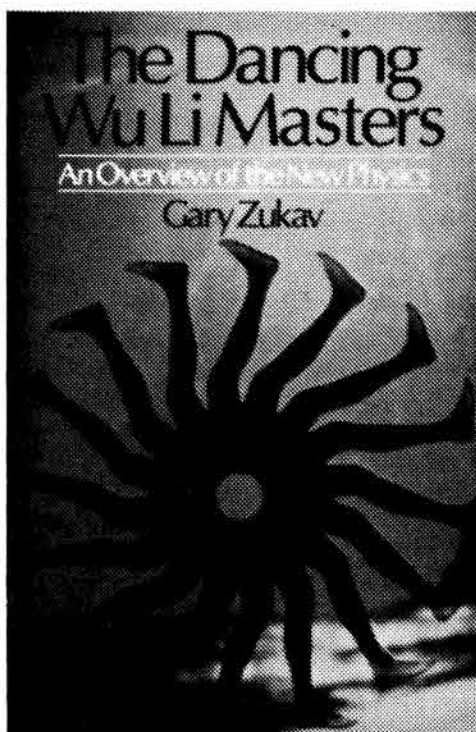
"Materialism vs. mysticism" is an ideological issue of interest to Marxists because the political effects are felt far beyond religious colonies. The ideas formulated by the physics-mystics trickle down into popular culture. Their central message was expressed in a well-known line from the Beatles' song, "Hey Jude": "The movement you need is on your shoulders."

The image of a meditating guru symbolizes the quietism that stems from a mystical outlook. Scientific knowledge, on the other hand, leads to active transformation of the environment.

The ostrich syndrome prevails: bury your head in the sand and the external world won't exist. Close your eyes and the Reagan administration will go away and leave you alone.

If the external world is unreal, why worry about El Salvador? If the world is unknowable, how can you claim to understand the situation in a faraway land? Even if El Salvador really exists and real people are dying there, there's nothing you can do about it: "According to the enlightened view, the world couldn't be any other way. It is neither well nor not well. It is simply what it is." (*Wu Li*). Shades of Dr. Pangloss's "best of all possible worlds"!

Continued on next page



"There are three best-sellers that constitute the program of the mystical physics cult. All are devoted to dissolving the achievements of modern physical science into mystical abstractions."



FREDERICK ENGELS

'The mechanical materialists contributed a great deal of indispensable scientific knowledge, but since the material world cannot be reduced to merely mechanical processes, their outlook led them into an impasse. A higher, more correct and non-mechanistic trend among materialists arose, developing into the formulation of dialectical materialism by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.'

Continued from previous page

The antimaterialism of the physics-mystics relies on a distorted characterization of the materialist outlook. Materialism, like all aspects of human thought, has developed over thousands of years. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, materialists generally interpreted the universe as a big, multifaceted machine; hence, their outlook came to be called mechanical materialism.

The mechanical materialists contributed a great deal of indispensable scientific knowledge, but since the material world cannot be reduced to merely mechanical processes, their outlook led them into an impasse. A higher, more correct and non-mechanistic trend among materialists arose, developing into the formulation of dialectical materialism by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

The physics-mystics use the outmoded mechanical model as a foil and have no difficulty scoring points against it. Their job is made easier by the fact that there are still many physicists and other scientists today who, in their philosophical outlook, have not progressed beyond the mechanistic world view.

Mechanical materialism is incapable of expunging the mysticism from physics; a more modern, sophisticated, comprehensive materialism is necessary. But the mystics hold an artificial political advantage due to the pariah status of dialectical materialism in the western academic world. That is a major reason why their nonsense has not been revealed to the general public for what it is.

Asimov's Challenge

According to the physics-mystics, modern science is merely groping toward what the ancient Hindu, Buddhist, and Taoist masters knew all

along. Isaac Asimov, responding to Capra's *Tao of Physics*, issued this put-up-or-shut-up challenge:

"Many Eastern sages have said many things in elliptical and obscure language. . . . Anyone as imaginative and dedicated as Fritjof Capra . . . can go through the vast volume of Eastern sage-sayings and come up with remarks that can be interpreted to seem to match any scientific conclusion. . . .

"But if . . . the Eastern sages are as knowledgeable about the universe as physicists are, then why not take matters in reverse? Why not use the wisdom of the East as a key to some of the unanswered questions in physics? For instance:

"What is the basic component making up subatomic particles that physicists call a quark? How many different quarks are there? What is the relationship between the intensity of their interactions and distance? Are the leptons — the lightest particles, such as the electron — made up of anything simpler? Are there any additional heavy leptons? How many? What is the relationship between quarks and leptons? And so on.

"Physicists are attempting to find answers to these questions by using enormously expensive instruments to study cosmic rays and to promote high-energy particle interactions — that is, the smashing together of subatomic particles at enormous speeds to see what changes are produced. It would be much simpler to study Taoist texts for the answers. But if Taoist texts can only be properly understood after physicists reach the answers, then of what scientific use are the Taoist texts?

"What nonsense all this supposed intuitional truth is, and how comic is the sight of the genuflections made to it by rational minds who lost their nerve."¹

Asimov's reply is sufficient to deflate the scientific pretensions of the physics-mystics. But some of their attempts to mystify particular aspects of modern physics also deserve specific answers. Let us examine the mystics' claims that several fundamental elements of reality and knowledge have "disappeared": matter, objectivity, causality, and logic.

'Matter Has Disappeared' — Part I

"The search for the ultimate stuff of the universe ends with the discovery that there *isn't any*. If there is any ultimate stuff of the universe, it is pure energy, but subatomic particles are not 'made of' energy, they *are* energy." (Wu Li, emphasis in original)

Shiva cites black holes, "into which everything material disappears without a trace . . . pointing out in bold relief the ephemerality of 'matter' itself."

As previously mentioned, these are variations on the theme that matter "disappeared" with the discovery of the electron's field-like properties. A dialectical materialist reply to this claim was formulated before the development of quantum mechanics, but it remains fully valid today. Its author was not a physical scientist, but was among the most important theorists and practitioners of the science of society: V.I. Lenin. In his book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*² Lenin dismissed the childish notion that matter could only be considered in terms of solid substance. "The concept *matter*," he explained, "implies *nothing but* objective reality existing independently of the human mind and reflected by it." The description of matter in terms of mass or energy, waves or particles, or even probability waves or space-time fields, implies the existence of matter in various forms, not its nonexistence. These are features of material reality, but the adjectives do not replace the noun.

'Matter Has Disappeared' — Part II

"Early in the twentieth century . . . the science of physics . . . began to withdraw from the familiar world of sense-perceptions into an increasingly abstract mathematical description of the universe. . . . Contrary to classical science, physics now states without ambiguity that the commonsensical world in which we live simply does not exist; all our impressions of ultimate solid substances are deceptive." (Shiva)

The point here is that the material world is nothing but illusion; the only reality is the spiritual world. Nonetheless, as was pointed out long ago, if you give a rock a swift kick you will hurt your toe and the pain may persuade you that the rock is not an illusion.

1. "Science and the Mountain Peak," by Isaac Asimov, in the Winter 1980-81 issue of *The Skeptical Inquirer*.

2. Required reading for anyone interested in the Marxist approach to philosophy and science.

The "commonsensical" world does exist. Common sense — with its basis in formal logic and its generally mechanical outlook — is of limited value in interpreting the world, even on the level of everyday experience. And it breaks down completely on the subatomic level, where "quantum sense" (derived from the laws of quantum mechanics) must replace commonsensical Newtonian mechanics.

But how we "sense" the real world of matter in motion at any level has nothing to do with the fact that it exists. It exists — and resists — whether or not we sense it at all.

The mathematical abstractions that physicists use describe a microworld so far removed from our ordinary experience that we are unable to visualize it; we cannot easily picture it in our mind's eye or build a scale model of it. Should we then conclude that the mathematical equations describe nothing real? That pure abstractions hold existential priority over the material world?

This is clearly untenable. The equations were developed and applied because of their predictive value in the material world. If Erwin Schrödinger's wave equations had not been shown experimentally to at least partially describe the behavior of subatomic entities, then they would not have entered the realm of physical science. In other words, if they didn't *work* they would not have gained acceptance among physicists. The mathematical abstractions are derived from and tested against the observation of matter in motion; the material world is not created out of these abstractions.

'Objectivity Has Disappeared' — Part I

"The study of relativity theory, for example, can produce the remarkable experience that space and time are only mental constructions." (Wu Li)

"Since space and time are now reduced to the subjective role of the elements of the language a particular observer uses for his or her description of natural phenomena, each observer will describe the phenomena in a different way." (Tao)

This misinterpretation of Albert Einstein's theory has been around almost as long as the theory itself, and it has been thoroughly repudiated. The fact that all three of these mystical physics books drag out this old chestnut indicates that they are not aiming at an audience of knowledgeable readers, but at those who make up the "occult" book-buying market.

In brief, their argument is this: Einstein showed that spatial measurements are not absolute, but vary according to the relative motion of the measuring instrument. The measuring instrument is often called "the observer," introducing a false implication that it must be a human subject. Einstein likewise showed that measurements of time are not absolute.

What this means is that two human observers moving at a great speed relative to each other will measure times and distances differently. Therefore, time and space are not fully objective features of an externally existing world, but are at least partly functions of the subjective point of view of individual observers. The full implication is that there is no objective world; it's all in your head.

What the physics-mystics conveniently neglect to explain is that Einstein went further. He also showed that time and space are not rigidly distinct properties of reality, but are interdependent and inseparable aspects of a unified property he called "space-time."

While measurements of distances and times between events, taken separately, can vary among observers (though always to a lawful, calculable degree), measurements of *space-time intervals* are *invariant* with respect to observers.

Relativity theory has deepened our understanding of the objective world. Far from disappearing, objectivity has been raised to a higher level and put on more solid ground. It is simply fraudulent to claim, as Capra does in *Tao*, that "relativity theory . . . shattered . . . the ideal of an objective description of nature."

Although this relativity-based argument has few serious defenders, a more widely held challenge to objectivity has developed out of quantum theory.

'Objectivity Has Disappeared' — Part II

"The old physics assumes that there is an external world which exists apart from us. . . . The new physics, quantum mechanics, tells us clearly that it is not possible to observe reality without changing it. . . . According to quantum mechanics there is no such thing as objectivity." (Wu Li)

"In short, if we weren't here to make them, there wouldn't be any particles!" (Wu Li)

"Quantum theory has made it clear that [atomic] phenomena can be understood only as links in a chain of processes, the end of which lies in the consciousness of the human observer." (Tao)

The microworld of subatomic entities cannot be directly perceived. It exists beyond the limitations of our human sensory apparatus, even if enhanced by the most powerful microscopes. Nonetheless, its existence and many of its properties and regularities are known to us through the interactions of microentities with carefully designed instruments. You cannot see an electron, but you can see its vapor train through a cloud chamber.

The idea of "observing" something usually implies being on the outside looking in, and perceiving without disturbing. But we cannot observe the microworld in this way. Our apparatus and measuring instruments must interact with the microentities under observation. Observers cannot avoid having an effect on that which they are observing. It follows, then, that a purely mechanical observation of the microworld is ruled out in principle.

Up to this point all are in agreement. But then the physics-mystics leap to the conclusion that the microworld itself has no independent, objective existence.

The implicit argument is that what we humans cannot directly perceive does not exist. This is no more than a modern variant of a fundamental tenet of idealism. Does a falling tree fail to exist when nobody perceives it? Does an electron lack objective existence because its detection requires the "subjective" or intermediate intrusion of an experimenter? It is false to assert, as the physics-mystics do, that quantum mechanics gives credence to this classical metaphysical notion.

'Causality Has Disappeared'

"The whole idea of a causal universe is undermined by the uncertainty principle." (Wu Li)

In the 1920s, the German scientist Werner Heisenberg made one of the most important contributions to quantum mechanics. He showed that the motion of subatomic entities cannot be described in the same way that we describe the motion of more familiar, larger objects. The motion of the moon, for example, can be specified by its position and its momentum. If you know where it is, and which way it's going and how fast, you can plug these factors into a mathematical equation and accurately figure out its future positions. That makes eclipses easy to predict.

But an electron is another matter. Heisenberg showed that you can determine either its position or its momentum at any given time, but not both. That means that future positions cannot be predicted with accuracy, and are therefore to some degree "uncertain." That is the uncertainty principle (a.k.a. the "indeterminacy principle").

The physics-mystics take this to mean that the stuff the universe is made of is in completely random motion and unpredictable. Therefore nothing is really predictable; all causality and lawfulness in nature and in human history are illusory.

First of all, let us recall that eclipses are predictable. The trajectories of bullets are predictable. In general, the uncertainty principle applies to matter in motion on the microworld scale, but not on the macroworld scale. It is just as false to apply quantum-mechanical conclusions to cannonballs as it is to apply Newtonian mechanics to electrons.

If you jump from a tall building, the law of gravity will see to it that you suffer the anticipated consequences. Do not count on the uncertainty principle to waft you safely into the astral plane. Lawfulness and causality in the macroworld have not been abrogated.

Nor have they disappeared in the microworld. The laws of quantum mechanics differ from the laws of classical mechanics, but they are laws.

Lawfulness in the microworld is evidenced by regularity; by the ability of its motion to be described in mathematical terms. Although position and momentum are not rigidly specifiable (after all, electrons are not hard little projectiles), equations that specify the state of a subatomic entity can predict how that state will vary over time. It is false to characterize motion in the microworld as purely random.

Possibility and Reality

Nonetheless, the motion of microentities is not simple motion, and the mathematics that describe it include an element of probability (reflecting an element of randomness). Therefore, the mystics claim, subatomic entities — of which everything in the universe is made — are not quite real, but are merely probabilities or potentialities:

"At the atomic level, then, the solid material objects of classical physics dissolve into patterns of probabilities. . . . This . . . is the way in which Eastern mystics have experienced the world. . . ."

Again, the "strangeness" of the microworld does not imply that it doesn't exist. What an incredibly narrow-minded conclusion: if subatomic entities fail to fit our preconceptions, then we will simply refuse to acknowledge their reality! That is anthropocentrism with a vengeance.

Instead, let us humbly accept that the microworld exists, however peculiar its forms may appear to us. The next question is how to interpret those peculiar forms.

You may have noticed that I use the term subatomic "entities" rather than "particles." An electron, for example, does have certain particle-like qualities, but it also has wave-like qualities, which means that it would be false to treat it simply as a particle. This is the most outstanding strangeness of the microworld: the "wave-particle duality" that characterizes all subatomic entities.

Role of Probability

In interpreting the motion of an electron, it is often easier for our minds to conceive of it as a rigid little point-particle zipping along in space. *This conception is an abstraction of electron motion. It does not fully represent the motion of real electrons.* It ignores an essential part of the material reality of the electron; that is, its wave-like qualities.

Calculations of an electron's "position" that involve probability equations are dealing only with the abstraction. The real, material electron is not probable; it exists.

The inability of our minds to fully come to grips with the material reality of the wave-particle duality reflects the fact that human thought developed out of perceptions on the macroworld level. That electrons can't be pictured in our mind's eye only reveals the limitations of our minds and is itself a powerful argument against the priority of mind over matter. Material reality is far richer than our imaginations, shaped by our limited experience.

The discovery that probability equations were needed to describe the motion of individual entities came as a shock to many scientists. Some took a mechanical-materialist view and refused to accept it, projecting the hope that further research would bring a return to strict classical-style determinism. Others took the idealist view that probability in the microworld proves that all matter is ultimately unreal.

Dialectical materialists rejected both of these conclusions. The probabilistic character of natural law in the microworld was understood as the dialectical interaction of chance and necessity on a very fundamental level.

Chance and Necessity

Chance and necessity are opposites, but they are not rigidly separate categories, as both mechanical materialists and idealists assume. They are dialectical opposites that interact with each other. Every accident includes an element of necessity and every deterministic event contains an element of chance.

An automobile skidding out of control, for example, is an accident from the driver's point of view, but it is the necessary result of the confluence of certain factors, including the weight and speed of the car and the coefficient of friction between tires and pavement.

A political demonstration, on the other hand, is a good example of a determined event — it is deliberately planned — but experienced organizers know that it includes many unpredictable, chance aspects.

This understanding of the interaction of chance and necessity made it possible for dialectical materialists to come to grips with probability in the microworld without having to jettison the fundamental principle of material existence.

Confronted with contradictions in nature, the mechanical materialist denies the existence of the contradictions, while the mystic denies the existence of nature. Far from rejecting contradiction, the physics-mystics revel in the studied absurdity of Zen koans. This antilogical outlook provides the basis for another of their primary themes:

'Logic Has Disappeared'

"It seems impossible to accept that something can be, at the same time, a particle — i.e., an entity confined to a very small volume — and a wave, which is spread out over a large region of space. . . . The apparent contradiction between the parti-

cle and the wave . . . called in question . . . the concept of the reality of matter." (Tao)

According to formal logic — specifically, the law of the excluded middle — an entity cannot be both a particle and a wave. A wave is a wave, a particle is a particle, and never the twain shall meet. The wave-particle duality is anathema to formal logic.

But if logic is destroyed, then we can't know anything anyway, because logic is the basis of thought and knowledge. Which way out of this dilemma? The mystics hum their answer: "Ommmm . . ."

Fortunately, all is not lost, and a lapse into mysticism is not necessary. The problem comes from absolutizing the first principle of formal logic.

Formal logic, formulated by Aristotle more than 2,000 years ago, is an indispensable tool of thought. But in the nineteenth century, the German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel showed the limitations of formal logic; that its laws are never more than approximations. He devised a system of dialectical logic that incorporated the laws for formal logic but went further.

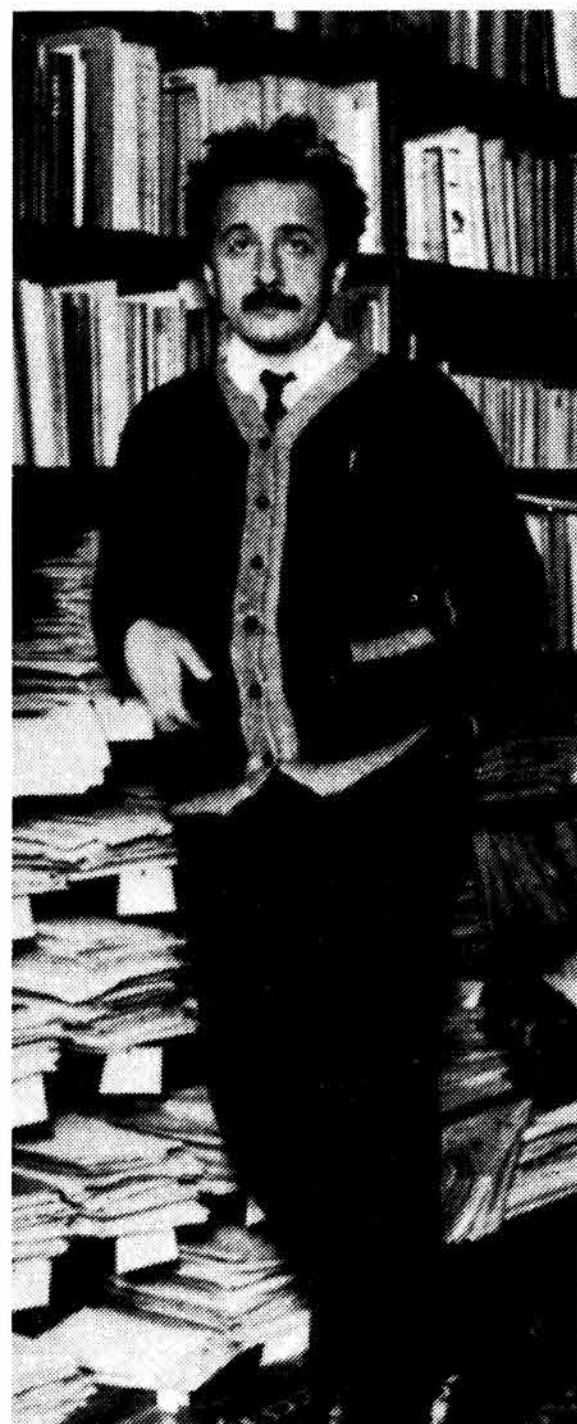
Dialectical Materialism

Formal logic is applicable only to static phenomena. Dialectical logic is able to encompass motion and change. Since nowhere is motion more obviously a necessary characteristic of matter than in the microworld, the need for dialectical logic in interpreting reality on this level is evident.

Formal logic insists upon rigid categorization. Dialectical logic insists that there are no absolute, immutable categories in nature; no sharp dividing lines between biological species, for example, and no unbridgeable distinction between waves and particles.

Continued on page ISR/8

'Relativity theory has deepened our understanding of the objective world. Far from disappearing, objectivity has been raised to a higher level and put on more solid ground.'



ALBERT EINSTEIN

The Black struggle

How an earlier generation of communists saw it

Introduction

The Communist International, during the period when Lenin was alive, held many rich discussions and adopted resolutions which remain to this day an important part of the programmatic heritage of all revolutionary Marxists. Founded in March 1919, the Comintern held four congresses and a number of executive committee meetings in the five years before Lenin died.

At both the second and fourth congresses, held in 1920 and 1922 respectively, the question of national liberation and the struggle in the colonial countries was discussed and theses adopted.

At the second congress Lenin presented the "Preliminary Theses on the National and Colonial Question," one of the principal resolutions adopted by the Comintern.

The fourth congress adopted "Theses on the East," which were based on the second congress document, but developed some points more fully.

Along with this resolution, the fourth congress adopted a set of theses on the oppression of Blacks world wide which we are reprinting here.

In articles about the United States and in letters to American communists, Lenin often took up the oppression of Blacks and the discrimination against immigrants to the United States coming from the colonial world. In the period before the Russian Revolution in 1917 he opposed the abysmal attitude of many socialist leaders in the United States toward Blacks, including the practice of segregated branches of the Socialist Party in some areas. During this period even the most progressive-minded American socialists did not see the oppression of Blacks as a special problem.

Lenin, however, had a different view. In an article written in early 1917 on the national question inside the advanced capitalist countries, he characterized Blacks in the United States as "an oppressed nation." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 271-273.)

In preparing for the second congress discussion on the national question Lenin solicited information about Blacks in the United States. At the congress John Reed from the U.S. delegation provided some facts on the situation of Blacks in the U.S. and offered some of his opinions. (His remarks appear in *The Second Congress of the Communist International*, Vol 1, pp. 120-131, New Park Publications.)

At the final session of the third congress in July 1921, the South African delegation proposed that the executive committee consider the Black question.

A commission was established at the fourth congress to draft a resolution. It was introduced by Otto Huiswoud (pseudonym was Billings) a Black member of the U.S. delegation. The prominent Jamaican-born poet Claude McKay, who was not a member of the American CP, was present as a special delegate. He participated in the commission and in the floor discussion.

McKay was in the Soviet Union for six months and had hoped to meet Lenin. In his autobiography, *A Long Way from Home*, written in 1937, McKay says, "Of all the big Bolshevik leaders, I had desired most to have a personal word from Lenin. I had been amazed in 1920, when I received in London a special message from John Reed informing me that Lenin had brought the Negro question before the Communist Congress and inviting me to visit Moscow."

McKay did not go to Moscow until 1922 and Lenin was too ill to meet with McKay, but he was able to meet with other Bolshevik leaders including Leon Trotsky. During his stay, he prepared some material for Trotsky and a set of questions which Trotsky answered in a letter. Trotsky's letter was published in *International Press Correspondence* (March 13, 1923), a publication of the Comintern.

The Comintern discussions on the national question qualitatively changed the way American communists approached the Black struggle in the United States. James P. Cannon, an early leader of the American Communist Party and later of the Socialist Workers Party and a delegate to the

fourth congress, wrote in 1959, "Even before the First World War and the Russian Revolution, Lenin and the Bolsheviks were distinguished from all other tendencies in the international socialist and labor movement by their concern with the problems of oppressed nations and national minorities, and affirmative support of their struggles for freedom, independence and the right of self-determination. . . .

"After November 1917 this new doctrine — with special emphasis on Negroes — began to be transmitted to the American communist movement with the authority of the Russian Revolution behind it. The Russians in the Comintern started on the American communists with the harsh, insistent demand that they shake off their own unspoken prejudices, pay attention to the special problems and grievances of the American Negroes, go to work among them, and champion their cause in the white community." (*The First Ten Years of American Communism*, Pathfinder Press)

The world conference on the Black struggle projected in the Comintern resolution was never held.

The translation of the Fourth congress theses that appears here is taken from the *Communist International Documents (1919-1943)*, Vol. 1, edited by Jané Degras. The resolution also appears in *Theses, Resolutions, and Manifestos of the First Four Congresses of the Communist International*, Ink Links.

The resolution

During and after the war a movement of revolt against the power of world capital developed among the colonial and semi-colonial peoples which is still making headway. The penetration and intensive colonization of the areas inhabited by the black races is the last great problem on the solution of which the further development of capitalism itself depends. French capitalism has clearly recognized that the power of French postwar imperialism can be maintained only by the creation of a French African empire connected with the motherland by a railway across the Sahara. America's finance magnates (who already exploit 12 million Negroes in the United States) have now begun on the peaceful penetration of Africa. England's fear of the threat to its position in Africa is shown clearly in the extreme methods used to suppress the Rand strike.¹ Just as the danger of a new world war has become acute in the Pacific, as a result of the competition between the imperialist Powers

1. The Rand strike took place in South Africa in early 1922. It was an action by white miners in which the company successfully pitted white workers against Black. One of the central issues in the strike was opposition to the employers hiring and promoting Black workers, most



'As America was inevitably dragged into the maelstrom in the army and organized in Negro regiments. Immer and the whites.' Left: all-Black regiment during World War I.

there, so there are menacing signs that Africa is becoming the object of their rival aspirations. Moreover, the war, the Russian revolution, and the powerful movements of revolt among the Asiatic and Moslem peoples against imperialism, have awakened the race consciousness of millions of Negroes, who have for centuries been oppressed and humiliated by capitalism not only in Africa, but also, and perhaps to a greater degree, in America.

The history of the Negroes in America qualifies them to play an important part in the liberation struggle of the entire African race. Three hundred years ago the American Negro was dragged from his homeland, brought in indescribably horrible conditions on board ship, and sold into slavery. For 250 years he worked as a slave under the lash of American overseers. His labor cleared the forests, built the roads, planted the cotton, laid the railways, and kept the aristocracy of the south. His wages were poverty, ignorance, humiliation, and wretchedness. The Negro was not a docile slave; his history is rich in revolts, disturbances, and

of whom were not organized in unions, for some jobs held by white workers. The racism of the union leadership facilitated their use of this divisive tactic. The strike was brutally suppressed following an armed uprising, with scores of striking miners killed and hundreds jailed.

Further reading

On the Communist International

By V.I. Lenin

National Liberation Movement in the East
363 pp., \$2.45

On the United States
674 pp., \$3.65

Right of Nations to Self-Determination
79 pp., \$.50

Speeches at Party Congresses (1918-1922)
360 pp., \$3.45

Speeches at Congresses of the Communist International
176 pp., \$3.45

By Leon Trotsky

First Five Years of the Communist International
2 vols., \$6.95 each

On Black Nationalism and Self-Determination
95 pp., \$2.95

By James P. Cannon

First Ten Years of American Communism
343 pp., \$6.95

Also

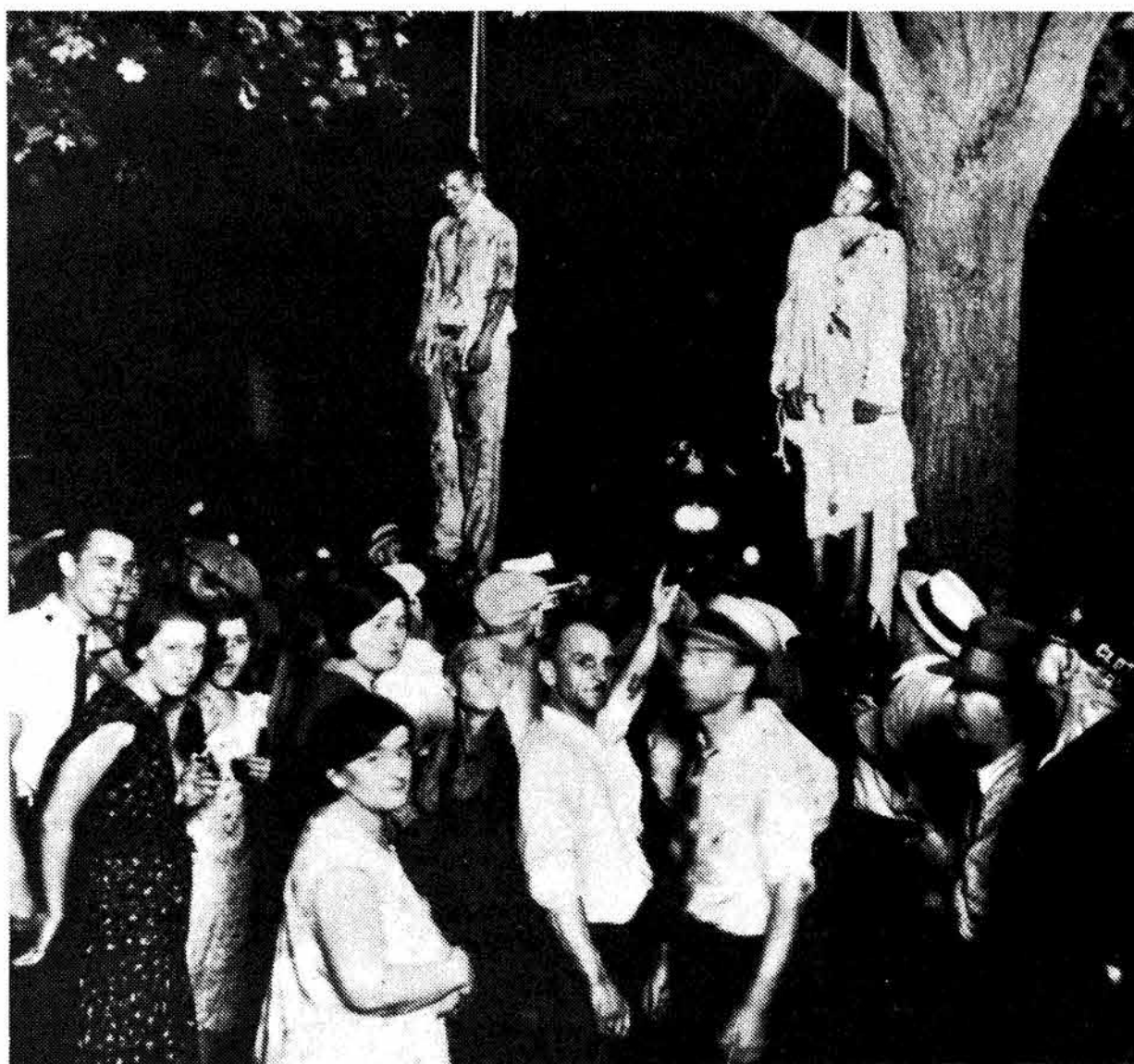
Baku Congress of the Peoples of the East
204 pp., \$4.95

The First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East
242 pp., \$8.95

Theses, Resolutions, and Manifestos of the First Four Congresses of the Comintern
481 pp., \$14.95 (paperback)

Second Congress of the Communist International
2 vols., \$6.95 each

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



of the world war, the Negro was declared to be equal in rank to the whites. He had to kill and be killed for "democracy." Four hundred thousand colored workers were enrolled in the army and organized in Negro regiments. Immediately after the terrible sacrifices of the world war the returning Negro was met with racial persecution, lynching, murdering, deprivation of franchise, inequalities between him and the whites. He defended himself and had to pay dearly for it. Negro persecution before and after the war. Right: postwar lynching in the south.

subterranean methods of gaining freedom. But all his struggles were savagely suppressed. He was forced into subjection by torture, and the bourgeois press and religion justified his enslavement. Slavery then became an obstacle to American development on a capitalist basis; personal slavery came into conflict with wage slavery, and personal slavery was bound to go under.

The civil war, which was not a war to free the Negroes, but a war to maintain the industrial predominance of capital in the northern states, confronted the Negro with the choice between slavery in the south and wage slavery in the north. The longings, the blood, and the tears of the "emancipated" negroes were a part of the fabric of American capitalism. As America, which had meanwhile risen to the position of a world Power, was inevitably dragged into the maelstrom of the world war, the Negro was declared to be equal in rank to the whites. He had to kill and be killed for "democracy." Four hundred thousand colored workers were enrolled in the army and organized in Negro regiments. Immediately after the terrible sacrifices of the world war the returning Negro was met with racial persecution, lynching, murder, deprivation of franchise, inequalities between him and the whites. He defended himself and had to pay dearly for it. Negro persecution be-

came more intense and widespread than before the war, until he learned to forget his "presumption." The postwar industrialization of the Negro in the north, and the spirit of rebellion provoked by persecution and brutality after the war (which, although suppressed, still flared up in protest against such atrocities as the events in Tulsa),² give the American Negro, particularly in the north, a place in the vanguard of the fight against oppression in Africa.

The Communist International notes with satisfaction the resistance of the exploited Negro to the exploiters' attack, for the enemy of his race and the enemy of the white workers are one and the same — capitalism and imperialism. The world struggle of the Negro race is a struggle against capitalism and imperialism. The Negro movement throughout the world must be organized on this basis; in

2. During this period, when a Black man was accused of assaulting on white woman, often a white lynch mob would go to the jail, take the person being held for trial, and brutally murder him in a public show of racism. When this occurred in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1921, a group of armed Blacks went to the jail to protect the prisoner. The cops and white mobs attacked them, the National Guard was called out, and twenty-one Blacks and nine whites were killed in the violence that followed. This came two years after similar attacks on Blacks in a number of other cities.

America, the center of Negro culture around which the Negro protest crystallizes; in Africa, the reservoir of human labor power for the further development of capitalism; in Central America (Costa Rica, Guatemala, Colombia, Nicaragua, and the other "independent" Republics) where American imperialism rules; in Puerto Rico, Haiti, San Domingo, and the other islands of the Caribbean, where the brutal treatment of our black fellow beings by the American occupation troops has aroused a protest from the conscious Negro and the revolutionary white workers throughout the world; in South Africa and the Congo, where increasing industrialization of the Negro population has led to various outbreaks; in East Africa, where the penetration of world capital is driving the native population to active resistance against imperialism.

It is the task of the Communist International to bring home to the Negroes that they are not the only people suffering from the oppression of imperialism and capitalism, that the workers and peasants of Europe, Asia, and America are also victims of the imperialist exploiter, that in India and China, in Persia and Turkey, in Egypt and Morocco the oppressed colored workers are defending themselves heroically against the imperialist exploit-

Continued on page ISR/8

Claude McKay's contribution to the discussion

The following contribution by Claude McKay to the discussion at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International on the 'Theses on the Negro Question' was published in 'International Press Correspondence' (November 21, 1922). McKay, a Jamaican-born poet and a leading figure in the 'Harlem renaissance' was present as a special delegate.

The Negro population of America is estimated at between 12 and 15 millions. About 20 percent of this number is distributed throughout the Northern States; the rest live in the South.

Negro workers of the South may be roughly divided into four sections. In the cities they are (1) stevedores, (2) small factory workers and artisans. In the country they are (3) small farmers and (4) cotton plantation workers. The Southern Negroes are largely unorganized, although of late years there has sprung up some movement for organization among the land workers. The Southern whites

are also unorganized except in the old craft and railroad unions.

The Negro today is not loyal to any party. From the end of the Civil War until the period of the Roosevelt Administration he was fairly loyal to the Republican Party as the Party of Lincoln who emancipated the slaves. But he is now disillusioned; he has many great grievances against "white" America, such as Lynching, Disenfranchisement and Serfdom in the South and Social and Industrial discrimination in the North, but in the main he is only race conscious and rebellious, not revolutionary and class conscious.

It may even be said that Negroes are anti-socialistic, except for a goodly number of young colored intellectuals who have been forced back into the masses by competition and suppression. Since, however, America entered the European War, the Negroes have been ripe for revolutionary propaganda. The Garvey "Back to Africa" movement has swept American Negroes like a storm. Although the masses of them know that they must remain in America, they responded to the emotional appeal

as a relief from their sufferings.

But the future of the American Negro, whether they become the pawn of the bourgeoisie in its fight against white labor or whether they become class-conscious, depends on the nature of the propaganda that is conducted among them and the tactics adopted toward their special needs. At present the blacks distrust and hate the whites to such an extent that they, the blacks, are very hostile to the radical propaganda of the whites. They are more partial to the humanitarians.

The blacks are hostile to Communism because they regard it as a "white" working class movement and they consider the white workers their greatest enemy, who draw the color line against them in factory and office and lynch and burn them at the stake for being colored. Only the best and broadest-minded Negro leaders who can combine Communist ideas with a deep sympathy for and understanding of the black man's grievances will reach the masses with revolutionary propaganda. There are a few such leaders in America today.



At March 1980 celebration of first anniversary of Grenada revolution.

Are democratic rights in trouble in Grenada?

A reply to 'In These Times'

By Suzanne Haig

A scandalous article on Grenada, and its New Jewel Movement government led by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, appeared in the November 4-10 *In These Times*, a social-democratic weekly.

"In the eyes of its critics, Bishop's New Jewel Movement revolution is considerably behind schedule," wrote Mark Fitzgerald and James Rosenberg, reporting on a news conference Bishop held in Belize during that country's independence celebration September 21.

"Others in the Caribbean Basin look with growing alarm at the oppressive nature of Bishop's government," they continue, citing the postponement of elections.

"Bishop has been widely condemned, too, [for] systematically shutting down all newspapers on the island." They refer specifically to the closing down of the capitalist paper *Grenadian Voice*.

Who are all these critics Fitzgerald and Rosenberg refer to? They don't say. Certainly they are not the workers and farmers of Grenada, or of the many neighboring islands.

Behind 'Grenadian Voice'

Nor do the authors explain why the *Grenadian Voice* was shut down. The *Voice* published one issue last June before it was closed down. The paper attacked the government and its programs, such as profit sharing and paid maternity leave for women.

It was owned by twenty-six shareholders, most of them businessmen, lawyers, and planters. The majority had a history of opposition to the revolution. Four were detained by the government in July for questioning in connection with a CIA plot to overthrow the regime.

They had been working with Grenadian CIA agents six months prior to publication of the newspaper, attempting to build up a counterrevolutionary group. The plan included publication of the *Voice* and other propaganda calling for the overthrow of the government. It involved acts of economic sabotage by local businesses in coordination with Washington.

The final stage of the plan, as reported in the Grenadian paper, *The New Jewel*, included open acts of violence, linked with an attack by mercenaries trained in Miami.

Numerous demonstrations were held in Grenada demanding that the government shut down the *Voice* because of its role in organizing opposition to the revolution. Closing the paper was not a question of violating freedom of the press, but of defending the gains of the revolution for the majority.

Similar reasons led to the closure of the *Torchlight* newspaper in 1979. The paper had begun to incite a significant minority section of the population of Grenada, the Rastafarian movement, to open counterrevolutionary activity, calling on them to take up arms and overthrow the regime.

Referring to these attacks on the revolution, Prime Minister Bishop stated in an interview in the Cuban paper *Granma* in July, "The press is not restricted in any way in our country. . . . Our position is that nobody will be allowed to do that, [organize counterrevolutionary acts] whether it's a newspaper or whatever else. Once anybody moves to that sort of activity, they are going to be crushed."

Bishop gave examples of freedom of the press in Grenada. There are national papers, he said, and papers of the mass organizations. He added that recently public workers, in a disagreement with the government over wage increases were "allowed not only to print their pamphlets and to freely circulate them among their workers, but also to hold their meetings during working hours on time off given by the government, and to have all their releases read over Radio Free Grenada."

As Bishop stated, "That kind of freedom never existed before in our country, and is certainly not obtained in many of those countries that speak of freedom of the press."

Washington's Sabotage

The Grenadian people and their government have cause for concern about the safety of their revolution, as the *Grenadian Voice* incident shows. Since March 1979 when a popular uprising led by the New Jewel Movement toppled the hated, U.S.-backed dictator, Eric Gairy, Washington has engaged in a campaign of sabotage and economic pressure against this small, primarily Black island.

Capitalist newspapers in the United States have continued to run slanderous articles alleging "human rights abuse."

In August 1981 Washington held naval exercises on the island of Vieques, off the coast of Puerto Rico. An Associated Press dispatch reported that U.S. military units were practicing an attack on "a mythical small island nation called 'Amber,' which in certain ways bears a striking resemblance to Cuba's close Caribbean ally Grenada."

Aware of similar threats against revolutionary Cuba and Nicaragua, Prime Minister Bishop charged that these maneuvers were a "practice invasion" of Grenada.

Fitzgerald and Rosenberg write that "Bishop chafed when asked about the elections, which have

been postponed indefinitely. . . ."

But they don't explain that Grenada has the most democratic government it has ever had and its direction is toward increasing, not decreasing, democracy.

Mass organizations — labor unions, the militia, women's rights organizations, youth and community organizations that are directly involved in the governmental process — are growing. Island-wide discussions have occurred around drafting women's maternity leave laws, land reform, unions, and building the militia.

These developments are laying the basis for the continued development of the forms through which workers and farmers participate in decision-making.

The democratic process underway in Grenada is very different from the "free" elections that the capitalist press keeps screaming about, and that Fitzgerald and Rosenberg have gotten caught up in.

What about the so-called free elections of capitalist democracy, such as those in the United States? Elections are held regularly. We go to the voting booth and pull a lever and officeholders are elected. Choosing between one or another candidate of the employers' parties is the extent of working people's involvement in running the government. We have no say about things that matter to us, on the job, in our communities, or the big political questions facing the country as a whole.

Defending the Revolution

Given the internal and external threats to the revolution in Grenada, the government is taking the necessary measures to ward off these attacks and strengthen the hold of the masses over society.

In this context, there is nothing unusual in waiting until the revolution is stabilized before holding elections. Moreover, these actions have been carefully explained to the people in the country, as well as to Grenadians still living in the United States.

Fitzgerald and Rosenberg, however, do not see it this way. They have separated out the question of the elections and the press shutdowns to make their critical points. They arrogantly complain the revolution is "behind schedule," ignoring the progress not only in democratic rights but in literacy, jobs, expansion of agriculture, unionization, and women's rights.

In doing so, they have ignored the most important criteria for evaluating the Grenadian government: what direction is it going? Whose class interests is it serving?

When looked at from this angle, it becomes clear just how representative this government really is for the big majority — the workers and farmers.

The *In These Times* article comes at the same time that Washington is threatening some form of military intervention in the Caribbean and Central America to crush the revolutions there. What a time to paint a false picture of Grenada that plays right into the hands of the Reagan administration!

Supporters of these revolutions must counter the escalation of lies in the capitalist media used to justify Washington's actions and call upon all supporters of the revolutions in Grenada, Cuba, Nicaragua, and El Salvador to protest the U.S. government's attacks.

New from Pathfinder

Grenada: Revolution in the Caribbean

By Sam Manuel and Andrew Pulley
36 pp., \$.95.

The Grenada Revolution at Work

By W. Richard Jacobs, Grenada's Ambassador to Cuba

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Add \$.75 for postage. Send for a free catalog of socialist books and pamphlets.

New York elections: Where the PSP went wrong

By Nelson González

During the recent New York City mayoral elections, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) decided for the first time in the history of its U.S.-based section to take a position on an electoral campaign in the United States.

It endorsed Democratic State Assemblyman Frank Barbaro for mayor of New York City.

The PSP has had a rich history of leading and participating in many different struggles.

In Puerto Rico, it stands toe-to-toe against the direct might of U.S. imperialism as one of the foremost fighters for a socialist and independent Puerto Rico. During the Vietnam antiwar movement it played an important role in the fight to end the war. It also stands as a staunch defender of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions and in solidarity with the struggle in El Salvador.

Here in the United States, the PSP has done more than any other organization to explain the need for Puerto Rican independence. The rally of 20,000 in Madison Square Garden, New York City, in 1974, which it played the major role in organizing, was the largest rally on this issue ever held in the United States.

In addition, the PSP has fought for bilingual programs, and against discrimination here in the U.S.

Over the years the PSP has consistently attacked the Democrats and Republicans as responsible for the racist super-exploitation of Puerto Ricans both here and on the island.

Given this background their endorsement of Democrat Barbaro was surprising and very unfortunate.

In a series of articles beginning with the August 14-20 *Claridad*, First Secretary for the American Section José Alberto Alvarez explained their endorsement by stating that "the Sectional Committee and the Assembly analysed the actual political reality in this country and concluded that the attacks of Ronald Reagan and his puppets, like Mayor Koch, against the workers and the minorities has created the conditions for the development of the class struggle that has not existed for decades."

First Step

Alvarez continues in the September 21-October 1 issue of *Claridad*, "... now Puerto Ricans have an extraordinary opportunity to organize a true movement of the People, truly massive and truly unified. There definitely exists much indignation and rebellion among the people in response to the attacks by Reagan and Koch."

More prisons despite 'no' vote

New York State officials are determined to go ahead with a big expansion of the state prison system, despite the defeat of the \$500 million prison bond issue by the voters November 3.

The prison bond issue was strongly supported by New York State Governor Hugh Carey and New York City Mayor Ed Koch. Democratic State Assemblyman Frank Barbaro, who ran for mayor of New York City on the Unity Party ticket, voted to put the prison bond issue on the ballot.

During his election campaign, Barbaro took no position on this reactionary measure, but did make the proposal to beef up New York's police force a central issue.

According to the November 28 *New York Times*, New York State Corrections Commissioner Thomas Coughlin III expects to add 2,600 inmate beds by the summer of 1982. Coughlin, however, views this prison expansion as insufficient because he expects the state's imprisoned population to grow until the mid-to late 1980s.

He then draws the conclusion that "independistas" and the Puerto Rican community should vote for Barbaro as a preliminary step in organizing the emerging fightback movement against Reaganism.

He also indicated that due to Barbaro's opposition to the U.S. Navy's presence in Vieques and his characterization of Puerto Rico as a colony, a victory for Barbaro would also represent a step forward for the independence movement.

We strongly disagree with these conclusions.

The Socialist Workers Party viewed the Barbaro campaign as a trap.

It was a trap to disorient and dissipate the fighting mood that exists by channeling it right back to the Democratic and Republican parties' shell game, responsible for the misery Puerto Ricans are facing today.

Setting aside all of Barbaro's demagogic campaign rhetoric, what were the two basic pillars upon which his campaign rested?

'Criminal Class'

The first, which was his action proposal, was the war on "crime" and the addition of 7,000 more cops to fight this war.

Barbaro believes that there exists a "criminal class that rules this city from sunset to dawn."

His strategy is "that we retake the city's streets from the muggers and the drug addicts ... putting thousands more cops really onto the street ... seeing to the certainty of swift punishment."

For Puerto Ricans and Blacks, Barbaro's war against the "criminal class" is a war that will be fought out in the barrios against unemployed Black and Latino youth who the cops have abused, beaten, and killed for years.

What Barbaro calls the "criminal class" is nothing more than the especially oppressed and alienated sectors of the working class who are lashing out against the miserable conditions imposed on them by the capitalist system.

The second pillar of the Barbaro campaign, which was the ideological linchpin of his effort, was his personal crusade to "save the Democratic Party."

To do this Barbaro proposed a return to the party of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. But it was Roosevelt's liberal Democratic administration in the 1930s that attempted to destroy Puerto Rican culture by imposing the use of English only in Puerto Rico's school system. It was under Roosevelt that a campaign of intimidation and murder that destroyed the Nationalist Party of Don Pedro Albizu Campos and the movement for Puerto Rican independence in the 1930s was carried out.

It was this party that imposed U.S. citizenship on us and drafted us to fight U.S. imperialism's wars, even though Puerto Ricans are prohibited

from voting for U.S. elective offices. It was also the party that converted the island of Vieques into a U.S. naval base.

Defending Capitalism

Ever since Puerto Ricans were forced to live in the barrios of this country, those who go to the polls vote, in their majority, for Democrats.

In return we have been rewarded with the lowest standard of living of any national minority and a homeland ravaged by double-digit unemployment and poverty.

This is what Barbaro proposes we return to — the Democratic Party of Roosevelt — which is the same as the Democratic Party today in all of its basic policies. The problem with the Democratic Party is the same as with the Republican Party. It is committed to defending the capitalist system which is the cause of the problems confronting the Puerto Rican people.

This is why most Puerto Ricans don't bother to vote at all. They're tired of being the pawns of the "poverty pimp" Puerto Ricans and reform Democrats who in the past promised to deliver crumbs and now offer nothing.

The few Puerto Ricans that did vote for Barbaro in the New York City campaign did so not out of any great love for Barbaro, but because just like trade unionists, Blacks, and working people in general, the Puerto Rican community is desperately looking for an alternative.

This disaffection with the two-party system in the Puerto Rican community is also reflected elsewhere. In the labor movement, for example, there were discussions on the need for a labor party based on the trade unions at the last conventions of such important unions as the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

In the Black community a more advanced expression of this can be seen. The National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) attacks the Democrats and Republicans in its charter as the parties of racism, sexism, and imperialism. It is organizing to present NBIPP as an independent political alternative for the Black community.

NBIPP is an important model for the Puerto Rican community and all working people.

In both 1976 and 1980 the PSP ran its own independent candidates for governor of Puerto Rico and other elective offices, against the candidates of Puerto Rico's two capitalist parties.

In the 1980 elections, the PSP ran Luis Lausell, then president of the Union of Workers in the Electrical and Irrigation Industry (UTIER), as an independent labor candidate for governor of Puerto Rico.

The logic of the PSP's independent campaigns against the two capitalist parties of Puerto Rico points to a political break by the Puerto Rican working class from capitalist politics.

Likewise, an independent political break from the Democratic and Republican parties in the U.S. is needed to unleash the power of American labor in a movement against capitalist rule.

Such a break will further the cause of Puerto Rican independence much more than any cheap campaign promises by the Democratic and Republican politicians.

Puerto Rican and Black workers and their organizations have and must continue to play a decisive role in teaching American workers that this is the only road forward.



October 1974 rally of 20,000 at Madison Square Garden demanded independence for Puerto Rico. Initiated by PSP, it was the largest such action ever in this country.

'Humane' concentration camps?

By Nelson Blackstock

Our ruling class is distinguished from others history has known by its tendency to deny its own existence — or at least to keep a very low profile.

This being the case, how do you tell what the ruling class is thinking?

There are a number of ways, but one of the most reliable is to find out what their bona fide, trusted spokesmen are saying. Who are they? Well, they aren't people who have jobs like you and me. Instead, they will be among the following:

A Wall Street lawyer, though not all fit the bill. Sure bets are the chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, the board chairman of the Ford Foundation, the chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations, or the president of the World Bank.

Going back a few years, you might have checked out the United States High Commissioner in Germany after World War II, or, even earlier, Franklin Roosevelt's Assistant Secretary of War (that was before they tried to conceal its purpose by changing the name to "Defense").

John J. McCloy is the man who has had not one but all those jobs. If there was ever a certified voice of the ruling class, he's your man. He's eighty-seven years old now. (They seem to live longer. The care and feeding must pay off.)

Being up in years, he doesn't get around a lot any more. But on November 3 you would have found John J. McCloy on Capitol Hill in Washington. Something was going on there he didn't like.

The occasion was a session of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. It was set up by Congress in response to popular outrage sparked by growing knowledge of something that used to be a kind of family secret of the

ruling class: the herding of Japanese-Americans into concentration camps during World War II.

Once the skeleton was out of the closet it began to be said that something ought to be done to compensate the victims.

The facts are as follows: On February 19, 1942 President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066. On that basis alone — and in spite of what the Constitution says — 120,000 Japanese-Americans — citizens and non-citizens alike — were rounded up, packed into railroad cars, and shipped to isolated camps. There they were held in rickety army barracks until the end of the war.

Outrageous? Not supposed to happen in this country? That's what most people would think. But John J. McCloy runs in other circles, where people seem to think differently.

It was "reasonably undertaken and thoughtfully and humanely conducted," he told the commission. After all, the war "caused disruption in all our lives," he said. In fact, it was good for them.

The camps were "very pleasant," McCloy said, resulting in inmates "finding a healthier and more advantageous environment than they would have had on the West Coast following the Pearl Harbor attack." Besides, the inmates were not "unduly subjected to the distress of the war."

When commission member William Marutani, a Japanese-American who himself spent time in a camp, used the term "incarcerated," McCloy objected:

"I don't like the word 'incarcerated.'"

"Well, all right," replied Marutani, "behind barbed wire fences."

As for a proposal to provide financial repara-

tions for the victims, McCloy would have none of it.

Perhaps his most revealing remark, however, was his admission that he might favor throwing folks in concentration camps again if the situation called for it.

McCloy's statement here takes on a deeper meaning in light of facts that have emerged during the trial of the Socialist Workers Party suit against government spying and harassment.

As little known as the wartime internment of the Japanese-Americans once was is the fact that in 1950 Congress enacted into law procedures for repeating what Roosevelt did by executive order in 1942. It gave the attorney general the power to round up and throw in concentration camps anybody deemed suspect in the event of a presidential declaration of an "Internal Security Emergency," — whatever that is.

Lists were kept of all those to be rounded up. They were routinely updated as to place of residence and employment.

Changes in the political climate moved Congress to later repeal the law. But evidence at the trial admitted that even before the law was passed the FBI kept secret round-up lists. And even today, nobody who testified was ready to swear that no such lists are on hand today.

The ruling class has managed to stay in power by close attention to its long term interests. Normally they strive to maintain the facade of democracy for one and all. But every now and then a corner of the curtain gets lifted and we get a glimpse behind the facade. McCloy gave us such a glimpse. The record of the socialist suit provides an even more revealing look.

... science and superstition

Continued from page ISR/3

Dialectical materialism was developed on the basis of what was known of the material world before the twentieth-century scientific revolution. That its outlook has been strengthened, not weakened, by discoveries as seemingly bizarre as the space-time continuum and the wave-particle duality is evidence of its value as a philosophical viewpoint. The fact that new knowledge tends to deepen its concurrence with the material world reveals its usefulness as a guide to scientific thinking.

This should not be misunderstood as an attempt to counterpose some eternal, absolute first principles of dialectical materialism to those of Taoism or Buddhism. The method of dialectical materialism works the other way around: its principles are derived from — not imposed upon — the material world, and they have evolved with the growth of scientific knowledge. Unlike the mystics, Marxists make no claim to prior knowledge of scientific discoveries.

Why Irrationalism Persists

In western music, listeners expect dissonant notes to be resolved by a final consonant chord. A dissonant note sounded earlier in this review must now be resolved. I asserted that the development of scientific knowledge has cut the ground from un-

der superstition and irrationalism. But if that is so, what accounts for its persistence? Why do books invoking the name of science to promote mysticism find such a large audience?

Magic and superstition originated as early human attempts to answer questions and soothe fears about unknown factors in the natural environment, from thunder and lightning to life and death. Science has accomplished enough in such fields as medicine, agriculture, and engineering that people generally look to these disciplines for explanations and future progress. So the original basis for superstition has ceased to exist.

In the meantime, a new material basis has developed out of the class divisions in modern society. Now the unknown and uncontrollable factors that threaten and worry human beings are not primarily physical but social phenomena — inflation and unemployment, war and poverty, racism and sexism, and the ever-present threat of total nuclear annihilation.

Humans demand explanations for the forces that shape their lives: "Fish gotta swim, birds gotta fly; man gotta sit and wonder why, why, why." In the absence of scientific answers, the pseudo-answers of religion fill the vacuum.

The problem is not that scientific explanations of the troubling social forces do not exist. Scientific

socialism, first formulated by Marx and Engels, is a growing body of knowledge and a method of investigation that adequately demystifies social phenomena.

But the science of society is unique among the sciences in the degree to which it is itself strongly affected by its own laws. The systematic suppression of Marxism by the educational institutions of the capitalist state (from public schools to private universities) has prevented its outlook from entering the mainstream of popular culture. Since mystification of social phenomena serves the interests of the dominant class in capitalist society, political and economic issues are made to seem hopelessly confusing.

The solution of momentous social problems is the central scientific task facing the human race today. Scientific socialism is, therefore, the key to further progress in every field of science. But it is in this area of knowledge that mysticism plays its most damaging role in clouding human minds.

The antidote to mystical obfuscation — in physics or politics — is clear, scientific thinking guided by the principles of dialectical materialism. The practical application of the knowledge thus attained advances the struggle for the socialist revolution and the liberation of the human race.

... Black struggle

Continued from page ISR/5

ers, that these peoples are revolting against the same intolerable conditions which drive the Negroes themselves to desperation — racial oppression, social and economic inequality, intense industrial exploitation; that these peoples are fighting for the same objects as the Negroes — political, economic, and social emancipation and equality.

The Communist International, which embodies the world-embracing struggle of the revolutionary workers and peasants against the power of imperialism, which is not only the organization of the enslaved white workers of Europe and America, but also the organization of the oppressed colored peoples of the world, regards it as its duty to support and promote the international organization of Ne-

groes in their struggle against the common enemy.

The Negro problem has become a vital question of the world revolution; the Communist International, which has already realized what valuable help the Asiatic colored peoples in the semi-colonial countries can give to the proletarian world revolution, considers the collaboration of our oppressed black fellow beings absolutely essential for the proletarian revolution and the destruction of capitalist power. For these reasons the fourth congress declares it the special duty of communists to apply the 'Theses on the colonial question' to the Negro problem also.

1. The fourth congress recognizes the necessity of supporting every form of the Negro movement which undermines or weakens capitalism, or

hampers its further penetration.

2. The Communist International will fight for the equality of the white and black races, for equal wages and equal political and social rights.

3. The Communist International will use every means at its disposal to force the trade unions to admit black workers, or, where this right already exists on paper, to conduct special propaganda for the entry of Negroes into the unions. If this should prove impossible, the Communist International will organize the Negroes in trade unions of their own and use united front tactics to compel their admission.

4. The Communist International will take steps immediately to convene a world Negro congress or conference.

Harsh sentences for PATCO strikers

By Dan Fein

TUCSON — Six hundred Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) members and their supporters from as far away as Albuquerque, Phoenix, and Los Angeles gathered for "An Evening of Solidarity" at the Tucson Community Center. The rally was held November 29, the day before PATCO's Tucson Local 572 president and vice-president were to be sentenced for striking.

On October 28 this year Bill Taylor, president and Billy Florence, vice-president of PATCO Local 572 were convicted of criminal felony charges for striking with their 12,000 co-workers.

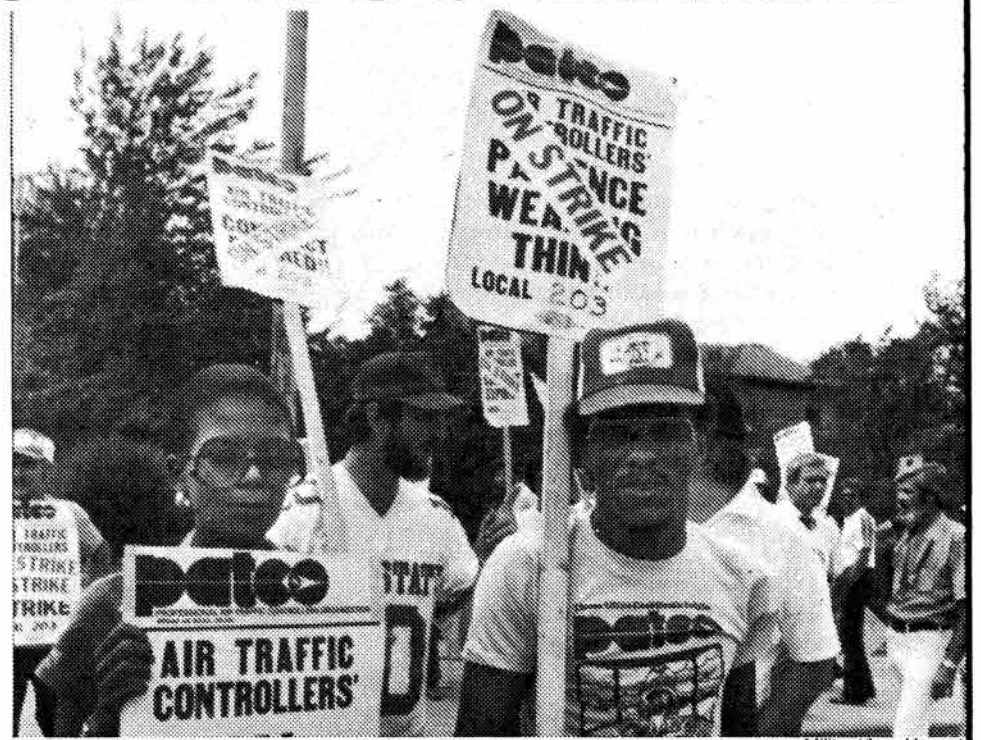
The "Evening of Solidarity" featured a number of local musicians, movie stars Ed Asner and Pat Harrington, and Larry Spitz, a retired executive board member of the United Steelworkers.

"Every union advance that was ever made has at one time been

illegal," Asner said of the air controllers' strike. "I will continue to support you until you win because only when you win do we win." (Asner was elected president of the Screen Actors Guild four weeks ago.)

On the morning of November 30 U.S. District Judge Maryanne Richey's court was packed. About a dozen people were forced to wait outside the courtroom with their ears against the doors to listen to the judge's sentence. After one hour Judge Richey imposed a one year probation on each of the PATCO leaders.

PATCO supporters were angry. Billy Florence said afterward, "This shows that the system of justice in this country does not work." When asked by a reporter, Bill Taylor responded, "If we had it to do all over again we would do it again, only earlier. We shouldn't have put up with all those bad working conditions for so long without striking." PATCO will appeal the conviction.



PATCO pickets at Oberlin, Ohio, during first week of strike last August. Militant/Lou Howort

Unionist fired at war plant; launches fight for job

ST. LOUIS — On November 30 Harris Freeman was fired by McDonnell Douglas. Freeman, a machinist for the 35,000 employee Pentagon contractor, was fired because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Freeman is one of four socialists at McDonnell Douglas who have been singled out for harassment and victimization by the jet fighter company. He is the second to be fired in the last month.

Machinists Lodge 837B, which covers the socialists' department, filed a grievance against this political firing on December 2. This grievance complements one the union filed last month challenging the entire political witch-hunt being conducted against the socialists.

Walter Henty, company security representative, has collaborated with the Defense Investigative Service (DIS), a Pentagon political police agency, to scour the past of these workers. They have been looking for pretexts to victimize them. They have visited friends and past employers all across the country.

A little over two weeks ago the socialists were forced to submit to DIS and the company special five-page-long security clearance forms detailing their entire life history. The pretext the company used to fire Freeman was "falsification of his job application."

Freeman has worked as a parts inspector in the plant for over eighteen months. The week before the firing, Freeman received a satisfactory job performance evaluation. It is clear that the firing is a political victimization.

The company attempted to fire another machinist, Barry David, the same night. They called him into the Supervisor's office right after Freeman was dismissed. However, the company and Pentagon spies had investigated David's work history in the wrong city. They told him to go back to work. But it is clear they are out to get him.

Freeman told the *Militant*: "This political witch-hunt threatens the right of all workers to their jobs and their political ideas. It challenges union contract protection of union members. My union and I will do all we can to answer this attack."

Messages of protest are urgently requested. They should be sent to:

Sanford N. McDonnell,
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer,
McDonnell Douglas Corporation,
P.O. Box 516
St. Louis, MO, 63166

Copies should be sent to:
Political Rights Defense Fund,
P.O. Box 24229
St. Louis, MO, 63130.

... Polish student sit-in

Continued from front page

Party Central Committee meeting, party leaders charged that Solidarity is responsible for the current economic crisis and food shortages and proposed legislation that would severely curtail the rights fought for and won by Polish workers and farmers in the last sixteen months.

Responding to a call by party leader and prime minister General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Committee adopted a resolution demanding that parliament (which has a Communist Party majority) approve "extraordinary measures" to curb the labor upsurge.

The parliament is expected to meet within a week to consider the party demands. According to an "authoritative source" quoted in the November 29 *New York Times*, the legislation being drafted by the Central Committee includes the right of the government, when it considers an emergency exists, to ban all strikes and all gatherings, except religious services, to impose rigid censorship, to restrict travel abroad, and to ref-

er all cases to a military rather than civilian court.

At the same time, the Central Committee pledged to "quickly concretize" a front of national agreement involving the trade unions and the Catholic church hierarchy. The front is the latest attempt to pressure Solidarity into joining with the government in breaking the workers' upsurge and imposing austerity measures. Solidarity is opposed to playing such a role.

This latest offensive by the government, however, took place as some 100,000 students in more than seventy universities continue a strike for academic freedom and in support of students at the Radom Engineering school who are demanding the ouster of the government-appointed rector.

Some 1,700 oilworkers in southeastern Poland went on strike, November 24, for more control over production, as outdated government policies are hurting their ability to produce oil.

Farmers in four towns continued their

Strikers fight take-aways

By Lisa Kannenberg

PITTSBURGH — A strike by 3,500 members of United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 610 is becoming a cause in the Pittsburgh labor movement.

Workers went on strike November 1 against the WABCO Westinghouse Air Brake and Union Switch and Signal plants. WABCO is owned by the American Standard conglomerate.

The strike was provoked when the company proposed a long list of take-aways intended to bust the union and drive down wages and working conditions won over forty years.

Lisa Kannenberg works at Union Switch and Signal and is a member of UE Local 610.

Union members voted 2,647 to 186 in favor of going on strike.

The strike has been boosted by an important court victory. The company had filed charges after strikers had stormed through both plants to verify rumors that management personnel were working strikers' jobs.

The union defended the action under an obscure depression-era state law that prohibits management from filling a strikers' job while picketing is limited by a court injunction.

To our surprise, the judge upheld the union position and prohibited further scabbing by management.

The company is appealing the ruling. Local 610 is seeking support for the strike from the rest of the labor movement and in the community.



Striking workers at the Union Switch and Signal plant put finishing touches on their strike shack.

two-week-old sit-in of government buildings to protest farm policies.

Meanwhile, two major big business newspapers in the U.S. took the occasion to attack Solidarity's militancy and to express approval with the Warsaw government.

The *Washington Post*, November 29, blamed Solidarity for the economic crisis and claimed that food shortages and strikes are "laying fertile ground for the growing disillusionment with Solidarity itself and particularly with its leadership."

An editorial in the November 28 *New York Times* said that what's needed is for the church, Solidarity, and the government to "find a way to share responsibilities and impose discipline."

Reflecting the desires of the imperialist banks to have their \$27 billion loans

repaid with interest by the Polish government, the *Times* approved Warsaw's request to join the International Monetary Fund as a step toward imposing "sacrifices" and "planning austerity."

Solidarity has blasted the government's threat to ban strikes and is continuing to follow the course it has pursued over the last year — the refusal to accept sacrifices imposed on the working class to bail out the repressive, bureaucratic government.

The union's proposed solution to the economic crisis is to demand workers control over the already nationalized economy and to fight for democratic rights, freedom of speech, and an end to the privileges, mismanagement, and corruption of the bureaucracy that rules the country.

V. THE MEANS EMPLOYED BY THE FBI IN THEIR INVESTIGATIONS OF THE PLAINTIFFS VIOLATED THE FIRST, FOURTH AND FIFTH AMENDMENTS AND FEDERAL LAWS

Even if the investigations of the plaintiff had had a legitimate law enforcement or "national security" purpose, many of the techniques used in carrying out the investigation would nevertheless have violated the Constitution and federal statutes. As we will demonstrate in this section, the disruption operations, burglaries, warrantless trespassory microphone installations, and warrantless wiretapping carried out against the plaintiffs would have been unlawful under any circumstances.

Other methods employed by the defendants throughout the investigation, namely the use of informers and the collection and dissemination of files, which the courts might uphold in the context of a good faith law enforcement investigation, were illegal in this case because the investigation itself served no legitimate law enforcement or other governmental interest.

A. FBI Disruption Operations Against the Plaintiffs Violated the First and Fifth Amendments.

The defendants admit that authority to conduct the counterintelligence or disruption operations against the plaintiffs was not conveyed explicitly by statute or presidential directive. They contend, however, that the FBI's authority is "implicit in the language of the presidential directives. . . ." The defendants have asserted that the President has inherent power to order the disruption of groups such as the SWP and YSA.

Even if the presidential directives had expressly purported to authorize the disruption operations, they would be invalid as beyond the power of the executive, or indeed, of any branch of government.

The First Amendment contemplates "uninhibited, robust and wide-open" debate. *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* (1964). The defendants' disruption activities against the plaintiffs amounted to no less than a secret war on plaintiffs' rights to engage in such activity. No case disclosed by our research presents a more frontal attack by government officials on First Amendment activities than the disruption activities documented in this case.

The disruption operations carried out by the defendants against the SWP and YSA are constitutionally indefensible, for they are not even arguably related to legitimate law enforcement activity. Any argument that the disruption operations were legitimate "foreign counterintelligence" tactics would be ludicrous. The disruption activities were not aimed at preventing "immediate and grave peril to the nation" under "exigent circumstances," *Halperin v. Kissinger*, but had the express purpose and effect of interfering with the electoral activities of an American political party, and the exercise of First Amendment rights by United States persons.

If the executive is forbidden by the Constitution to target persons and groups for surveillance for political reasons, which it is, it is certainly forbidden to move beyond surveillance into direct "prevention" of First Amendment activities. If the Constitution forbids even "minor" inhibitions or intrusions on First Amendment rights, it certainly forbids frontal assaults on such rights.

The disruption operations were concededly aimed at the "prevention" of plaintiffs' revolutionary socialist advocacy. Such preventive activity is presumptively at odds with the First Amendment. For, if that Amendment means anything, it means that "government has no power to restrict expression because of its message, its ideas, its subject matter, or its content. . . ." *Police Department of the City of Chicago v. Mosley*.

In carrying out the disruption operations, the executive arrogated to itself not only the powers of a law-maker, but those of a court, in effect enacting its own criminal code, making determinations of "guilt," and meting out "punishment" to the plaintiffs. Furthermore, the disruption operations made the enjoyment of basic constitutional guarantees contingent upon the uncontrolled will of officials. Even Congress could not have empowered the FBI "to roam essentially at will, dispensing or withholding permission to speak, assemble, picket, or parade, according to [its] own opinions regarding the potential effect of the activity in question on the 'welfare,' 'decency,' or 'morals' of the community." *Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham* (1969).

When the executive branch brings its awesome powers to bear against political groups and their members in order to suppress criticism of the existing order, it acts arbitrarily. The defendants' disruption operations against the SWP and YSA were repugnant to the most fundamental principles of due process. Carried out in secret, immune from judicial review and from the political process, they violated in

Informers, 'disruption operations' and the Constitution

Brief in historic socialist suit against gov't spying

This week we reprint further excerpts from a legal brief filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in the landmark case known as 'Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General.'

The case arises from a lawsuit filed by the socialists against government surveillance, harassment, and disruption of their activities. Trial on that suit was held last spring in federal court, and both sides are now filing extensive legal briefs.

In previous sections of their brief, the socialists argued the entire investigation of

them by the FBI violated the Bill of Rights. The FBI's methods — landlord and employer interviews, maintaining files, the use of informers — are plainly unconstitutional.

The sections excerpted below resume on this topic, then move on to the use by the FBI of disruption and provocateur operations, burglaries, electronic bugs and wiretaps without a warrant. These are all methods that have been ruled illegal even in a criminal investigation. Yet these are among the methods used against the socialists, whose only 'crimes' were to exercise their First Amendment rights to free speech and association.

the most basic sense the precept that ours is "a government of laws, and not of men." *Marbury v. Madison* (1803). The defendants' contention that these operations were lawful because purportedly approved or ratified by Attorneys General and Presidents must be firmly rejected.

B. The Use of Informers Against the Plaintiffs Violated the First and Fourth Amendments.

The FBI's informer operations violated plaintiffs' First and Fourth Amendment rights to associational privacy, and their right to determine and carry out their political program free from government interference and intrusion by persons of adverse political interests.

On this topic it is not necessary to address questions which might be presented in the context of an investigation whose subjects were not political organizations engaged solely in protected First Amendment activity. What is involved here is the extraordinary case of informer penetration of a political association over nearly four decades, with FBI informers attending and voting at all forms of party meetings and conventions, and using positions of responsibility and trust within the organizations to deliberately suppress their growth and the advancement of their political goals, without any valid law enforcement justification.

1. The FBI's use of informers against the SWP and YSA violates the First Amendment.

One of the informers' chief functions was to provide the government with lists of names of all members, supporters, and contributors to the SWP and YSA. This constitutes a violation of plaintiffs' First Amendment rights.

It has long been established that compelled disclosure of membership engaged in political advocacy constitutes interference with freedom and privacy of association, particularly where the group espouses dissident beliefs, and that any such interference can be justified only if it is shown to substantially further a compelling state interest. In *NAACP v. Alabama*, the Court recognized the First Amendment right of the organization to protect the anonymity of its membership, where past disclosures had "exposed members to economic reprisal, loss of employment, threat of physical coercion, and other manifestations of public hostility."

In the case at bar, names and other information relating to the SWP's and YSA's members, supporters and contributors were obtained through informers, and disclosed to various agencies of the federal government, to state and private employers, local police authorities, public media, landlords, and hostile right wing groups, resulting in "economic reprisal, loss of employment, threat of physical coercion, and other manifestations of public hostility," as well as lost membership and financial support. There is no reason in logic or law why involuntary disclosure through informer reporting is any less damaging to plaintiffs' rights of freedom and privacy of association than the compelled disclosure invalidated in *NAACP v. Alabama*. If anything, the use of informers to secure this involuntary disclosure is more pernicious

and more chilling to First Amendment rights since informers also reported on highly personal information and purloined highly confidential internal documents.

Any interest asserted by the government to justify interference with protected First Amendment activity must be subjected to strict scrutiny by the Court. The information obtained resulted in no prosecutions in forty years, and cannot plausibly be found to have advanced any valid "national security" interest.

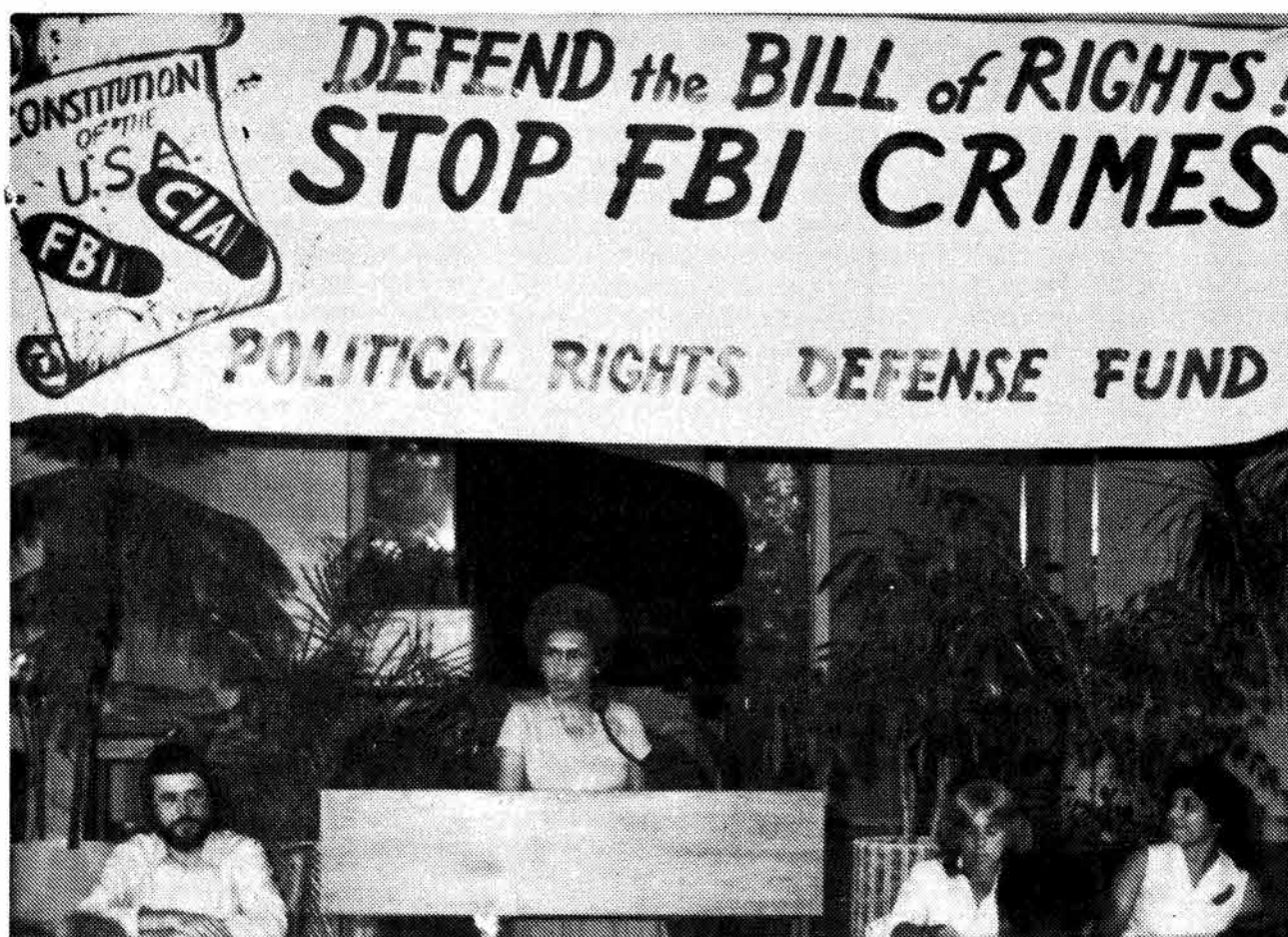
The principles articulated in *NAACP v. Alabama* have been reaffirmed in numerous subsequent cases. In *Buckley v. Valeo*, plaintiffs challenged the disclosure requirements of the Federal Election Campaign Act, (FECA). Seeking to accommodate the government's asserted interest in protecting the public from political corruption through disclosure of contributors' identities with the legitimate rights of a dissident party to preserve the anonymity of its contributors, the Court carved out an exemption from the disclosure requirement for a party which could show "reasonable probability that the compelled disclosure of a party's contributors' names will subject them to threats of harassment or reprisals from either Government officials or private parties. The proof may include, for example, specific evidence of past or present harassment of members due to their associational ties, or of harassment directed against the organization itself. A pattern of threats or specific manifestations of public hostility may be sufficient."

This exemption was granted to the Socialist Workers Party in a consent judgment entered by a three-judge court in *Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee v. Federal Election Commission*, exempting SWP campaign committees from the disclosure provisions of the FECA until 1984. The court stated:

"7. The record discloses that the Socialist Workers Party and persons connected with it have been subjected to systematic harassment and contains "specific evidence of past and present harassment of members," contributors, and recipients of expenditures "due to their associated ties." *Buckley v. Valeo*. The record further contains evidence of "harassment directed at the organization itself." *Buckley v. Valeo*. Accordingly, plaintiffs have demonstrated at least "a reasonable probability that the compelled disclosure" of the names of their members, contributors, and recipients of expenditures will subject them to threats, harassment, or reprisals from either government officials or private parties." *Buckley v. Valeo*.

The record of the instant case is replete with instances of government harassment directed at members and supporters of plaintiff organizations and the organizations themselves. Plaintiffs could not have been compelled by the government to disclose the names of their members, supporters and contributors to the government. Where the government cannot constitutionally compel plaintiffs to disclose their membership rolls, it should not be allowed to achieve the same ends indirectly through informers.

The practices at issue here are far more intrusive than those condemned in the disclosure cases. Not on-



This rally in Washington, D.C., this past summer was one of many held throughout the country to build support during the trial of the socialist suit. This fall rallies are taking place in fifty cities to get out information about new developments in the fight against government spying and harassment.

ly did informers supply the FBI with names of all plaintiffs' members and supporters, they also supplied internal documents and private correspondence, reported on the private lives of the members, and actively participated in the FBI's campaign to disrupt plaintiffs' activities. The heavy burden imposed on plaintiffs' First Amendment rights is clear.

The FBI informer operations not only violated plaintiffs' rights of associational privacy; they also violated plaintiffs' First Amendment right to determine and execute their political program free of government influence, and to be free from intrusion by persons of adverse political interests.

Earlier this year the Court decided a case in point, *Democratic Party of the United States v. LaFollette*. The Court stated:

"[T]he freedom to associate for the 'common advancement of political beliefs,' *Kusper v. Pontikes*, necessarily presupposes the freedom to identify the people who comprise the association, and to limit the association to those people only. . . . On several occasions this Court has recognized that the inclusion of persons unaffiliated with a political party may seriously distort its collective decisions — thus impairing the Party's essential functions — and that political parties may accordingly protect themselves 'from intrusion by those with adverse political principles.' *Ray v. Blair*."

If ever before there was doubt, this decision firmly establishes the existence of a First Amendment right of political associations "to identify the people who comprise the association, and to limit the association to those people only." Moreover, as emphasized in Justice Powell's dissent, the Court regarded this right as virtually absolute, by upholding it "without any serious inquiry into the extent of the burden on associational freedom and without due consideration of the countervailing state interests."

The FBI informer operations made a mockery of plaintiffs' right to "protect themselves 'from intrusion by those with adverse political principles.'" Informers under the control of a hostile FBI invaded almost every party function, bringing reality to the Court's concern "that the inclusion of persons unaffiliated with a political party may seriously distort its collective decisions. . . ." Even worse, the informers in this case deliberately harmed the SWP and YSA through disruptive measures they themselves undertook, as well as by providing the FBI with "inside" information of a personal and political character essential to Cointelpro-type operations.

The *LaFollette* decision indicates that plaintiffs are protected from governmental involvement in this form of perfidy without regard to alleged countervailing governmental interests. However, even if governmental interests were to be considered under traditional First Amendment standards, the informer operations could not be justified.

The use of informers in the instant case cannot be justified as a legitimate law enforcement technique. The FBI's investigation of plaintiffs was not carried out as a valid law enforcement investigation and, in fact, informers who spied on the SWP and YSA over a period of thirty-five years provided the FBI with a continuous recital of the consistently lawful political activity of the SWP and YSA. It is equally clear that

no valid "national security" interest was furthered by informers' systematic identification of plaintiffs' members and supporters. Further, disruption of protected First Amendment activities of domestic political groups is unquestionably beyond the pale of legitimate government activity, no matter what "national security" interest the government might choose to advance.

Techniques which might be legitimate in a "good faith" investigation are nevertheless illegitimate when used to harass, intimidate, and chill the exercise of First Amendment rights.

The use of informers to infiltrate political groups for other than legitimate law enforcement purposes was challenged on First Amendment grounds in *Handschu v. Special Services Division* (1972). In that case Judge Weinfeld denied a motion to dismiss plaintiffs' claim that the use of informers to report on persons engaged in lawful political activity with the "purpose and effect of sowing distrust and suspicion among plaintiffs and others who espouse unorthodox or dissenting political and social views," and causing disruption of their lawful activities, constitutes a violation of the First Amendment. While the Court reasoned that use of informers is a legitimate law enforcement technique, it concluded that these agents exceed permissible limits when they intrude on the constitutionally protected area of freedom of speech and association.

Similarly this Court recognized in *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General of the United States* (1974) that FBI informer surveillance of a YSA Convention would stifle and inhibit legitimate First Amendment activity without justification. While the preliminary injunction issued was subsequently vacated in part, the decision of the Court of Appeals was, of necessity, based on an incomplete factual record. In light of the full record now developed at trial, the assumptions of the Court of Appeals no longer apply. First the Court assumed that the only threatened harm to plaintiffs posed by informer activity would be the FBI's dissemination of information obtained to the Civil Service Commission. The full record shows that informers are an integral part of the FBI's disruptive efforts and that they caused plaintiffs much actual injury throughout the decades of the investigation. Secondly, based on an incomplete record the Court could not conclude that the investigation was unjustified. The full record establishes that it was not justified. Finally, the Court feared that FBI informers would be identified if they were precluded from attending the convention at the last minute, thus permanently ending their usefulness. Since the FBI claims it no longer uses informers to survey plaintiffs, an injunction issued at the present time would not pose this problem.

2. The FBI's use of informers violates the Fourth Amendment.

The FBI's use of informers in a "national security" investigation of the SWP and YSA violated the Fourth Amendment.

While courts have sustained the use of informers in the context of a valid law enforcement litigation, different considerations apply when the investigation touches on protected First Amendment activity. The right of a political party to engage in lawful political

speech and activity, free from government interference, stands on altogether different footing. Political discussion and activity by minority parties is to be encouraged, not discouraged, especially in light of the Supreme Court's recognition of the indispensable role such parties play in the political life of the country. As the Court stated a quarter century ago:

"All political ideas cannot and should not be channelled into the programs of our two major parties. History has amply proved the virtue of political activity by minority, dissident groups, who innumerable times have been in the vanguard of democratic thought and whose programs were ultimately accepted. Mere unorthodoxy or dissent from the prevailing mores is not to be condemned. The absence of such voices would be a symptom of grave illness in our society." *Sweezy v. New Hampshire*.

While the Supreme Court has held that criminals must assume that their "companions may be reporting to the police," *U.S. v. White* (1971), the Court has recognized the contrary right of minority parties to be assured of "the inviolability of the right to privacy in [their] political thoughts, actions and associations," *Sweezy v. New Hampshire*. As Justice Frankfurter stated, in "the political realm . . . thought and action are presumptively immune from inquisition by police authority" (emphasis added).

The touchstone of modern Fourth Amendment analysis is whether the government has intruded on one's reasonable expectation of privacy. Members of the SWP and YSA had a reasonable expectation of privacy regarding their discussion at closed meetings held in their own offices and meeting halls. Thus informer monitoring and reporting on plaintiffs' internal deliberations constitutes an unreasonable search and seizure in violation of the Fourth Amendment. The proposition that the Fourth Amendment forbids the use of informers to infiltrate and spy upon the protected First Amendment activity of political organizations is consistent with the history of the Fourth Amendment itself, which was adopted to protect the citizenry against arbitrary government interference with privacy.

The Supreme Court has now recognized that "[n]ational security cases . . . often reflect a convergence of First and Fourth Amendment values not present in cases of 'ordinary' crime," and that:

"Fourth Amendment protections become the more necessary when the targets of official surveillance may be those suspected of unorthodoxy in their political beliefs. The danger to political dissent is acute where the Government attempts to act under so vague a concept as the power to protect 'domestic security.' Given the difficulty of defining the domestic security interest, the danger of abuse in acting to protect that interest becomes apparent. . . . The price of lawful public dissent must not be a dread of subjection to an unchecked surveillance power. Nor must the fear of unauthorized official eavesdropping deter vigorous citizen dissent and discussion of Government action in private conversation. For private dissent, no less than open public discourse, is essential to our free society" *Keith* (1972).

If ever there was a case reflecting the "convergence of First and Fourth Amendment values," it is this case. The Fourth Amendment's protection must be held to extend to the right of a political party to conduct its First Amendment activities free from surveillance and intrusion by government spies.

Political Rights Defense Fund



Just published

The Political Rights Defense Fund has just made available for sale the 600 page brief filed on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, along with the friend of the court brief filed by NECLC and the Bill of Rights Foundation.

The brief is a thorough summary of the facts about government crimes against democratic rights brought to light as a result of the socialist suit. It also provides a comprehensive analysis of the fundamental constitutional issues at stake in this case.

Copies are available for \$10 from PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

☐ Please send me a copy of the brief. I enclose \$10.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____ to help PRDF continue its activities.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Labor conference discusses nukes, war

By Jon Hillson
and Norton Sandler

GARY, Ind. — The second national Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment held here November 20-22 was highlighted by lively discussion of many of the key issues facing working people in this country.

These included nuclear power, nuclear weapons, the threat of military moves in Central America and the Caribbean, the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) strike, and forming a labor party.

The conference brought together nearly 400 trade unionists, environmentalists, and anti-nuclear power and antiweapons activists determined to battle the government's attacks against working people.

Sponsored by nine international unions, the gathering was marked by a deepening leadership role of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) in the fight against nuclear power and for union-mined, coal-fired energy as its replacement.

About 100 miners attended the conference representing a cross section of the union from rank-and-file miners and local officers to district presidents and members of the International Executive Board.

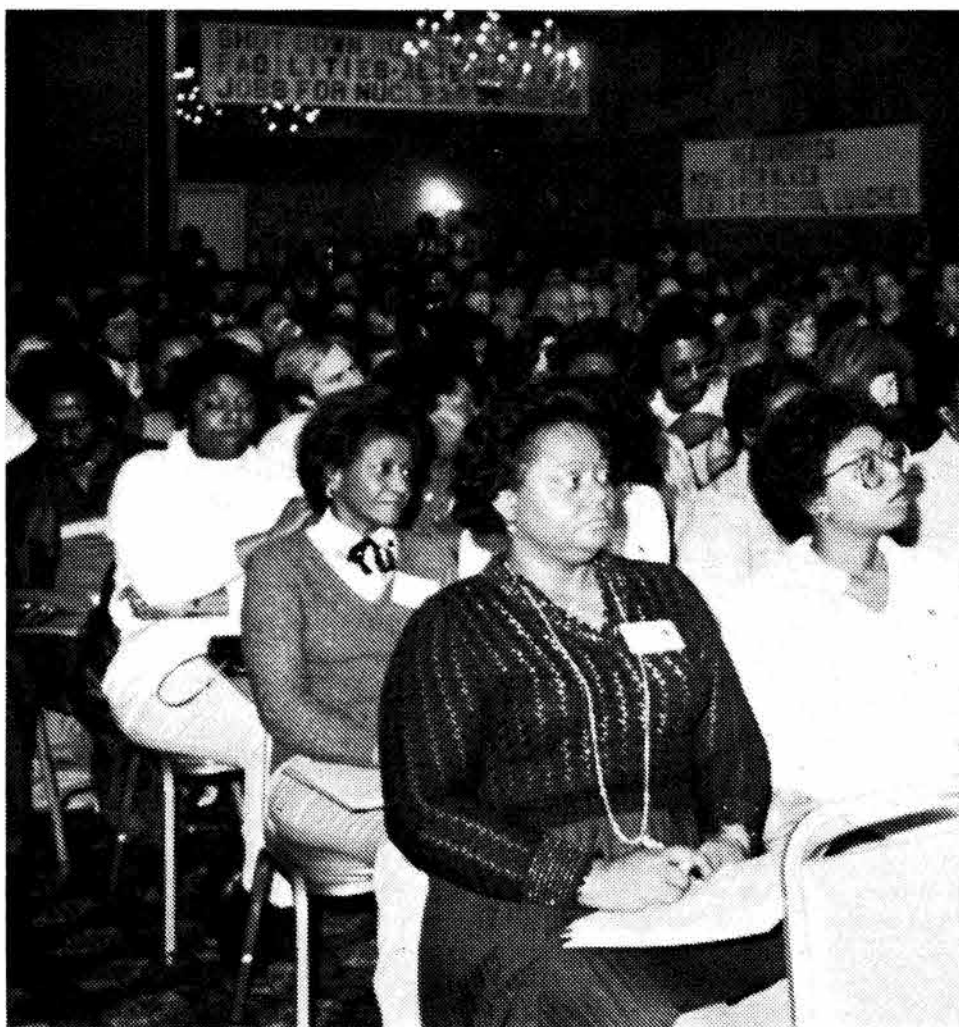
The weekend began with a Friday night kick-off rally saluting the PATCO strikers which urged continued support to the embattled air traffic controllers.

The rally also hailed the victory over the Northern Indiana Public Service Company, which bowed to popular pressure, terminating construction on the local Baily reactor after a ten-year struggle.

Featured speakers at the rally included Larry Phillips, PATCO vice-president; Matt Miller, UMW assistant Compac director; James Balanoff, former director of District 31 of the United Steelworkers (USW); Dave Wilborn, president of Local 6787 at Bethlehem Steel's Burns Harbor Plant; and Mike Olszanski, chairperson of Inland Steel Local 1010's environmental committee. Both Olszanski and Wilborn raised the idea of the union movement forming a labor party.

Workshops, informal sessions, and caucus and plenary sessions provided a framework for trade unionists and environmentalists to exchange ideas.

The perspectives adopted at the gathering held a year earlier in Pittsburgh were strengthened and updated



Militant/Jon Hillson

Second national labor conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment was attended by miners, steelworkers, and other unionists, including about forty members of 1199 National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees (foreground).

in Gary in a resolution backed by the sponsors of the conference including the UMW; the International Association of Machinists; the United Food and Commercial Workers and five other unions.

Although the conference was held in Gary, the center of the steelworkers 110,000 member District 31, USW presence at the gathering was small.

Welcoming conference participants to Gary, Indiana UMW International Executive Board member Roger Myers blasted Reagan's energy policy, whose cornerstone he said is "big oil and big oil profits."

Coal is answer

He cited the miners' decision to "endorse solar" and other renewable energy sources. But Meyers emphasized that their use was not realistic yet. "The practicability and time for coal is

here for today and tomorrow," he said. Coal reserves have enough potential "energy to run this country for the next three hundred years. The future is below our feet," he said.

But, Meyer said to booming applause, "either coal will be mined safely or it won't be mined at all."

The government, he said, should "surrender the idea that nuclear properties are safe. Ask anyone living near Three Mile Island, the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki if nuclear power is safe and efficient. It is only efficient where lives are to be threatened and destroyed."

This link-up between the two aspects of the government-subsidized nuclear industry — power and weapons — was at the heart of a keynote speech given by Robert Muehlenkamp, executive vice-president of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees 1199.

He slammed Reagan's nuclear saber-rattling and arms build-up. The arsenal and budget are simply "built on" the weapons policy and spending priorities of the Carter administration "item for item," Muehlenkamp said.

Such gigantic spending is inherently inflationary, pouring hundreds of billions of dollars into weapons that working people "can't go into the store and buy."

Muehlenkamp blasted the Carter-Reagan policy to plant more missiles in Europe, a view which has sparked massive demonstrations in Europe the past couple of months.

Other speakers also referred to the actions in Europe.

The audience closely listened to Muehlenkamp's speech and gave him a long round of applause when he finished. The ideas he raised were a topic of discussion throughout the conference.

Joining Meyers and Muehlenkamp as keynote speakers were Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher; Larry Phillips from PATCO; Charles Hayes, a vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers; and Anna Gyorgy, antinuclear author and director of Critical Mass Energy Project.

The highlight of the conference was the final plenary session.

Miners' caucus

The miners held a caucus before the session and their enthusiastic participation in the discussion stamped the

character of that session.

Matt Miller, leader of the caucus, reported on the coal workshop. He put forward the UMW's seven point program for clean energy and full employment which was adopted.

The sponsors' resolution also was discussed thoroughly. Many speakers linked the Reagan administration attack on social services to the drive by the administration to step up nuclear power.

One miner said that he was sure that the miners would have to take to the streets in future demonstrations and urged everybody to support actions by the coal miners.

Central America

The question of war was on everybody's mind. Keynote Charles Hayes had earlier attacked the myth that a war provides jobs. Some speakers referred to his remarks. Ciare Fraenzl, a Pennsylvania coal miner, spoke strongly against U.S. war plans in Central America and the Caribbean.

"Our war," she said, "is at home." Vietnam-style adventures are "part of the same war Reagan and his budget cutters are waging on working people at home. We need our young men here, on the picket line, defending PATCO, fighting the budget cutters and defending our standard of living. Not dying for the corporations, fighting against working people like ourselves in El Salvador who are fighting for the same things we are."

The applause she received was typical of the mood of the conference.

The sponsors' resolution called for "opposing the escalation of world-wide nuclear build-up and nuclear proliferation which threatens the very existence of our civilization." The second resolution called on both the USSR and the U.S. to disarm immediately. The third resolution called for a moratorium on the U.S. arms build-up. After a lengthy discussion the three resolutions on disarmament were not acted upon. Many were confused on the differences between the resolutions. Most felt that this was the opening round of a discussion on nuclear arms.

The general sentiment was that much had been learned during the weekend about nuclear weapons. Participants felt that they should go back to their union locals, continue the discussion, and leave a more worked out program on disarmament for future gatherings.

The liveliest discussion of the final session was on the PATCO strike. The discussion reflected the strong sentiment that exists in the labor movement for the PATCO brothers and sisters and also the frustration that more hadn't been done by the labor officialdom to win the strike. Many miners participated in this discussion.

The sponsoring unions agreed to take the discussion back to their locals and to continue carrying out solidarity activities.

The Gary conference was a contrast to the AFL-CIO convention held the same week in New York. It reflected in a modest way the union movement having the kind of discussions needed to forge a new leadership in the 1980's. The discussions there led in the direction of an independent labor movement forging a clear political course in the interest of working people, not back into the Democratic Party as the AFL-CIO convention proposed.

Many participants went home thinking about new ideas like the labor party. There was general recognition that things are going to get worse and that future discussions would be needed. Matt Miller summed up the feeling of the miners for continuing the discussion by announcing that their caucus had called for another conference early next fall in Louisville, Kentucky.

Upon leaving, one young miner told the *Militant* that the conference had been "a real eye opener."

PATCO strikers saluted at rally

GARY, Indiana — As former United Steelworkers District 31 Director James Balanoff finished his introduction of Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) national Vice-President Larry Phillips, the crowd began to cheer. And then to stand up and break into a sustained chant. "PATCO! PATCO! PATCO!"

Activists from thirty-eight unions and twenty-four states heard Phillips tick off what he called elements of Reagan's "scorched earth," union-busting war against air traffic controllers.

- denial of food stamps and unemployment compensation;
- federal pressure on private employers, like North American Van Lines, to refuse to hire PATCO members in new jobs;
- Federal Communications Commission efforts to black out news coverage deemed "pro-PATCO;"
- Federal Aviation Administration attempts to keep PATCO strikers jobless by giving unfavorable references to potential employers;
- general harassment through trials in thirty-three federal courts, \$150 million in fines, seventy-five convictions and seventy-five pend-

ing trials for participating in an "illegal strike," wire taps, FBI surveillance, and crude victimizations to force strikers back to work.

The government, he said, "has done everything [it] can possibly do to us . . . [it] tried to humiliate us in the eyes of the public, tried to bring us down, tried to break us."

All of this has failed, Phillips said, due to the "spirit of our people."

But the toll is severe.

"Financial support cannot be underestimated," Phillips said. Such aid for strikers out of work since August 6 is "crucial."

"Our people need to hear from other people who have gone through long strikes," he said, urging union locals and PATCO locals to exchange speakers. "We still need to get the truth out about what is happening," he said, "because of the media cover-up of what is going on."

The Gary conference unanimously passed a solidarity resolution demanding an end of government harassment of PATCO members, dropping the charges of those awaiting trial, and amnesty for those convicted. It also urged stepping up solidarity in the labor movement for PATCO.

— Jon Hillson

In Review

Some basic truths on Nicaragua and Guatemala

The Struggle for Freedom in Guatemala, By Aníbal Yáñez, Pathfinder Press, New York, 32 pp., \$.75.

NICARAGUA: An Introduction to the Sandinista Revolution, By Arnold Weissberg, Pathfinder Press, New York, 48 pp., \$.95.

Pathfinder Press's two new pamphlets on Nicaragua and Guatemala couldn't have come out at a better time.

They are invaluable for getting out the truth about the struggles in Central America as the U.S. government is stepping up its threats to use military force to crush those revolutions.

Both are written with the premise that the reader knows little if anything about these countries.

First on Guatemala, which is a poor country with about seven million inhabitants.

The pamphlet points out, "... the U.S. ruling class is afraid that after Nicaragua, with the Salvadoran struggle growing in intensity, Guatemala is next."

It's clear that the author, Aníbal Yáñez, a Mexican who now lives in the United States and is a leader of

the Socialist Workers Party, is quite knowledgeable about Guatemalan history and politics.

He traces how the civil war that is raging in Guatemala today had its start in the Agrarian Reform Law passed by the popularly-elected Arbenz government in 1952. That's the government that was overthrown two years later by a CIA-organized invasion.

One of the most interesting parts of this pamphlet is the discussion of the relationship between the Cuban and Guatemalan revolutionaries.

Yáñez sums it up: "Guatemala had provided the Cuban revolutionaries valuable lessons as to the limitations of a democratic revolution which stops halfway. Cuba now offers the Guatemalans the example of the first successful socialist revolution in the Americas."

On Nicaragua.

Arnold Weissberg has lived in Nicaragua for almost a year as part of a reporting team for *Perspectiva Mundial* and *Intercontinental Press*.

This pamphlet concentrates on telling the story of what's happened since the Somoza regime was overthrown more than two years ago.

It's an introduction written explicitly for one of the Sandinista revolution's most important allies — U.S. working people.

In this regard, the section entitled "The Workers Gain" is especially interesting.

In discussing how working people have made some gains in controlling their working conditions and the economy, Weissberg explains, "As the readers will note, the extensions of workers' participation in administration and planning is generally linked to the idea of raising production."

He then explains that the productivity drives of the employers and their government in the United States, and that of the workers and farmers government in Nicaragua are polar opposites.

You might want to order several copies of each of these pamphlets, so you have them on hand for discussions with co-workers, friends, family, and activists in the Central American and Caribbean solidarity movement.

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

— Margaret Jayko

Women in Revolt

Bishops escalate anti-abortion drive

On November 5, the leadership of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, led by New York's Terence Cardinal Cooke, joined the drive to make the "Hatch Amendment" part of the U.S. Constitution.

The text of this anti-abortion amendment reads: "A right to abortion is not secured by this Constitution. The Congress and the several States have the concurrent power to restrict and prohibit abortions: Provided, that a law of a State which is more restrictive than a law of Congress shall govern."

Prior to the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, states were free to either restrict or permit abortions. So this amendment would go even further, leading to preventing abortions in every state.

This is the first time the Catholic church hierarchy has endorsed specific anti-abortion legislation, and represents an escalation of their reactionary campaign.

At the bishops' national conference, there was a bit of dissension over this move.

Some of the holy fathers thought the endorsement was a sell-out. They thought they should settle for nothing less than a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion outright, based explicitly on the "principle" that a fetus is a person, and should have all the rights (and responsibilities?) of a person.

Supporters of the Hatch Amendment argued that their legislation would be easier to pass, and therefore would outlaw abortion more quickly.

In a memo designed to convince the skeptics, the General Counsel of the United States Catholic Conference explained: "The proposed amendment eliminates any basis for rooting the right to abortion in the Constitution as was done in [the 1973 Supreme Court decision]. This would apply to abortions in all circumstances, including to save the life of the mother."

Not even equal rights are good enough for a fetus — it's given more rights than a live woman!

Archbishop John Roach, president of the bishops' council, cloaked his call for this antiwoman measure in an appeal to "justice."

In his address to the conference, he went so far as to compare abortion to nuclear war!

"The horrors of nuclear war, though hardly fantasies, are possibilities at present. But the horror of legalized permissive abortion is tragically real."

By the end of the conference, the bishops emerged nearly unanimous in their support to the Hatch Amendment, thereby throwing the authority and resources of the Catholic church behind Hatch's side in the present debate over how to best outlaw abortion.

At a news conference organized by Catholics for a Free Choice, they protested Cooke's and Roach's claims to speak for Catholics, given that polls show three-quarters of the Catholic population supports legalized abortion.

But, despite the existence of majority sentiment in this country in favor of the right to abortion, the

government has pushed ahead with both its efforts to restrict it, and its propaganda campaign against it.

Medicaid funds for abortions for poor women have been cut off. According to the government's Center for Disease Control, since 1977, 3,000 poor women have had to resort to dangerous illegal abortions because of lack of funds. If the figure for unreported abortions is added, the number must run much higher.

And since 1976, when the Hyde Amendment was first introduced, there have been at least fifteen deaths from illegal abortions.

Congress recently passed the Teenage Chastity Act, which will make it even more difficult for the hundreds of thousands of teenagers who seek abortions each year to obtain them.

And there are mounting attempts at the state level to restrict and obstruct access to abortion.

January 22 will mark the ninth anniversary of the court decision legalizing abortion.

Supporters of reproductive rights can utilize that date to organize activities that can get out the truth about the attacks on the right to abortion; why women must have the right to control our own bodies; how this affects women, especially working women; and how it's linked to the overall attacks by the bosses and their government on working people and women.

— Margaret Jayko

Cops concerned about cruelty?

It was, the cop who busted them said, a "sign of the times."

Hard times.

Hard enough to force eleven young Blacks in the nation's second largest city to hunt rabbits twenty-five blocks from the center of Chicago's downtown Loop. So that maybe they could sell them for \$3 or

As I see it

\$4 a piece. Some are given to neighbors who cannot afford to pay that much.

The urban hunters didn't have jobs and this was their way of getting a little money or some meat on the table.

The eleven youths, ranging in age from seventeen to twenty-six, face potential fines and jail

sentences for trespassing, hunting without licenses, hunting out of season, using illegal methods to kill the animals, and cruelty to animals.

For each rabbit they didn't kill on November 4 with a gun, but beat to death with a club, they could be fined up to \$1,000.

And they killed eight rabbits.

The bust angered Tim Thigpen Sr., whose son, Tim Jr., was among those arrested.

"What can the kids do," the father, who works in an auto factory, said. "There's no jobs. They weren't going out there to steal. They weren't sticking anybody up. [Hunting] is all they can do. It keeps them off the streets."

Tim Thigpen Jr., a high school graduate, has been beating the streets for a job since last June, when he got his diploma.

One of his friends, also jobless, said he'd been hunting rabbits and pheasants in Chicago's Southside for years.

But the group had gone after prey in a rougher neighborhood this time.

A field near McCormick Place, the huge, posh exhibition hall and theater where in the last several months the Republican cronies of Ronald Reagan and the Democratic pals of Mayor Jane Byrne have each raised more than a million dollars for their favorite parties and candidates in the grand, imposing building.

You just don't bag rabbits where the elite meet to eat. Where armed security guards watch the entrances during \$500 a plate dinners. Where yachts are exhibited and industrialists compare their wares.

That's what Tim Thigpen and his dad are learning the hard way in Chicago.

Instead of making a few bills from selling a few rabbits, eleven people may do a little time and a little extra for the fines they can't afford for hunting rabbits near downtown Chicago in 1981 to make ends meet.

It really is a crime what can happen to you in the big city these days.

— Jon Hillson



That makes more sense — We recently reported that residents of the area near Sequoyah nuclear plant in Tennessee were given pills to fend off thyroid cancer in the event the plant blows. It did seem like a bit of a palliative until a state official explained that they came up with the idea after they realized evacuation routes might become clogged and people could get contaminated.

That's why he wants to pave over parks? — "There are a whole bunch of rattlesnakes out to get him" — Republican national committee member Rich-

ard DeVos defending Interior Secretary James Watts.

Plus tax and tip — If you have a civil suit going in California and tire of the crowded court calendar, you can use the rent-a-judge plan provided by state law. In civil suits, a retired judge can be hired to preside. Rates run from \$100 an hour to \$200.

Let your fingers do the running — The telephone company sold the government four pages of Yellow Page advertising to provide emergency instruction

to residents of Plattsburgh, New York, in the event of a nuclear attack.

Shopping tip — "I think if elections can be bought and won with money then people will be short-changed" — Texas State Senator Peyton McKnight, a wealthy oil operator seeking the governorship, who takes a dim view of all the money he and other candidates spend.

Thought for the week — "We care about you, we wish you peace. As your physicians, we feel it is our professional duty to inform you that in the event of all-out nuclear war, very little effective

medical care will be available. It appears that prevention of such a catastrophe would be sensible and prudent. We urge you to become informed." — Herrick Hospital medical staff, Berkeley, California.

Welcome wagon — Hair-do supply companies contributed in cash or kind to redecorate the White House beauty salon. Donations included a \$3,000 rug, a \$720 leather chair and a \$230 manicurist's stool. Nancy Reagan's press secretary emphasized this was separate from the \$1-million redecorating fund drive of last spring.

What's Going On

Rallies to defend democratic rights and support socialists' lawsuit

ARIZONA

TUCSON
DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS AGAINST REAGAN. Speakers: Eddie Jackson, United Steelworkers of America; Rich Stuart, Political Rights Defense Fund; Paula Edgar, American Federation of Teachers Local 1236; Bill Taylor, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization Local 572; Vern Elbrandt, Pima County Teachers Union Local 1238; Alvin Baker, president, Tucson NAACP; Lorenzo Torrez, People Before Profits Party; Romaine Peathick-Lawrence, Young Socialist Alliance; Mary Yablonski, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 449; Joe Fite, Carpenters Local 857; Paul J. Rubin, Retail Clerks Local 737; Diane Dittmore, National Organization for Women. Thurs., Dec. 10, 7:30 p.m. Fire Fighters Hall, 2264 E. Benson Hwy. For more information call (602) 622-8288.

STOP FBI CRIMES. Speaker: Rich Stuart, Socialist Workers Party. Wed., Dec. 9, 12 noon. Student Union Room 355, University of Arizona. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 622-8288.

CALIFORNIA

SAN DIEGO
RALLY TO DEFEND BILL OF RIGHTS. Speakers: Betsy Soares, Socialist Workers Party; Simon Casady, political activist, retired newspaper publisher; representative, Irish Rights Committee; local

antidraft activist; representative, Revolutionary Workers Party, Mexico. Entertainment from Womansong. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. Grassroots Cultural Center, 30th and Grape. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

GEORGIA

ATLANTA
POLITICAL RIGHTS DEFENSE RALLY. Speakers: Rev. Fred Taylor, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Robert Arnold, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization; Martha Gaines, president, American Civil Liberties Union, Georgia; Rick Reed, director, Georgia Clearing House on Jails and Prisons; James Harris, national committee, Socialist Workers Party; Garrett Brown, defendant in campaign disclosure suit against Socialist Workers Party; Alfredo Duarte, Committee to End the Blockade Against Cuba; representative, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; representative, Atlanta Peace Alliance. Sat., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. Georgia-Hill Street Center, 240 Georgia Ave. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (404) 872-7460.

OHIO

CINCINNATI
AN EVENING FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. Speakers: Nelson Blackstock, author, *COINTEL-*

PRO: FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom; Margie Robertson, executive director, American Civil Liberties Union; Sarah Garner, president, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Cincinnati chapter; Hasan Hamami, president, Arab-American Association; Steve Clark, Committee to Defend the NASSCO Workers; Barry David, member, International Association of Machinists; Pat Cusick, president, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization Local 220. Sun., Dec. 6, 7 p.m. St. John's Unitarian Church, 320 Resor Ave. (off Clifton Ave.) Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

RHODE ISLAND

PROVIDENCE
SPEAKOUT AGAINST GOVERNMENT ATTACKS ON POLITICAL RIGHTS. Speakers: Mohammed Oliver, Political Rights Defense Fund, Stefan Cluver, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Robert Laffey, American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; John Hovan, Communist Party; Mike Ward, National Black United Front; others. Fri., Dec. 11, 7:30 p.m. Brown University, Barus Holley Room 166. Donation requested. Ausp: Brown Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (401) 863-4796.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY
RALLY TO DEFEND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. Speakers: Dr. E.K. Hunt, Department of Econom-

ics, University of Utah; representative, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization; Tim Rice, public relations director, Utah AFL-CIO; Rich Stuart, Young Socialist Alliance; Kathryn Collard, attorney, American Civil Liberties Union activist; Tony Watkins, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Kay Cupp, Women Standing Alone; Bill Walsh, vice-chair, MX Information Center. Sat., Dec. 5, 7 p.m. refreshments, 7:30 rally. NW Multipurpose Center, 1300 W., 300 N. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WEST VIRGINIA

CHARLESTON
A RALLY FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. Speakers: Chuck Hollowell, striking air traffic controller; Nelson Blackstock, *Militant* staff writer, author of *COINTELPRO: FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*; Marion Bustin, United Mine Workers Local 2095, and Young Socialist Alliance; Dr. Betty James, professor of education, civil rights activist; Steve Legeay, People Against War Preparations; Rev. John Price. Sat., Dec. 12, reception 6:30 p.m., rally 7:30. St. John's Episcopal Church, 1105 Quarrier St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

CALIFORNIA

SEASIDE
BEHIND U.S. WAR THREATS IN THE CARIBBEAN. Speaker: Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party, city council member. Side show from recent tour of Cuba. Wed., Dec. 16, 7:30 p.m. Seaside Library, 550 Harcourt Ave. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 373-8347.

FLORIDA

MIAMI
ONE YEAR OF REAGAN: Panel discussion. Speakers: Jack Lieberman; John Ratliff; Harvey McArthur. Fri., Dec. 11, 7:30 p.m. 1237 NE 112 St., North Miami. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 769-3478.

GEORGIA

ATLANTA
NICARAGUA: NEXT VIETNAM? Slide show and discussion. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO
REVOLUTIONARY CONTINUITY: MARXIST LEADERSHIP IN THE U.S., PAST AND PRESENT. Three classes by Susan Lamont, member, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 12, 12 noon and 3 p.m.; Sun., Dec. 13, 11 a.m. 434 S. Wabash, 7th floor. Do-

nation: \$2 per class, \$5 all three. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

MICHIGAN

DETROIT
AUTO WORKERS IN THE '80s: HOW TO FIGHT BACK. Speaker: Jon Britton, United Auto Workers Local 980, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Dec. 13, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MISSOURI

KANSAS CITY
REAGANOMICS AND THE WAR DRIVE. Speakers: Steve Spartan, professor of social sciences, Donnelly College; John Staggs, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Dec. 13, 8 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

ST. LOUIS

PROTEST REAGAN'S WAR THREAT IN THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA. A teach-in. Tues., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. Umrath Lounge, Washington University. Ausp: Ad Hoc Committee Against Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

NEBRASKA

LINCOLN
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE IDEAS OF MARXISM. A class series. Sat., Nov. 14-Dec. 12, 1 p.m. UNL East Campus Union. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (402) 483-6236.

NEW YORK

MANHATTAN
REAGANISM: WHAT IT IS, HOW TO FIGHT IT. Socialist Educational Conference. Classes and workshops (in English and Spanish) on Black nationalism, labor history, workers democracy and socialism, women's struggles. Sat., Dec. 12, 10 a.m. Columbia University, Barnard Hall, 3rd floor, 117th St. and Broadway. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

OHIO

CLEVELAND
THE NEW THREAT OF WAR IN THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA. Speakers: Gumersindo Ruiz, Puerto Rican activist; Glenn Campbell, member,

Young Socialist Alliance and Central America Solidarity Committee; others. Sat., Dec. 12, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

OREGON

PORTLAND
U.S. HANDS OFF CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN. Speaker: representative, Socialist Workers Party. Videotape: *These Same Hands of Reconstruction in Nicaragua*. Sun., Dec. 13, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS

HOUSTON
HOW SLAVERY WAS ABOLISHED. Speaker: Laura Moorhead, Socialist Workers Party 1981 mayoral candidate of Houston. Film: *Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad*. Fri., Dec. 4, 7:30 p.m. 6333 Gulf Freeway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Friday Night Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 924-4056.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

NICARAGUA: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT. Speaker: Tuval Foguel, Young Socialist Alliance. Slide show. Fri., Dec. 11, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA

CHARLESTON
GRAND OPENING OF MILITANT BOOKSTORE. Refreshments, come in and browse. Sat., Dec. 12, 10 a.m.-2 p.m. 1584-A E. Washington St. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

ROOTS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM: Three classes by Ilona Gersh, national committee, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 12, 2 p.m.; Sun., Dec. 13, 10:30 a.m. and 12:30 p.m. 1584-A E. Washington St. Donation: \$2/class or \$4 for all three. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Young Socialist Alliance Convention

There is no better way to learn about the YSA than by attending the twenty-first National Convention to be held December 31-January 3 in Philadelphia. To find out more, fill out the coupon below or contact the YSA chapter near you listed on page 23.

Clip and send to:

YSA, 14 Charles Lane, N.Y., N.Y. 10014

- ☐ Send me more information about the YSA and the YSA convention.
☐ I want to attend the YSA convention.
☐ Enclosed is \$2.00 for a one year subscription to the *Young Socialist*.
☐ I want to join the YSA.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

'BARRICADA INTERNACIONAL'

Twice-monthly international edition of the Sandinista National Liberation Front's (FSLN) newspaper *Barricada*. Spanish language. Subscriptions now available at \$6 for six months. Send personal checks or international money orders to:

Barricada Internacional
Apartado Postal 576
Managua, Nicaragua

Letters

Doesn't agree

I am considering allowing my subscription to the *Militant* to expire. I appreciate your news coverage but I cannot agree with your analysis. Furthermore, judging from several letters to your newspaper that were never printed, I am now convinced that you do not respect any opinion substantially different from your own.

If you wish to prove that you have any political sincerity then you can print and reply to my letter of September 15. I will be awaiting your reply in the *Militant*.

Over several years I have made some random observations. May the *Militant* please answer these charges. American Marxists have never fully evaluated the conservative nature of the U.S. working class and the role of the so-called upper-middle class. The U.S. today has a large upper-middle class strata. Most working people aspire to become part of the upper-middle class through education, job advancement, and or financial investments.

The aspiring workers tail-end the upper-middle class and the capitalists in ideology.

Furthermore, the labor unions are not correcting the mistaken ideology of the workers. My own conclusion is that the unions do nothing to educate their members either in economics or politics. Rather, they instruct their members to elect Nixon or Carter. Then they never explain why such political leaders have never kept their promises to the labor movement.

America's pioneer Marxist Daniel DeLeon argued that the American labor movement has already made its bargain with the capitalists. The labor leaders wish to preserve their own position whenever the rulers feel they no longer need these disciplined leaders. The protests of the labor bureaucrats mask their conservative class-collaborationist policies.

The duty of socialists is to persuade the working class that they have no future under this system or in the collaborationist policies of the unions. The workers must

dump the complete leadership of the unions and not pin their hopes on mere union "reformers" who completely lack a socialist ideology.

Ronald Sims
Worthington, Ohio

(In reply. We agree with our reader that the leadership of the unions will have to be replaced before the working class can build an effective fight against the bosses' attacks on our unions, living standards, and social programs. But to say that the "labor movement" has already made its bargain with the capitalist class is to confuse the working class with the union bureaucracy.

(This has become clearer today as the working class in this country moves to the left and the union bureaucracy moves to the right. The U.S. working class has a militant history, one of hard-fought and bloody battles. One of the victories from those battles was industrial unions.

(The rank and file will have to take back control of their own institutions, the unions, and use them in the struggle to replace the capitalist government with a workers government. The first task is to break with the suicidal strategy of the labor bureaucracy: the alliance with the bosses and their political parties, the Democrats and Republicans. We need a party of labor and our allies based on the unions.)

ACLU

I would like to respond to a letter to the editor printed in the November 13 issue of the *Militant* slamming the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) for its support of a settlement in the Chicago "Red Squad Deal" and its handbook on "The Rights of Police Officers."

First of all, regarding the Chicago deal, the ACLU is supporting the deal not "to get the Chicago Red Squad off the hook" as the letter says, but rather to avoid what they think would be a disastrous legal decision if the case is dragged out and brought to trial (under the present reactionary administration). Whether or not this strategy is

the best one to take is certainly debatable (the SWP and YSA think it is not), but to say that the ACLU is "linking arms lovingly with the cops," as the letter says, is really not fair at all.

Concerning the handbook on the rights of cops: the ACLU has no less than twenty-five handbooks on rights in print, including the rights of aliens, prisoners, radical minorities, suspects, the poor, ex-offenders, and union members. Whether cops do or do not, should or should not, have rights is another question.

The ACLU has been defending civil liberties for many years, and without them it is quite possible that newspapers like the *Militant* would not be allowed to exist. Their main goal is to defend and uphold the Bill of Rights.

Specifically, regarding the letter I question, which states that "the ACLU is doing its bit to add to the clamor for tougher law enforcement to stop 'crime,'" I would like to point out that the ACLU is fighting against such reactionary measures as denial of bail, preventive detention, elimination of the exclusionary rule, and long flat-time sentences.

Joanne Heisel
Albuquerque, New Mexico



NOW and ERA

I agree with your disapproval of the National Organization for Women (NOW) one-sided emphasis on the ERA. I, too, am against the draft — for all. But there is more to NOW than you seem to be aware of. I

enclose a recent mailing.

[pictured above]

A. Sereen
New York, New York

Trip to Ireland

We have to write and tell you of our experience in Belfast, Northern Ireland. While there, the latest hunger striker, Joe McDonnell died. So we decided to attend the funeral. It was a sight to see. All these people lined up for miles to pay tribute to a man who, rather than give in to foreign oppression, chose to give his life for his country.

As the IRA tradition, they gave a last salute to their comrade in arms. In about three minutes, we heard gunfire and everybody started yelling, "The Brits are here." Before we knew what had happened, troops were everywhere, firing live rounds and what they call rubber bullets. Rubber bullets my eye. These are four inches long and about an inch-and-a-half in diameter. Now you have to give the Irish people credit; with nothing more than stones they charged the soldiers and Irish police. As we stood there we saw the first person go down. A man bent over him and waved a white flag. The Royalist Irish Police seemed to aim for the white flag.

We think if the British were to leave and a peacekeeping force were to go in, Irish from both sides would be forced to shake hands. We feel the British keep the two religions from really trying. We talked to a lot of people and they feel it might be worth a try.
Tom and Lola Glaser
Edison, New York

Changing parties

Page 3-A of the *St. Petersburg Times* October 30, has an article by Jack Fischer that Florida's Republican Party chairman has approached three of the state's Democrats asking them to change parties.

The bottom line of the article says "The name of the game is who's going to control the House. If someone says 'I'm going to be a Republican,' he's going to have to hire three people to help him carry the money to the bank."

The public certainly has a right to know if and when bribery was legalized by this president's administration. Also we have a right to know how many of the congressmen and senators have been influenced by bribery in switching their vote to support the destruction of ongoing programs that were operating in the public interest.

Frank Road
St. Petersburg, Florida

Life-long activist

It was with great sorrow that I learned of the death of Morris Chertov — a life-long activist in the socialist movement.

I had the opportunity to meet and know Morris when I first joined the Young Socialist Alliance in the early 1970s. Aside from his wealth of information on Marxism and the class struggle in general, what I remember most vividly was his unshakable faith in the American working class.

In his recounting of the formation of the CIO, the post-World War II labor upsurge, and the McCarthyite witch-hunt period of the 1950s, he continually stressed to us young socialists that the working class in this country, despite its ups and downs in relation to the ruling class, had never suffered a real defeat like in Hitler-Germany or in Chile after the 1973 coup. And that, as a Marxist, it was his firm belief that such a defeat would not occur without a real battle where the question of which class should run society would be on the agenda.

Morris was extremely optimistic about the role his class would play in the inevitable showdown against the capitalists. I am glad I knew him and I am proud to carry on his ideas and struggles as part of the class that will help emancipate humanity.
Edwin Fruit
Brooklyn, New York

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.

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

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

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.
CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.
COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.
FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, c/o Bill Petersen, 1118 NW 3rd Ave. Zip: 32601. Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.
GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.
ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 1301 W. Green, Room 284. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.
INDIANA: Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP,

YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.
IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613.
KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. 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.
MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01004. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.
MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Tel: (313) 663-7068. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.
MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.
MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.
NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 30221. Zip: 68503. Tel: (402) 483-6236.
NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave.

Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.
NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.
NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.
NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.
OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorris St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.
OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.
PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 3255. Zip: 17105. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.
TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.
UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.
VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.
WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.
WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.
WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, Box 3761. Zip: 25337. 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.

THE MILITANT

Puerto Rican student strike solid despite police attack

By Nelson González

On November 25, at the very moment that thousands of students were meeting to review a set of proposals to end the three-month student strike at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR), scores of anti-riot police attacked the peaceful assembly. Hundreds of students were arrested; many were injured.

The student strike at UPR began August 27 in response to a proposed tripling of tuition fees by the Puerto Rican Council on Higher Education (CES). Since then, administration officials, in collaboration with pro-Reagan Puerto Rican Governor Carlos Romero Barcelo, and the cops have communist-baited the student movement, physically attacked student pickets, banned campus meetings and expelled over 4,000 students who in protest did not pay the increased tuition.

The elected leadership of the student strike, the General Council of Students (CGE) has been banned from entering the campus by a judicial order. Several of the student leaders have been thrown in jail on trumped up charges of "inciting to riot." Professors and campus employees sympathetic to the students have been suspended from their jobs without pay.

Despite this all-out attack, the students have kept the university shut tight and won widespread support throughout the country.

On November 13, in a clear cut victory for the students, the CES endorsed a tentative agreement pending a student referendum in which they agreed to: readmit all the students expelled for not paying tuition, provide financial aid to 1,800 students who could not meet tuition costs, drop any administrative sanctions against strike leaders and others, and end the ban on campus meetings.

On November 19, the CGE asked the students to return to the campus to con-



Police goons attack student assembly at University of Puerto Rico

duct two series of meetings to discuss the proposals in preparation for a giant student assembly.

On the morning of November 25, Roberto Alejandro, president of the CGE, in compliance with the ban preventing him from entering the campus, attempted to address a rally of more than 4,500 students assembled inside the grounds of the University from a flat-bed truck parked just outside the university. Anti-riot police goons, using the pretext of an alleged traffic violation, demanded that the truck be removed.

A few minutes later police goons began moving two cranes into position to forcibly remove the truck. At that moment an urgent plea from the platform was made asking the students inside the University to come out and defend the truck. In the police attack that followed, 465 people were arrested and dozens injured by club-wielding police goons.

In a further attempt to intimidate the students, Enrique Irizarry, president of the CES, vowed that the campus would remain open no matter how many times he would have to call on the police.

Student leader Alejandro responded at a news conference on November 27 that "Now the Administration has no support. Those that did not support the strike up till now have united with us."

On December 1, in direct defiance of the ban on campus meetings, hundreds of students turned out at the UPR campus in a series of meetings and rallies and distributed leaflets explaining the issues in the strike in preparation for a projected student referendum. The referendum will ask students to vote on the original conditions that the CES had agreed to. In addition, among the things students will be asked to vote on are reexamining the concept of tuition ad-

justed according to income and whether they would back a move to ask the Puerto Rican legislature to come up with the money to substantially reduce the tuition or completely revoke the increase.

Due to the fact that Governor Barcelo's political opponents control the Puerto Rican legislature, the presidents of both the Senate and the House are in favor of taking up this question in the next session of the legislature with a view to allocating more funds to UPR.

As more forces rally to the students' side, including the beginnings of solidarity actions here in the United States they are in an even stronger position to win their struggle.

And as the November 24 *Washington Post* warns, "the striking students at the University of Puerto Rico may be giving us a preview of the social conflicts to come."

Socialist city councilman fights 'gag rule'

By Janice Lynn

SEASIDE, California — A campaign is underway here to try to prevent Socialist city council member Mel Mason from publicly stating his political views.

On November 24, Mason, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, was informed that Mayor-Pro Tem Vervine "Bud" Houfer was planning to introduce an ordinance making it a misdemeanor for council members to use their title in speaking on issues "outside city business." It would also prohibit the use of city council letterhead for press statements on such issues. Penalties included in the proposed ordinance would be a fine or up to one year in jail.

In a November 22 press release, Mason publicly blasted this unconstitutional attempt to silence him. Mason pointed out that this proposed ordinance was a reaction to the recent press conference he held questioning the U.S. government accusations that Cuban troops and military advisers were in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

In his November 19 press conference Mason had spoken out in support of the demand by eight members of the congressional Black caucus that the allegations against Cuba be substantiated. He also denounced the attempt by the U.S. rulers to use these accusations as an excuse "to plunge this country into an offensive war against

the peoples of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Central America."

In his press release, Mason questioned what Mayor-Pro Tem Houfer considers "issues or matters outside this city."

"Is war considered a matter outside the city when a war would result in youth from Seaside being drafted to go fight and die in El Salvador?" Mason asked.

"Everything that happens in this country is the business of all the people of this country, regardless of where they reside. Ultimately all national — and even international — issues have an effect on people locally."

Mason also accused any elected officials on whatever level, who failed or refused to take a position on national matters, of shirking their basic obligations to the people.

"As I held that press conference in support of a group of congressmen's (the Congressional Black Caucus) request for facts substantiating the allegations against Cuba, Mr. Houfer and the other council members should also be requesting those facts instead of trying to silence me with this reactionary ordinance," Mason declared.

"What disturbs Mr. Houfer is the fact that I am a socialist, a revolutionary," Mason stated. "This ordinance is about violating my rights to freedom of expression and speech and to keep me from using the titles that the people of

Seaside bestowed on me when they elected me to office."

A similar attempt to silence Mason was tried last February after Mason, also a leader of the National Black Independent Political Party, spoke out against racism at Fort Ord. The city council had passed a resolution specifically singling out Mason, warning him not to use his city council title in connection with public statements on such issues.

Mason pointed out in his press statement that no council members complained when the Mayor himself issued

a statement on a national issue some five or six months ago opposing the build-up of nuclear weapons by the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

"I formally protest this proposed ordinance," Mason's statement concluded, "and am prepared to challenge it on the ground that it tends to violate the civil rights and liberties of everyone who is or will be elected to the city council."

Letters protesting this proposed undemocratic ordinance can be sent to: Mayor, City Council, 440 Harcourt Avenue, Seaside, California 93955.

Socialist arrested in Santo Domingo

On November 30, Claudio Tavarez, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers League (LRT) in the Dominican Republic, was arrested by the Department of Secret Services of the Dominican police force.

He was arrested when the police raided the house in Santo Domingo where Eduardo Aguilar, official representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, lives. Money, records, tapes, posters, and literature were taken from Aguilar's room.

Aguilar has been harassed by Dominican authorities who have delayed normalizing his visa.

Tavarez who was on a personal visit to Aguilar's home was arrested during the raid. Aguilar was not at home at the time.

The members of the LRT are urging that telegrams demanding Tavarez's release and an end to the persecution of Aguilar be immediately sent to: General José Paulino Reyes de Leon, at the Cuartel General de la Policia Nacional. Copies of all telegrams should also be sent to Periodico Nuevo Diario, Calle Jose Contreras and Periodico El Sol, Kilometro 6 1/2 carretera Sanchez, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.