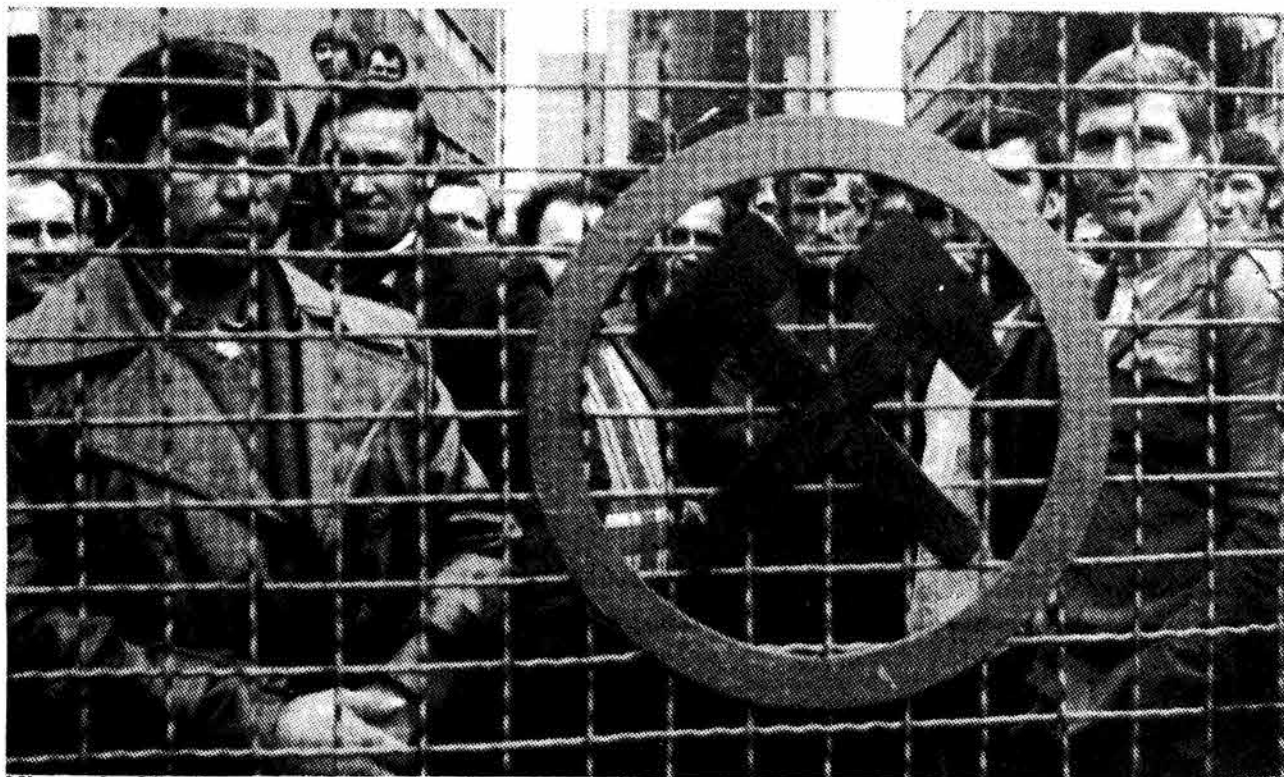


THE MILITANT

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

Defend Polish workers! Stop U.S. war threats against Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador!



Miners in Silesia area of Poland during 1980 strike. Polish unionists are battling for workers democracy, not a return to capitalism.

The brutal suppression of the Polish workers and farmers by the Polish regime, backed up by the Kremlin, must be condemned and opposed by everyone who is fighting for workers' rights and for socialism. The suspension of all democratic rights, the arrests of leaders of Solidarity, and the use of force to evict strikers from factories and break up demonstrations are criminal acts, indefensible before the workers of the world.

Use of Soviet troops in Poland, which remains a very real threat, would be a still more monstrous violation of workers democracy and the right of Poland to self-determination.

EDITORIAL

The crackdown in Poland, falsely carried out in the name of communism, is a blow to the working-class movement throughout the world and to the cause of communism everywhere.

Two days after the declaration of martial law in Poland, by no coincidence whatsoever, the Reagan administration announced that military "contingency plans" are in preparation for U.S. intervention in the Caribbean and Central America.

"We must halt terrorist aggression and deter further military attacks in the hemisphere," declared a Pentagon official. The *Washington Post* called it the "hardest public line to date" taken by the Reagan administration. Thus, under cover of the propaganda bonanza handed to them by the Polish and Soviet bureaucracies, the Reagan administration is stepping up its public justifications for its planned military moves against the advancing revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean.

Never one to miss a good bet, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin announced within twenty-four hours of the events in Poland that the Zionist state was annexing the Golan Heights. This is a strategically vital part of Syria that Israel has occupied since 1967, but has never before felt strong enough to claim permanent title to.

Contrary to what is being said by the Soviet and Polish bureaucrats, as well as by the capitalist governments and news media, the Polish masses have not been marching backward toward the restoration of capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination of Poland. Rather, they have been fighting to move forward, to establish workers democracy, which is what socialism is all about.

The workers in Poland — joined by their allies among the farmers, students, and the intellectuals — have been battling to transform Polish society into one where the toiling masses exercise decisive control over political, economic, and social policies.

Today, in Poland, as in the Soviet Union, decisions on national policy are in the hands of a mi-

What Solidarity fights for

By Suzanne Haig

On December 13, the Polish government — in an unprecedented and ruthless move designed to break the independent union, Solidarity, and roll back the gains made by the working class in the last sixteen months — imposed martial law on the country.

Prime Minister and Communist Party chief General Wojciech Jaruzelski appointed a Military Council for National Salvation, composed of twenty-one top-ranking officers, to administer the government and industry until the "crisis" is over and "discipline" reestablished.

Under the military regulations, all strikes and political gatherings are banned. An evening curfew is in effect, and troops and security police are patrolling the streets. All individuals must carry identity papers. Gasoline sales for private use are prohibited. Distribution of leaflets and unauthorized newspapers is forbidden. Travel to and from Poland is severely restricted. All internal and international telephone and telex communications are cut.

Solidarity was suspended and the six-day work week was reinstituted, thus reversing the "free Saturday" won by the union.

Authorities have militarized 150 key industries, including coal mines and oil refineries, which means workers there could face court martial for striking or disobeying orders.

Penalties for any violation of martial law range from two years in prison to death.

Thousands of Solidarity leaders and members, as well as intellectuals, journalists, teachers, and students have been arrested. All jails and prisons in the Warsaw region alone are full. Lech Walesa, supposedly flown by the gov-

ernment from Gdansk — where the union's national leadership had been meeting — to Warsaw for negotiations, is now reported to be under house arrest because of his refusal to negotiate with authorities.

In a weak attempt to appear even-handed, the authorities also arrested several former government officials, including one-time party leader Edward Gierek.

To justify the crackdown, the government charged that Solidarity had called for a referendum to replace the present government.

In fact, the referendum, to be conducted February 15, dealt with whether the Communist Party and General Jaruzelski were running the country to the satisfaction of the Polish working class.

More importantly, the referendum was to be held by Solidarity only if the government refused by the end of the year to meet demands the union has continued to raise to deal with the economic crisis: creation of a social council composed of Solidarity, Rural Solidarity, other trade unions, and scientific organizations to oversee the economy, independent of the government; access for Solidarity to the mass media; and free and democratic elections to local councils.

While the military crackdown is a show of force, it comes not from a position of strength but of political weakness. Over the last year, the Communist Party and the government have lost their credibility with the masses, who increasingly have turned to Solidarity as their representative.

Because of the press blackout and the rapidly changing situation, it is difficult to gauge the re-

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The 'Militant' prisoner fund

There are some 350,000 prisoners in U.S. federal and state prisons, 848 of them on death row. This does not include the thousands more in local jails.

The great majority are from the working class, and a disproportionate number are Black or Latino. These victims of the capitalist profit system have been branded "criminals" by the tiny class of employers and bankers who rule this country, and by the courts, cops, and news media they control.

They are confined in miserable conditions and treated like animals. Democratic and Republican politicians say that the "humane" answer to overcrowding in the prisons is to build more prisons. And throughout the country they are attempting to drum up more funds to do this.

When a federal judge this week ordered the release on parole of 350 Alabama prisoners before Christmas because of overcrowding, the state government said, "no." It plans to appeal the judge's decision all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary.

The only answer to overcrowding in American prisons is to get rid of the capitalist system that is responsible for them. That's the view of the *Militant* and that's why many readers behind bars like the *Militant*. Our letters column this week features letters from some of these readers about what the *Militant* means to them.

Sending the *Militant* to these readers stretches our shoestring budget. So we have a special fund to pay for free subscriptions to prisoners who want to receive the paper.

We are appealing to you, at this holiday time, to contribute to this fund. You can send in the coupon on the bottom of this page.

...Polish workers

Continued from front page

nority. This bureaucracy is totally isolated from the masses, and is able to maintain its rule only through the suppression of all democratic rights. It survives only because of the power of the Soviet bureaucracy, which stands behind it.

The Kremlin fears above all that the example of Poland's working-class upsurge will inspire the masses in the other East European workers states, including most importantly the Soviet Union itself, thus placing their own continued rule and privileges in jeopardy.

The Stalinist bureaucrats claim that the suppression of Solidarity is necessary to defend the workers states against imperialism. But the facts are just the opposite: the attack on the

rights of the Polish people weakens the security of the Soviet Union and all other workers states against the permanent imperialist threats.

It is not accidental that the most democratic workers state in the world, revolutionary Cuba, is also the country where the workers and farmers have developed the deepest and most determined revolutionary internationalism. It is this internationalism that makes Cuba an unshakable defender of the Soviet Union against imperialism, and also places the Cuban revolution shoulder to shoulder with revolutionary fighters throughout the entire world. Workers democracy and proletarian internationalist consciousness go hand in hand.

The bureaucracy's brutal measures in Poland discredit socialism and communism in the eyes of workers everywhere — in the capitalist world as well as in the workers states. They thus lend credence to the reactionary argument that socialism and communism are inherently totalitarian.

The Kremlin's active role in preparing the crackdown also weakens the fraternal relations that ought to exist between the workers of Poland and the Soviet Union. To the degree that some Polish workers view the Soviet Union as their oppressor instead of their ally, their commitment to the defense of the Soviet workers state is weakened.

What's more, by adding fuel to the imperialist propaganda machines, the suppression of the Polish workers has the effect of undermining the fight in Europe against NATO's plans to introduce new and more powerful nuclear weapons, which will be aimed at Moscow, Warsaw, and other Eastern European capitals.

The most immediate effect, however, will be to provide cover for Washington's plans for military intervention in Central America.

In the wake of the Polish regime's assault against Solidarity, the hypocrisy in the imperialist capitals reached new heights.

While wringing their hands in public, Western bankers were privately hoping that Solidarity would be crushed and bureaucratic stability restored in Poland. After all, it is the bureaucracy, and not Solidarity, which guarantees the \$27 billion owed to the banks. By blaming "communism" for the economic crisis in Poland, the capitalists seek to divert attention from the fact that the massive Polish foreign debt, coupled with the declining export market due to the economic crisis in the capitalist countries, has put Poland into an economic vise.

Washington, while cynically claiming sympathy for the plight of the Polish workers, took the immediate step of announcing the cutoff of future food shipments to Poland.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher — who re-

cently reinforced the British army occupation in Northern Ireland, England's 800 year-old colony — demanded that the Soviet Union adhere to "a policy of strict nonintervention" in regard to Poland.

In Paris, the Socialist Party (SP) leadership organized a protest march against the Soviet and Polish governments. The major bourgeois parties in France, including the right-wing Gaullists and the party of former premier Giscard d'Estaing, held a demonstration at the same time and place. The French SP heads the government of imperialist France, administering its colonies and defending its interests throughout the world. The SP government has given wholehearted support to Reagan's military buildup in Europe.

Polish workers don't need phony solidarity from those who shed crocodile tears over the suppression of democratic rights in Poland, but stand silent in the face of Washington's acts of war and oppression.

American imperialism is as much the enemy of the Polish people as it is of the peoples of the entire world.

And what the Polish movement is fighting for is as much a threat to imperialism as it is to the Stalinist bureaucrats.

The Polish workers struggle for socialist democracy has been one of the most powerful refutations of the capitalists' argument that socialism is inconceivable without bureaucratic rule and negation of democratic rights. For this reason, the rise of Solidarity has inspired working people throughout the world and in the United States, and has won new supporters for the cause of socialism.

Once again the bureaucratic rulers of the Soviet Union and Poland have shown themselves to be the betrayers of the ideals of communism, obstacles to its advancement, and deadly enemies of the fight for workers democracy and self-determination, which were an essential part of the program Lenin and the Bolsheviks fought to implement sixty years ago.

The most urgent task of those in this country who support the Polish workers and farmers is to cut through the imperialist hypocrisy and lies, and tell the truth about what the Polish workers are fighting for.

Meetings to explain this to the broadest possible audience are already being organized by Militant Forums across the country. Supporters of this newspaper are making plans for special sales and subscription efforts in the weeks ahead.

We appeal to you to join us in this effort to spread the truth. That is the best solidarity we can offer to our brothers and sisters in Solidarity.

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Poland: Workers in Revolt

By Dave Frankel, DeAnn Rathbun, and Ernest Harsch.

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U.S. announces 'contingency plans'

Threatens invasion of Central America

By Fred Murphy

The U.S. government is continuing its steady barrage of lies and threats against the revolutionary governments in Latin America and the struggles of Central American peoples to free themselves from U.S.-backed dictatorships.

On December 15 Fred Iklé, under secretary of defense for policy, told a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee that "contingency plans" are being drafted for U.S. military action in Central America if President Reagan orders U.S. intervention.

He said the plans are being prepared to respond "to further military threats and acts of aggression." He repeated the charges that have become standard fare the last two months about the supposedly large size of Cuba's armed forces and its alleged military presence in Nicaragua. According to the December 16 *New York Times* he asserted that Cuba is the 'crown colony' of Soviet imperialism.

The *Washington Post* reported that, "Although drafting contingency plans is standard procedure for the Pentagon, they are seldom announced in the pointed way Iklé chose yesterday."

Iklé also announced that the Reagan administration will bring 1,500 Salvadoran soldiers and officers to the United States for training early next year.

The day before Iklé's statements, Thomas Enders, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, testifying before a senate subcommittee, asserted that Honduras has now become another victim of Cuban "intervention."

"A new attempt to overthrow an established government by force is underway," Enders claimed in his testimony to the Senate subcommittee on hemispheric affairs.

In keeping with what has become standard operating procedure for the Reagan administration, Enders offered no evidence to back up his charges. In recent months, Cuban President Fidel Castro has repeatedly challenged the State Department to come up with a single shred of proof to back up its charges of Cuban intervention in Central America. But Washington has been unable to respond.

Enders also reiterated Reagan administration threats that "the costs [to Cuba] of escalating their intervention in the area will be high." But he refused to reveal any military or other retaliatory measures the United States might actually take. News reports over the past



'To Deal with Decapitalization . . . Confiscation!' Nicaraguans refuse to trade their newly won rights for Washington's bribes of economic aid and a promise not to invade.

two months have indicated that the options being considered in Washington range from tightening the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba, to a full-scale naval blockade or even an actual invasion of the island.

There has been no mass upsurge or guerrilla warfare in Honduras comparable to those in Guatemala and El Salvador. But Washington clearly is worried that, given the severe economic crisis now besetting Honduras and the example set by the revolution in neighboring Nicaragua, the Honduran workers and peasants will also launch struggles of their own.

A few days before Enders's testimony, fresh evidence came to light of how Washington has been trying to tighten the screws on Nicaragua's revolutionary government.

According to the December 11 *New York Times*, "An interagency group has reportedly sent to President Reagan a list of possible courses of action that the United States may take to deal more firmly with the recent military buildup reported in Nicaragua. An official said one of the courses of action could be put into effect soon if Nicaragua remained unresponsive."

What Washington is in fact demanding of the Sandinista government is that it disarm and leave itself defenseless in face of the threat of armed counterrevolution.

This was made especially clear on De-

cember 10, when the *Washington Post* published details of U.S.-Nicaraguan negotiations during August, September, and October. Documents leaked by the State Department showed that the Reagan administration had acknowledged the illegal existence on U.S. soil of training camps for right-wing Nicaraguan exiles, and was using this in an attempt to blackmail the Sandinista government.

U.S. demands

"In diplomatic letters to Managua on Sept. 8 and Sept. 16," the *Post* disclosed, "the United States presented drafts of statements pledging to 'vigorously enforce' neutrality laws and clamp down on paramilitary exiles training on U.S. soil, and stating a commitment not to use or threaten force, as a matter of principle, against the Nicaraguan government."

As a condition for doing what it was bound by U.S. and international law to do anyway, Washington "proposed that Nicaragua's regular military forces be limited to 15,000 to 17,000 men. . . ."

"The United States also asked in the draft that the Nicaraguan forces eventually be brought down to 'traditional size' as existed under the Somozas, about 8,000 according to U.S. estimate. And the draft called for Managua to cease importing heavy weapons from Cuba and the Soviet Union and to agree to permit an international body, perhaps a unit of the Organization of American States, to play a part in verifying its arms commitments."

Washington also demanded a halt to what it claimed was the use of Nicaraguan territory in support of rebel forces in El Salvador and other Central American countries. The State Department

documents called this the "sine qua non of a normal relationship."

Even while it was calling on the Nicaraguan government to submit to such outrageous violations of its national sovereignty, the Reagan administration was canceling outright \$7 million in U.S. economic aid (already suspended last April), holding naval maneuvers with Honduras near the territorial waters of Nicaragua, and spreading the lie that 500-600 Cuban soldiers had been ferried through the country en route to blow up a bridge in El Salvador.

Nicaraguan reply

These provocations confirmed to the Nicaraguan government that Washington was anything but sincere in its professed desire for a normalization of relations. According to the *Post*, Deputy Foreign Minister Víctor Tinoco informed the State Department on October 31 that "further consideration of the U.S. proposals would depend on U.S. actions regarding the exile training camps in Florida and 'above all the relaxation of tensions your government generates with concrete acts in the area of Central America and the Caribbean.'"

Instead, Washington moved ahead with preparations for military action against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and the rebels in El Salvador and Guatemala; and launched a public campaign of threats, slanders, and diplomatic maneuvers to prepare the ground for such operations.

The Sandinistas were thus left with no choice but to step up their own defense preparations. A nationwide military alert has been in effect since November 8, and recruitment to the Sandinista People's Militias has been redoubled.

Washington escalates slander, economic threats against Libya

By William Gottlieb

Washington is continuing its campaign against the Libyan government of Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi. On December 10, President Reagan invalidated all U.S. passports for travel to Libya and demanded that every American citizen leave the North African country at once. In a further move, aimed at the democratic right of Americans to travel to any country they choose, the State Department threatened those who refuse to leave Libya with extradition proceedings.

A particularly ominous note was sounded in London, where U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger noted that the U.S. Sixth Fleet was standing by to evacuate Americans from Libya.

The claim that U.S. citizens were in any danger in Libya was challenged by Americans who are presently living there. "I feel absolutely safe here, and I always have," said teacher Barbara Devine who has lived in Libya for four years. Devine reported that 90 percent of the seventy teachers she is working with wanted to stay.

According to the December 12 *New*

York Times, even executives of U.S. oil companies "publicly questioned the Administration's belief that the safety of American citizens in Libya was in jeopardy."

Reagan's latest moves against the right of Americans to travel is part of a campaign to bring down the anti-imperialist government of Colonel Qaddafi. The drive to bring down the Libyan government includes a Washington-orchestrated press campaign about mythical Libyan 'hit squads' in the United States. These reports claimed that the Libyan government is trying to assassinate President Reagan and other U.S. officials. But Qaddafi has categorically denied these charges and challenged Washington to offer proof. Washington has provided no evidence to back these charges.

It also includes actual military moves against Libya such as shooting down of two Libyan planes over Libya's Gulf of Sidra last August. Less publicized is a drive to strangle Libya economically. In the last six months declining orders from the oil monopolies have forced Libya to reduce its oil production from two million to 700,000 barrels a day.

Student strike remains solid

By Nelson González

The battle continues between students at the University of Puerto Rico fighting against a tripling of tuition fees and the Puerto Rican government and Council on Higher Education (CES), who have unleashed the FBI and the police against the student-strike movement.

Following the November 25 attack against a peaceful student assembly, the Puerto Rican Supreme Court ordered University Rector Miró Montilla to allow the students to hold a campus assembly.

This order, which came as the result of public pressure, overturned a ban on campus meetings imposed by the CES.

At the December 3 assembly organized by the General Council of Students (CGE), an estimated 3,000 students agreed that the strike will continue un-

til a referendum on the strike issues is completed.

The very next day, Montilla held a news conference announcing that he would ask the police to occupy the campus until the end of the year and asserting that the student referendum was not valid.

Despite this and continued attacks against students, the strike is still solid and the campus remains paralyzed. The only activity that is taking place is the student referendum being conducted by the CGE in the different departments at which students have lined up to vote.

On December 10 the Christian Action Youth Group, a Catholic campus organization, called for a forty-eight-hour hunger strike demanding that the police get off the campus and for a quick resolution of the crisis. This action was supported by Catholic Cardinal Luis Martínez Aponte.

How Polish workers built their union

The Pathfinder Press pamphlet, *Poland: Workers in Revolt*, offers a very timely account and analysis of the events in Poland leading to the present government attack on Solidarity.

The following facts on how Solidarity developed are taken from the pamphlet (available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014; \$1.25).

In December 1970, the issue of food prices touched off a workers' revolt in Gdansk, home of the Lenin shipyard, and in Szczecin. That action ended the rule of Wladyslaw Gomulka as secretary of the ruling Communist party.

Before he quit, scores of workers were shot down by government troops in an action that remains vividly etched in the memory of the Polish workers.

Gomulka's successor, Edward Gierek, tried to hike meat prices in 1976. This set off a massive strike movement and the government retreated.

But on July 1, 1980, Gierek tried again. The move brought new strikes in Gdansk, Lublin, and the Warsaw area.

There were government concessions, but more strikes followed. The strikes came to a peak with the August 14, 1980, occupation of the Lenin shipyard

by the workers. Their action was triggered by the firing of Anna Walentynowicz, a crane operator who had participated in the earlier battles.

Inspired by the shipyard workers, more workers in the Baltic region struck. By August 18, 100,000 workers were on strike in three cities and had established strike committees which linked them together.

A good deal more was involved than the price of meat or the unjust firing of a militant worker.

As the workers' struggle broadened, demands were projected which aimed at the very heart of the rapacious bureaucratic rule in Poland.

Strikers pressed for economic gains, insisting on a forty-hour work week and an increased supply of food at prices they could afford to pay.

Key political demands were added. Freedom of expression was central. An end to government censorship was pressed for along with the release of political prisoners. The workers spoke out for abolition of the privileges enjoyed by party officials and cops. And they wanted to be fully informed about the country's economic situation.

To give teeth to their demands, they

pressed for recognition of the right to strike and to form independent unions.

The strike movement continued to spread. Rail, auto, rubber, and mine workers joined in.

The power of the united movement forced a major government concession. On August 31 of 1980, an agreement was signed on television recognizing the new union movement. Solidarity was the first independent workers organization ever recognized by Poland's bureaucratic misrulers.

The new union set its sights on even broader goals. Its program called for increased health care services, more day-care centers, increased benefits for the aged, strict job safety standards, lowering of the retirement age, and an end to police repression, plus a more equitable division of the nation's wealth.

They won the forty-hour week. For a period they forced an easing of the censorship and made other important gains.

With government recognition, Solidarity grew rapidly. At their founding conference a month later the independent unions claimed a membership of three million. Soon their ranks swelled

to ten million, virtually the entire Polish working class.

Students joined the fight, projected their own demands and their right to organize independently as well.

An enormous step forward was taken in April 1981 when the government was compelled to recognize the 1.3 million-member Rural Solidarity, the new organization of farmers.

More strikes by the workers followed, pressing for an end to bureaucratic abuse, and for the ouster of hated officials.

At its National Congress held in September 1981, Solidarity called for "workers self-management" of industry.

But, as the present events confirm, bureaucrats don't yield their privileges without a fierce struggle. Even while being forced to retreat, the Polish regime was maneuvering to put itself into position for new repressions that would drive back the democratic movement of the workers.

An army general, Wojciech Jaruzelski, was installed as prime minister last February and became head of the Polish United Workers Party in October. He's heading up the present military crackdown.

...what Solidarity fights for

Continued from front page

sponse of Poland's workers and farmers to this assault.

On December 13, Solidarity leaders not immediately arrested, issued a call for a general strike.

On December 15, the *New York Times* reported strikes or sitdowns occurring in factories, shipyards, steel mills, coal mines, universities, and libraries in major cities across the country.

Two days later, the *Times* reported that riot police and troops had broken strikes at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, the Warski shipyard in Szczecin, several mines in Silesia, the Huta Warszawa steel mill, and a student strike at Wroclaw Polytechnic.

A leaflet reportedly coming from the Lenin shipyard said: "Solidarity members. Do not resign. If we resign today, we'll bury our hopes for freedom for many years to come. We must fight for the freedom of those imprisoned. Several thousand people cannot destroy 10 million."

CBS Evening News reported December 16 that some members of the civilian militia had refused to carry out the martial law regulations, had disobeyed orders, dropped their rifles on the ground, and staged sit-in actions.

The *Times* reported December 16 that food supplies in stores have suddenly increased or have been seen packed in warehouses, giving credence to charges made by some Solidarity members that government manipulation is partly responsible for the food shortages.

Moscow's involvement

Moscow, which helped prepare for the crackdown, now is labeling it "an internal matter."

The Soviet government, however, has been calling for such actions against Solidarity for months. The Polish government obviously conferred with Moscow and had their full agreement before declaring martial law.

Steps leading toward the crackdown were begun several months earlier.

On October 18 — following a month of demonstrations against food shortages, and demands for Solidarity to be put in charge of food distribution and granted access to the media — Jaruzelski, the prime minister, replaced Stanislaw Kania as party and government head, with full approval from Moscow.

Rather than granting the demands raised by Poland's workers, Jaruzelski ordered army squads to patrol major cities, authorized arrests of some union activists, clamped down on censorship, and at the same time claimed that he favored negotiations with Solidarity.

On November 28, under instructions from Jaruzelski, the Communist Party Central Committee called upon Parliament to pass a series of restrictive laws, including a ban on strikes.

On December 2, Polish cops broke up a sit-in by firefighter cadets at a Warsaw academy. They were demanding academic freedom and protesting the use of firefighters in police actions. Cops also broke up a meeting of a newly formed political discussion club in the apartment of Solidarity advisor Jacek Kuron.

On December 7, six days before martial law was imposed, the government broadcast tape recordings of remarks made by Solidarity leaders — including Lech Walesa — at a closed meeting one week earlier, supposedly calling for the overthrow of the government. Walesa said the remarks had been taken out of context.

Both Warsaw and Moscow have justified the assault on Solidarity as necessary to defend socialism against counterrevolution.

The U.S. big-business press has also distorted the struggle, painting it as a fight against communism by the working class.

The *Wall Street Journal* asserted in a December 15 editorial that "Western trade unions support the Polish labor movement, recognizing, along with the Poles, that communism is no boon to the workers."

But the workers and small farmers in Poland are not fighting to return to capitalism, where industry and land are owned by billionaires. They want to deepen the socialist revolution and extend the conquests of the workers state — the nationalized property relations and the planned economy — by instituting workers democracy on every level of society.

Their fight goes in the direction of taking the governmental power away from the privileged, self-seeking bureaucracy, and putting it in the hands of the working class.

Washington's hypocrisy

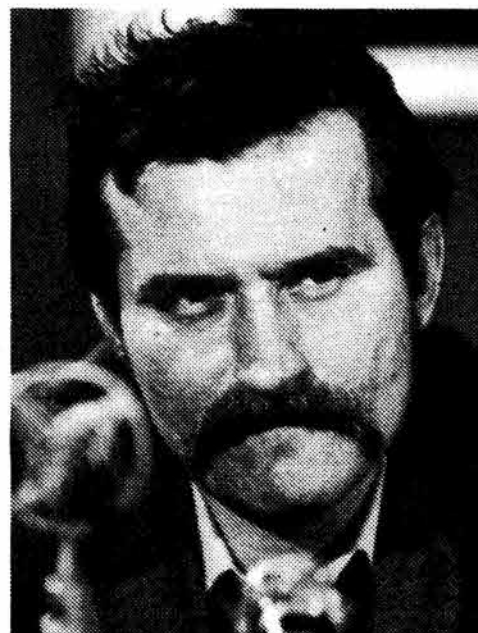
President Reagan, responsible for busting the air traffic controllers' union and locking out its members from their jobs, hypocritically said his "sympathies are with the [Polish] people." Other government officials have warned against violence from the Polish government.

At the same time, the administration suspended economic aid to Poland, including \$100 million worth of feed and food grains to "punish" the government.

A big part of what Washington would like to accomplish from the crackdown



Left, Polish Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski, who organized crackdown on workers movement. Right, Solidarity union leader Lech Walesa.



is to whip up anticommunism in this country to help get support for its imperialist foreign policy, especially the threats against the workers and farmers in the Caribbean and Middle East.

To this end, the *Wall Street Journal* claimed in its December 15 editorial that Europe's refusal to stand behind Reagan's latest attack on Libya and their vote in the United Nations condemning the government of El Salvador were "a factor that the Polish government and its Soviet masters doubtless took into account when they decided to move."

To save the Polish people, the *Journal* asserts, Europe needs to get behind Washington's war moves!

For the present, both the U.S. and West European ruling classes have decided to go along with the pretense of Moscow's noninvolvement. For their own reasons, they, too, are pleased with Jaruzelski's actions.

Imperialist banks

Poland owes some \$16 billion to 460 western banks, including about \$1.2 billion to sixty American banks. It also owes \$10 billion to some twenty-five capitalist governments, including \$2.5 billion to the U.S. government.

According to the December 15 *New York Times*, "Western banks and governments . . . hope the military takeover will lead quickly to a resumption of normal working conditions at factories and coal mines, enabling the Government to earn the hard currency needed to repay its debts. . . ."

"The situation may now get better sooner," said one Frankfurt-based

banker," the *Times* reported.

The biggest obstacle to the banks receiving their profits from these loans is not the Warsaw bureaucracy — which has tried repeatedly to impose austerity measures — but the existence of Solidarity.

"Solidarity is refusing to cooperate with the Government's plan," a September 28 *Times* article complained.

Poland earns about \$500 million a month in hard currency from exporting goods, primarily coal. Of this, about half goes to cover the usurious interest payments demanded by the banks. That leaves little left over for importing foods and medicines or raw materials and spare parts needed to run the factories.

In his declaration, Jaruzelski said that the military government would purge Polish society of all corruption. It will "clean up the everlasting sources of our ideals from deformations and deviations. We shall protect universal values of socialism. . . . This way the socialist ideals will come closer to the majority of the population. . . ."

But, as longtime socialist Edward Lipinski, one of Poland's most renowned economists, said in a speech at the September national congress of Solidarity — to thunderous applause: "There are antisocialist and antirevolutionary forces. But, in my opinion, it is their [the government's] socialism that is antisocialist and antirevolutionary."

And, of Solidarity: "There are forces which strive after freedom . . . which demand normal conditions for the Polish people, but these are not antisocialist forces."

AFL-CIO officials' phony Poland 'support' campaign

By Harry Ring

AFL-CIO officials held a quickly organized rally at the labor federation's national headquarters in Washington December 14. They stood in the building's lobby to protest the crackdown in Poland and declare support to the Polish workers union, Solidarity. Martin Ward, chairman of the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Committee, said the labor body would organize demonstrations across the country in support of Solidarity.

Does this mean that the top bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO have finally developed some sense of solidarity with the struggles of working people in other lands?

Unfortunately, no.

These bureaucrats have no real concern for the plight of the Polish workers. They simply want to exploit the situation in Poland to promote the reactionary anticommunism to which they are so totally committed.

This was revealed in Martin Ward's speech at the rally. "The creation of Solidarity," he declared, "inspired workers everywhere."

He added: "It was a profound embarrassment to a communist country."

This is not simply Ward's point of view. It reflects the thinking of the top AFL-CIO leadership and it runs like a thread through all of its allegedly pro-Solidarity propaganda.

For example, a leaflet entitled, "Support Polish Workers" was issued by Frontlash. This is a labor youth group associated with COPE, the AFL-CIO's political arm.

The leaflet declares that "the Polish workers have laid bare one of the most cherished myths of Communist totalitarianism: the myth that Communism somehow speaks for workers' interests."

This anticommunist slander is followed by this: "We in America often take human rights for granted. The rights we enjoy as a matter of course, however, are denied to millions of people around the world."

Putting aside how many workers, especially Blacks and other oppressed minorities, take their rights for granted, it is true, certainly, that millions around the world are denied their rights.

If the declared support of the AFL-

CIO brass to Polish Solidarity was genuine, they would also be standing in solidarity with some of the other people in the world whose rights are denied or threatened.

That's a test they fail.

For example, in one of the shabbier episodes in the history of these labor fakers, the AFL-CIO convention last month unanimously adopted a resolution slandering the Nicaraguan revolution as threatening to be "more oppressive" than the regime of the late butcher Anastasio Somoza.

It is a fact that the hard-won freedom established by the Nicaraguan revolution is again threatened. But not by the workers and farmers government the revolution brought to power. The threat originates within a stone's throw of the AFL-CIO's Washington headquarters — from the White House, the Capitol, the Pentagon, and the CIA.

Instead of speaking out against Washington's ominous threats to Nicaragua, as an American workers movement should, these bureaucrats join the Reagan administration's drive against the revolution there.

That's where the double standard comes that makes the alleged support to Solidarity so fraudulent. When the threat to rights comes from so-called communists, the AFL-CIO leaders are right on the stick with their speeches and leaflets.

But when the threat comes from the capitalist rulers of this country, then this craven gang simply joins the hue and cry against the victims.

Partisans of Solidarity? If the leaders of the AFL-CIO knew what the word meant, in Polish or English, they could have easily demonstrated it when the Reagan administration set out to smash the air traffic controllers strike.

They did not take one single meaningful move in solidarity with PATCO.

When a PATCO leader was hauled off to prison, literally in chains, these bureaucrats sat on their butts.

But when the fight is in Poland, they suddenly get "militant."

American working people, like workers worldwide, are rightly sympathetic to the cause of the Polish workers and hostile to the reactionary moves by the bureaucrats in Warsaw and Moscow to crush Solidarity.

The cynical officials at the AFL-CIO want to manipulate that progressive sentiment for reactionary purposes. What they are trying to do aids the ruling rich in this country, not Solidarity.

News media have field day with anti-Soviet protests

By Nelson Blackstock

NEW YORK — Following the martial law decree in Poland December 13 the Polish consulate here became the site of a series of demonstrations.

Most of the actions, and the largest, were organized by right-wing Polish-American groups. However, a picket line sponsored by a coalition of groups that call themselves socialist was reported by the news media as part of the series of anticommunist actions taking place here.

Within hours of the first reports about the crackdown in Poland, demonstrations involving members of the Polish-American Congress, the Confederation for Independent Poland, the Association of Polish Veterans, and other reactionary groups erupted at the consulate. They continued on a regular basis in following days.

The right-wingers carried signs with slogans such as "Communism means death and hunger," and "Long live Polish freedom fighters." They brandished American flags and displayed banners with the symbol of Poland's Solidarity union. One placard had a hammer and sickle and a swastika with an equal sign between them.

They chanted, "Down with commu-

nism," and "Freedom for Poland."

The demonstrations have been highlighted on this city's television newscasts and in newspapers as a local angle on the Polish events.

A December 16 demonstration was called by an ad hoc coalition of groups, including the League for a Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Socialist League, Workers Power, and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, among others.

What these groups have in common is their refusal to politically defend the workers states against attacks by imperialism. They don't recognize that the Soviet Union and the countries in Eastern Europe are workers states. Many consider the Soviet Union to be imperialist and a threat to world peace — a characterization that often parallels charges made by the imperialists.

Some of the signs carried by demonstrators reflected this political stance: "U.S. bosses, Polish bosses — just the same"; and "Down with U.S. and Russian imperialism."

In an apparent effort to distinguish themselves from the more flagrant anti-communist actions of the rightists, a speaker during a brief rally explained that one of the common demands around

which the coalition was formed was "No U.S. military buildup," along with "Support the right to strike in Poland and the U.S." (Others were "No Soviet intervention in Poland," and "Support Solidarity — No repression of Polish workers.")

However, in the context of the anti-communist actions at the Polish consulate and the heavy media coverage of them, these demands were lost in the shuffle.

The picket line drew big media coverage. Two network affiliates did live remote broadcasts for their evening news. The third sent a reporter and crew to tape a report.

This media turnout for a demonstration of about 150 stood in contrast to the virtual blackout of a march of more than

1,000 a few weeks earlier. But that action had been called to protest U.S. war threats in the Caribbean and Central America — something the capitalist media were not interested in playing up.

Some newspeople had trouble figuring out how this action differed from earlier ones by right-wingers.

"Now, this is a demonstration by a coalition of left- and right-wing groups?" a newscaster asked a woman he was preparing to interview.

"Oh, no!" she exclaimed. "It's progressive groups!"

Nonetheless, as anyone could have predicted, when coverage came over the airwaves it was sandwiched in among reports of ongoing actions by right-wing Polish-Americans.

December 13 demonstration in front of Polish consulate in New York was typical of anticommunist actions that occurred in wake of Polish events.



Young socialists condemn suppression of Polish workers

The National Executive Committee (NEC) of the Young Socialist Alliance has condemned the imposition of martial law in Poland as "a blow against the popular struggle in Poland for workers democracy."

In a statement released December 15, the YSA NEC drew attention to the hypocrisy of the Reagan administration. While claiming to be "for democracy and against violence," the U.S. government is "pouring military aid to the dictatorship in El Salvador which is massacring the Salvadoran people."

"Young people in the U.S. have nothing to gain from imperialist wars or the draft," the statement said. "We should be fighting for the kind of society the youth of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada are trying to build: a society free from poverty, exploitation, and oppression. That's the kind of society the Polish workers want, too."

The statement came as the date neared for the opening of the YSA National Convention. Set for the weekend of December 31-January 3, the conven-

tion will be held in Philadelphia.

"It is the Polish government — not the revolutionary Polish workers and youth — who have hurt the cause of the world socialist revolution," the statement said. "The real antisocialists are the Polish and Soviet bureaucrats who resist democratization of Polish and Soviet society because it threatens their privileged positions."

The meaning of the Polish events will be among the subjects discussed at the YSA convention. YSA NEC member Lisa Hickler will give a report outlining the socialist view.

Other topics to be discussed include: how to respond to Washington's bipartisan austerity and militarization drive; the significance of the National Black Independent Political Party; what next in the fight for women's rights; and YSA participation in the struggles of youth today.

A rally on the evening of January 2 will feature Mel Mason, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and a city councilman in Seaside, California.

Come to the

Young Socialist Alliance National Convention

Dec. 31-Jan. 3

Philadelphia

Philadelphia Hotel

1725 J.F. Kennedy Blvd.

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Union/School _____ Phone _____

☐ I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance

☐ I want to attend the YSA convention

☐ I want a year's subscription to the *Young Socialist* newspaper. Enclosed is \$2.00. Clip and mail to: YSA, 14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014. Or call 212-989-7570.

'A rallying point for supporters of democratic rights'

Nationwide meetings back suit against spying



Militant/Betsy Gilson

Chicano activist and Dallas school board member Roberto Medrano was a featured speaker at meeting in Dallas. NOW leader Elizabeth Cant addressed Portland gathering.



Militant/David Strayner

"The attack on Sister Fulani," said Owusu, "is an attack on all Black people."

Women's leaders hit FBI

Leaders of the women's liberation movement spoke at several rallies.

"Our chapter is proud to endorse the Socialist Workers Party's suit and work of the Political Rights Defense Fund," said Elizabeth Cant, acting president of the Portland chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

Cant hit the FBI's campaign against the women's movement. "As with Black groups," she said, "so also with women's groups. Where the FBI could, they were quick to exploit differences between organizations, within organizations, and, where these were not sufficient, they invented differences using poison-pen letters and other dirty tricks. . . ."

"They initiated red-baiting within women's groups, and then noted triumphantly the disintegration that resulted. . . ."

Amy Hogan of Dallas NOW hit Reagan's attacks on abortion rights. "This is the man," she said, "who wants less government interference for making profits, but wants to get the government into women's wombs."

Rights of unionists

"The Democrats and Republicans must especially slander and stigmatize people like socialists, who have real alternatives to austerity and war, to prevent them from gaining a hearing and winning influence," said Garret Brown at the Atlanta rally. Brown is one of fifteen machinists fired by Lockheed, Georgia, because they advocate views that management doesn't like.

The Lockheed firings are among a series of company and government attempts to victimize union activists in industries across the country.

"We are moving to take Lockheed to court to win back our jobs," Brown said.

Eli Green, a pipefitter at the Newport News shipyard and a member of United Steelworkers Local 8888, told the Newport News rally about spying by the Defense Investigative Service (DIS), a Pentagon spy agency.

Under the guise of an investigation relating to a security clearance, DIS agents have interviewed Green's co-workers, family, and friends about his political views and affiliations. Green himself was interrogated for over three hours.

The socialists touring the nation for PRDF are building support for victimized unionists at Lockheed, Tenneco, and elsewhere, as well as for the SWP's and YSA's \$70 million lawsuit against the government and its political police.

The basic issue in each of these cases is the same: Do unionists who hold and advocate ideas that the employers disagree with have a right to a job?

Funds needed

Fighting back against the secret police agencies and giant corporations like Lockheed, Tenneco, and McDonnell Douglas, takes money. Taking on their government takes even more. If you would like to help defend your democratic rights, please send your contribution and this coupon to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

By Matthew Herreshoff

"Supposedly, [Libyan President Muammar el-] Qaddafi has sent five people into the U.S. to 'get' Reagan," said Dallas school board member and Chicano activist Roberto Medrano. "So now we've got a major propaganda campaign stirred up. . . . Therefore, the president can issue new orders. The FBI and CIA can check anybody out. This is what's happening."

Medrano spoke to fifty-five people at a December 5 rally in Dallas, sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF).

At a Cincinnati rally, city council member and Vice-Mayor Tom Brush hit Reagan's new executive order, which gives official blessing to FBI and CIA crimes against democratic rights.

Brush pointed to the American revolution against Britain, saying, "If we had an internal security organization like the CIA. . . . I really wonder whether the American revolution would have come about."

PRDF is holding rallies in more than fifty cities across the country to mobilize defenders of civil liberties, and to build support for the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) legal challenge to the government's political police.

These fall gatherings have become a forum for victims of government attacks on democratic rights, and a rallying point for supporters of those rights.

Black party

The newly formed National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) was represented at five of the fifteen rallies held over the weekend of December 5-6.

"We stand in solidarity with all those fighting to end cop terror," said Kinny Paul, NBIPP's representative at the rally in Newport News, Virginia. "My party has taken a position on the FBI and CIA. We say, get rid of them!"

"NBIPP calls for the abolition of the FBI and CIA," explained Maurice Williams, representing the party's Atlanta chapter, "because historically these organizations harassed and subverted any attempts by Blacks and others to improve humankind."

This article is based on reporting by Ed die Berger, Becky Ellis, Greg Preston, Eduardo Quintano, Ron Repps, Nancy Schwalb, Bev Scott, and Morris Starsky.

"During the Carter administration there was a memo that dealt with the National Black Independent Political Party," said Ntiesi Shifatbe, cochairperson of the party's New Orleans chapter.

The secret policy memorandum, dated March 17, 1978, states the rulers' need to support the election of "loyal black public figures." The memo gives two reasons for this policy: "First, it would be easier to control the activity of black representatives within existing institutions; second, the idea of an independent black political party now under discussion within black leadership circles would soon lose all support."

Shifatbe continued: "The FBI tried to destroy the party by spreading rumors that some of our leaders were agents. This harassment is not new — it is something the government has done for a long time. Trying to intimidate us. Trying to keep the movement in check. And it is this government that does these things that we have to continue to organize against."

PATCO

"We've been harassed, persecuted, had calls in the middle of the night, been tailed," said Larry Hartman, representing Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) Local 572, at the Tucson rally. "We've had our neighbors interviewed, even our relatives. Other parents in the Little League have been questioned."

Hartman was one of four PATCO leaders to speak at last week's rallies. PATCO leader Steve Wallaert also sent greetings to the Newport News rally. Wallaert became a symbol of PATCO's struggle when he was arrested and led to jail in chains and leg irons at the beginning of the strike.

"In court," Hartman continued, "the prosecution had infra-red photos taken from houses here, off Irvington Street. They had everyone identified who walked in our out of the PATCO office for at least the first three weeks after the strike started."

Referring to the conviction on felony charges of PATCO Local 572 President Bill Taylor and Vice-President Billy Florence, Hartman said, "As a convicted felon, you give up your right to vote. You can't have a fishing or hunting license. That's their crime. They didn't go to work."

Hartman drew important lessons from the air traffic controllers' experience: "The campaign against us was

planned under the Carter administration, which shows that it doesn't matter what administration is in — it is the apparatus that has to be dismantled."

The PATCO strike has been an inspiration for working people and all supporters of democratic rights. As PATCO leader Bob Arnold told the Atlanta rally, "If I lose everything I own, if I have to start all over again, I'll never prostitute myself to the U.S. government."

War vs. democratic rights

"The fight to defend democratic rights is related to and intertwined with the fight against the Reagan administration's reckless international policies, especially in Central America," Dr. E.K. Hunt told seventy-five people at the Salt Lake City rally. Hunt teaches at the University of Utah, and is chairman of the Political Economists Research Association.

Antiwar leaders and activists spoke in almost every city.

"The ruling class is on a campaign to portray Cubans, socialists, Blacks, Libyans, and others as terrorists, spies and madmen," said Peggy Brundy at the Dallas rally. Brundy is one of seventeen socialist workers touring the country for PRDF.

The terrorist smear, said Brundy, is used to justify the rulers' war plans abroad and their war on democratic rights at home.

Victims speak out

"The important thing to remember is that things aren't just going to get tough for the 'militants,' but for all Black folks," said Cojo Owusu, a representative of the Republic of New Africa (RNA), at the New Orleans rally.

The RNA is a major target of the government's all-out campaign against the Black movement following the Brink's armored car holdup in Rockland County, New York.

The RNA has been smeared in the press as "terrorist." RNA leader Fulani Sunni Ali was arrested on frame-up charges in connection with the Brink's holdup. When she proved she was 2,000 miles away at the time, the cops were forced to drop the charges.

She has been thrown in jail again, for refusing to cooperate with the government's witch-hunt of Black activists. Until this week, she was denied representation by her lawyer, Chokwe Lumumba, because Lumumba is also a leader of the RNA.

Seaside Black community hits cop brutality

By Sam Manuel

SEASIDE, Calif. — Members of the New Hope Baptist Church and Black community residents gathered here December 8 to protest increasing acts of police brutality. The meeting also launched a petition campaign to demand the city council call a special election for the formation of a community police review board.

The meeting was organized by the Seaside chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party.

To date, the city of Seaside faces \$4.5 million in citizens' suits against the police. The large number of complaints prompted the local NAACP to launch its own investigation.

The meeting of seventy-five people was opened by Rev. Benjamin Franklin, pastor of the New Hope church. Many of those who told of abuse or harassment were members of the church. The case that raised the anger of the entire community was the September 25 assault by two police officers on Carolina Walker, a nurse at a Monterey area hospital and a respected member of the New Hope church. Just a week prior to the assault, Walker's daughter had received an award in the city council for outstanding poetry.

Carolina Walker was stopped on a supposed minor traffic violation. She was then attacked by the cops, beaten, and her arm broken. She was handcuffed and thrown into the back of a police car, where she was then maced. At the police station, she was verbally abused, doused with water, and denied adequate medical attention. She was not released to her husband until four hours after the arrest.

Still visibly shaken by the ordeal, through her tears she told an angered crowd, "It's the type of thing that no human being should have to go through. It's a hard thing when your arm is being broken, and you are being kicked, and there is nothing you can do."

Walker is presently suing the city.

Joseph Ruffin told how he was arrested and handcuffed by the police for making an illegal turn in his car.

Ruffin is unable to control his bowel movements due to radiation treatment he received for cancer. When he pleaded with officers to allow him to relieve himself, he was denied this simple request and forced to defecate in his clothing.

"I was one of those who did not believe the police department would pull that kind of stuff," Ruffin told the meeting. He urged everyone to get behind city Councilman Mel Mason to expose police abuse in Seaside.

Another told how the cops came to her house looking for her son, claiming that he had stolen goods. One cop threw her daughter on the bed, put his knee in her back, and demanded to know where her brother was. She said she did not know. The cops then removed several items from the house, all of which were later proven to have belonged to the family. No action was taken against the cops.

One young white woman got up to

explain that she agreed with what had been said about the need to halt police brutality. She explained how several weeks ago she and her father had been severely beaten by cops at the Monterey fairgrounds.

Under the pressure of growing outrage against police abuse, the city has launched a public relations campaign designed to restore confidence in the cops. The police department sent letters to ministers and other community figures, requesting support for a program called "Ride along." Under the program, people from the community are able to ride along with a cop on routine duty.

City Councilman Mason, denounced this program as "a farce" and "an insult to people's intelligence."

"What policeman is going to commit police brutality while you are riding along?" he asked, to much laughter from the audience.

Mason went on to explain how city officials were now saying that those people who had filed claims against the city were just looking for a way to make a fast buck:

"I am outraged by suggestions by other city officials that some of those who have filed claims against the city are doing so in hope of personal gain. Especially when we know which side the court will be leaning on when we go in, and the possible harassment that will result if the police officer is cut loose."

Mason urged support for an elected community police review board. He had placed such a proposal before the city council at an earlier meeting, but the council refused to take up this matter. Mason explained that such a review board must be elected, not appointed. "If the council appoints the members of this board," he said, "it will simply perpetuate the present inaction of the council."

Socialist backs protest of transit cuts

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO — Hailing the upcoming December 19, labor-sponsored protest against cutbacks in public transportation in Chicago, Ike Nahem announced his campaign for governor of Illinois at a news conference here on December 15.

The thirty-year-old railroad brakeman, a member of United Transportation Union Local 577, is a candidate for the Socialist Workers Party against incumbent Republican Governor James Thompson and Democrat Adlai Stevenson III.

The December 19 demonstration, called by the Amalgamated Transit Union and backed by the Chicago Federation of Labor, will protest cutbacks, layoffs, and union-busting attacks mounted by the Democratic administration of Mayor Jane Byrne.

Nahem blasted Byrne's priorities — "multi-million dollar tax breaks for downtown development and slashes in public transportation and social servi-

ces" — as "the mirror image of Reaganomics in Chicago. Feed the rich and starve working people."

But, he said, Byrne's leading rival for mayor in 1983, Richard Daley, Jr., "would be doing the same thing and playing the same cynical game with people's needs that Thompson and Byrne are acting out, pointing fingers at each other to avoid the rap for the collapse of the transit system."

In reality, Nahem said, "both the city and state governments carry out a program of war against working people's rights, social services, the Black community, and the unions."

This underlines the need for labor to take a "new, radical political direction to go forward. Chicago's unions need to challenge the Democrats and Republicans in politics as well as in the streets. Labor has to get out of the Democrats' hip pocket and run its own candidates, build its own party, and fight against the anti-union policies of

the two big-business parties on a year-round basis."

The socialist candidate said he plans to raise these ideas from "the coal fields of Galacia in southern Illinois to steelworker neighborhoods in South Chicago."

Nahem saluted the National Black Independent Political Party, which will march in the December 19 demonstration, as "an example of working people standing up to the Democrats and Republicans, which every trade unionist ought to support and learn from."

He urged the anticutbacks demonstrators to protest war moves by the Reagan administration against Nicaragua, Cuba, Grenada, El Salvador and Libya.

"Our fight is at home," Nahem said, "not as cannon fodder for the military adventures Washington is preparing in the Mideast and in Central America and the Caribbean."

N.Y. rally nets \$13,000 for socialist lawsuit

By Suzanne Haig

New York — Some 400 people attended a rally December 12 at the Martin Luther King Labor Center to protest the Reagan administration's attack on democratic rights at home and abroad.

The meeting was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund. It raised \$13,400 to help pay for legal expenses for the landmark Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the government and its secret police.

Mario Dones, president of the UTIER (Union of Industrial Electrical and Irrigation Workers) in Puerto Rico, was greeted with a standing ovation and shouts of "Independencia para Puerto Rico!" as he approached the podium.

Dones talked about the devastating effects of the Reagan cutbacks in Puerto Rico, where "50 percent of families are affected by these social programs."

"The effect of Reagan's offensive on the Puerto Rican population is that the workers and oppressed classes have had to raise their voices in protest against these attacks."

"The government is using repression and police brutality, but they are not successful." The student strike at the university of Puerto Rico, now in its third month, is still going on, he said.

Dones told of the recent strike by the 6,500-member UTIER for higher wages to keep up with the 15 percent increase in the cost of living.

"The government said they could not meet our demands because of the crisis caused by the Reagan cuts, but they forgot to mention that we produced more than \$1 billion in sales this year, and more is projected for next year."

While the union did not win, the struggle has clearly strengthened the membership's resolve.

Gregory Pardlo, president of Local 238 of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) in New Jersey, was also greeted by a standing ovation.

Pardlo movingly told the audience how his life had changed since the strike: "On August 3, I woke up. The last few years before we went on strike, I had forgotten how bad things were. That check every two weeks made me forget."

Pardlo said he hadn't believed the FBI really breaks down doors, taps phones, follows people.

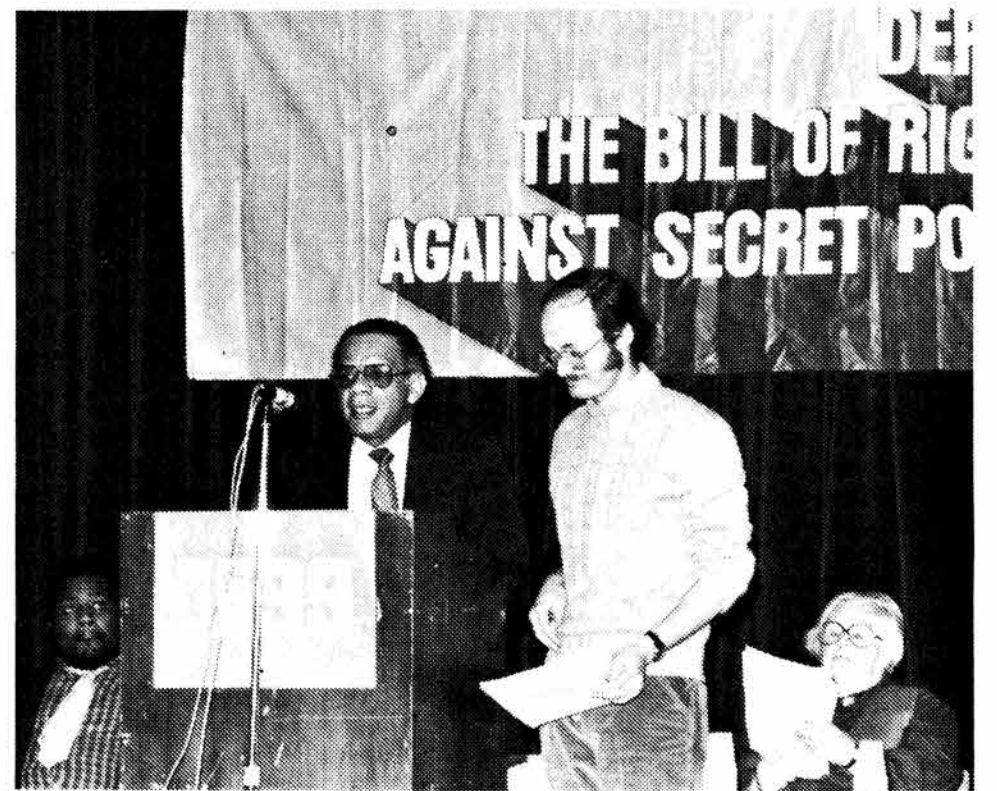
"But now my son knows what the FBI is," he said, explaining how the FBI parked outside his home and slandered him to his neighbors, just because he had gone on strike to defend his rights.

"I realized we need to hang together or assuredly we all will hang separately," he told the cheering crowd.

Larry Seigle, a National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, pointed out that "it is the moves toward military adventures [by Washington] which are at the heart of the attacks on democratic rights."

"They can't intervene without taking away these democratic rights because the American people don't want another Vietnam."

Seigle denounced the trumped-up charges being made against Libya, Nicaragua, and Cuba. Washington is "responding to one of the greatest changes in our lifetime: the advance of the social-



At New York rally, from left: PATCO leader Gregory Pardlo; Mario Dones, president of Puerto Rican electrical workers union; Dones's translator; and Annette Rubinstein, who chaired meeting and gave fund appeal.

ist revolution in the Western Hemisphere."

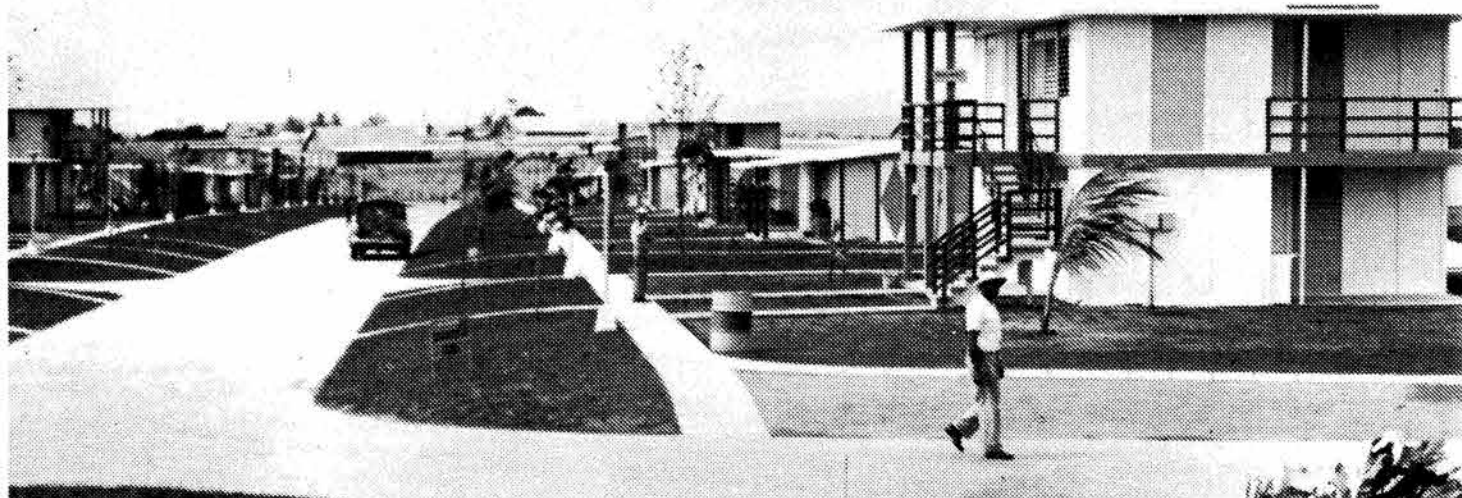
Other speakers included: Muntu Matimela, northeast regional director of the National Black Independent Political Party; Andreé Kahlmorgen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta, who was fired from her Lockheed, Georgia, job because of her politi-

cal views; William Kunstler, attorney; Bogdan Denitch, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; James Haughton, Metropolitan Committee Against Government Terrorism; and others.

Annette Rubenstein, professor, literary critic, and longtime radical activist, chaired the spirited meeting and gave the very successful fundraising talk.

One reporter's view of Cuba

Poverty abolished, admits 'Wall Street Journal'



New housing in Cuba: 'The maximum rent is 10 percent of the income of the head of the household, and most households have more than one income earner.'

By William Gottlieb

Wall Street Journal staff reporter Jonathan Kwitny recently spent seventeen days traveling around Cuba. A report of his impressions appeared in the November 16 issue.

The *Journal* of course is a bitter enemy of the Cuban revolution. However, with the Reagan administration preparing military moves in Central America and the Caribbean, the *Journal* feels that it must explain to its readership of bankers and businessmen what they are up against.

Kwitny informs his Wall Street audience that, "abject poverty seems to have been abolished, something rare in southern countries. Rising salaries are propelling workers and cane farmers toward a middle class life." To be sure, he observes that, "Luxuries and many routine items are scarce. Staples are rationed at food stores." Kwitny doesn't mention whether the U.S. economic blockade against Cuba, that has lasted

for more than twenty years, might have something to do with this.

"The maximum rent," he explains, "is 10 percent of the income of the head of the household, and most households have more than one income earner. Some 3.1 million Cubans get subsidized luncheons. Education is free. Working women are offered free child care. Medical care is free, and apparently good: Cubans frequently volunteer to tell you how well their latest malady was treated."

Kwitny was able to travel around freely and speak to Cubans at random out of earshot of other people. He found that the average Cuban "strongly supports his government's foreign and domestic policies."

One person he spoke to was Roger Rojas, a thirty-two-year-old mechanic. Rojas explained to the *Journal* correspondent that he was so enthusiastic about the revolution at the beginning that he wanted to leave school to fight the U.S.-backed invasion at the Bay of Pigs in

1961. Rojas, only twelve at the time, was turned down.

Rojas's enthusiasm has not waned with the years. In 1978 he asked to join Cuban forces fighting Washington-backed South African forces in Angola. Again Rojas was turned down. "There are a lot of us that want to go," he explained to Kwitny. "We've had a great experience with all the help our revolution has received from the Soviet Union," Rojas explained. "All Cubans have a debt to other countries that want their freedom."

Another person that the *Journal* correspondent talked to was Felix de Valois Mejias, who works in the Cuban equivalent of an employment agency in the city of Santiago. De Valois explained to Kwitny that never in the fourteen years that he has worked for the agency, has he ever had an applicant for which he did not have a job.

How do the Cubans do this?

"The reason," Kwitny explains, "becomes obvious: In every administrative zone, the government always has some

big project under way that can absorb anybody. Officials acknowledge that such unselective hiring leads to inefficiency in whatever project is involved. But the inefficiency is factored into the budget for the project, and the guarantee of jobs is considered worth the price."

Kwitny also had a chance to speak to a veterinarian, Andre, whose family owns a farm. They belong to a buying and selling cooperative that was set up shortly after the revolution. Andre explained the operations of the co-op: "You give them 2 percent, they give you wire, rope, hammers, all kinds of things."

When the *Journal* correspondent asked him whether he planned to take over the farm eventually, Andre told him, "When the old people can no longer work perhaps it will be good to turn it over to the state."

Kwitny points out that at a state farm nearby the "workers have new housing, TV sets, and electricity." Cuban farmers, over a period of a couple of generations, are deciding to turn their farms over to the state, and either become workers on a state farm or get a job in the city. The decision to do this is made by the farmers themselves.

Church membership in Cuba is way down according to Kwitny. The church is not attractive to young people. As for freedom of religion, the *Journal* correspondent found, "All of the half-dozen ministers interviewed say that the government never interferes with activities inside the four walls of the church, but does intervene to block any attempts to spread the faith outside."

He quotes one Methodist minister as saying, "They are Marxists and we are believers. They believe in evolution and we believe in God as the creator. But in many things they do, we also believe. They build hospitals. When a man retires, they see to it that he has money to live his life."

Where the 'Cuban terrorism' lie comes from

By Steve Bride

If we are to go by the media accounts of the October Brink's robbery in Nyack, New York, Fidel Castro did everything but drive the getaway car.

A Cuban "terrorist international" was behind the people who allegedly organized the Brink's job, said the big-business TV and newspapers. And other groups in this country, who are up to the same thing, get support from the same international.

Since no such international exists, the media could offer nothing in the way of proof for all this. But then, their purpose had nothing to do with objective reporting. Rather it was to help prepare a climate of hostility toward Cuba, to help justify any military moves Washington makes in Central America and the Caribbean.

These stories are also intended to make a case for granting more powers to the secret police in the United States. The latter, in turn, help out by providing most of the material for these stories.

The CIA connection

A good example of how this works was offered by *Parade* magazine, in a November 16 article titled, "How safe are we from terrorism?"

The piece was written by one Robert Moss. In it, he says the Cubans are plotting to "incite race riots in the U.S.," and have been backing "terrorist" groups in this country all along.

"It is not hard to imagine terrorist networks being mobilized," Moss adds, "to 'punish' the Reagan Administration for its policy initiatives. Libya's Col. Muammar Qaddafi and Fidel Castro both have assets that could be deployed in such a campaign."

Parade identifies Moss as a journal-

ist and "expert on international espionage." Unfortunately, this leaves out several facts about Moss that might cast doubt on the accuracy of his information.

Robert Moss was named by *Covert Action Information Bulletin* as "the chief CIA disinformation agent in Chile in 1970-73," the period leading up to the military coup in that country. Whether that is true, it is known that Moss wrote CIA-financed propaganda against the democratically elected Allende government, and was a major figure in what the *New York Times* called "one of the CIA's most extensive propaganda campaigns."

Further evidence of Moss's CIA ties emerges from his close collaboration with ex-journalist Brian Crozier.

Both are former editors of the *Economist Foreign Report*, a weekly handout of material from the intelligence agencies that is supposed to serve as "background" for journalists.

In 1966, Crozier became director of Forum World Features (FWF), a CIA-owned news service. According to the December 26, 1977, *New York Times*, Crozier was at the time "aware of a CIA role" in the news agency.

Nine years later, just before its CIA ownership was revealed, Crozier left FWF and moved its files to the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC) in London — which he had set up in 1970. ISC produces reports on guerrilla movements. One of its most frequent contributors is Robert Moss.

Today, Moss is best known as co-author of *The Spike*. This is a novel that expresses the authors' belief that all the revelations of wrongdoing by the FBI and CIA (presumably including Watergate) were stories planted in the U.S. media by Russian agents.

In the *Parade* article, Moss says he got his present information on the Cubans from "a reliable Western intelligence source."

'Reliable sources'

There is a well-established record of the sort of people Moss considers reliable. The March 23, 1977, edition of his *Economist Foreign Report*, for instance, carried a similar tale about the Cubans.

As described in Claire Sterling's *The Terror Network*, this concerned a plan to launch a "Europe Brigade," consisting of "Latin American terrorists" who would be "sent to Europe from Cuba" to "link up with the European terrorist movements. . . ."

The plan was allegedly discovered during a November 1975 raid on "terrorist safe-houses" by Moss's original source for the story: the Argentine police. The Argentine police were at the time four months away from a coup with the military against the government of Isabel de Peron, and were meanwhile engaged in kidnapping, torturing, and assassinating liberals, priests, trade unionists, and anyone else who got in their way.

Such is the reliability of Moss's sources.

The spies speak

In his *Parade* article, Moss concludes the following:

"The trigger for a sustained terror campaign in the United States could be an international crisis, such as a new Middle East war or a sharper confrontation with Fidel Castro. Terrorism might be used by extremists to publicize a foreign cause, or to deepen social frictions.

"The key to preventing . . . possi-

ble terrorist attacks, lies in foreknowledge of the intentions of those who might conduct them. . . . The answer lies in penetration and preemption."

Thus, through Moss, "reliable Western intelligence" makes its argument that:

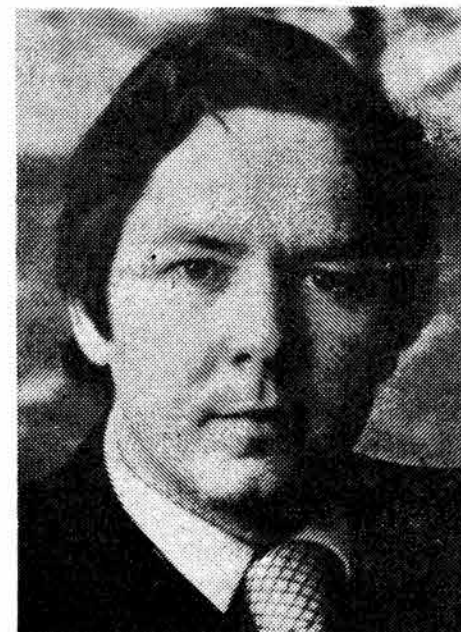
1) Anyone who opposes Washington's plans to wage war in Central America is a potential Cuban-backed "terrorist";

2) Therefore, these people should all be spied on; and

3) We need more laws that let the CIA and FBI do that.

There is something to be said for simply disliking the fact that this shameless propagandizing parades around as "objective journalism."

Of somewhat more consequence is the fact that the only thing considered objectively by the capitalist media is the interests of the capitalist class.



ROBERT MOSS

Liberation fighters advance

Civil war shakes Guatemalan regime

By Nelson González

There is a civil war taking place in Guatemala.

On November 20, the murderous military regime of General Romeo Lucas García opened its second major military operation involving thousands of troops in an attempt to crush the growing liberation movement in Guatemala.

Not only has it not succeeded in its goal, but the crisis of the regime has deepened.

The popularity of the four main guerrilla organizations in the Guatemalan liberation movement has increased as they continue to exhibit their growing strength.

Guerrilla forces operate in nineteen of the country's twenty-two provinces. An estimated ten clashes a month took place between government and guerrilla forces in the first seven months of 1981. Heavy casualties have been inflicted on government forces.

A significant development in the unfolding Guatemalan revolution is that an estimated one-third to one-fourth of the Guatemalan guerrilla fighters are Indians. Indians themselves make up over half the country's population. The proportion of Indians involved in the liberation struggle is now much greater than in previous struggles in Guatemala.

The roots of the struggle in Guatemala are the same as those that have led to revolutionary struggles throughout Central America and the Caribbean.

Imperialist oppression has created especially desperate conditions for the great majority of the people. This has been worsened by the world economic crisis, which is driving the imperialists to squeeze the working masses harder in order to extract super profits.

In human terms, this means Guatemala has the highest child mortality rate in Latin America, the second-highest rate of infectious and parasitic diseases, and is second in deaths from tuberculosis. Guatemala has the shortest life expectancy in the Americas after Haiti and Bolivia.

Inspired by the example of the Nicaraguan revolution, the struggle of the Salvadoran people, and the advances that revolutionary Cuba continues to make, the Guatemalan masses are rebelling against these conditions.

Three-pronged attack

The military has been unable to halt the growing strength and popularity of the Guatemalan liberation forces. This, along with a rapidly deteriorating economic situation, has led General Lucas García to launch a three-pronged attack in a desperate bid to retain control.

In addition to the military offensive directed against guerrilla forces, the regime has stepped up its murderous repression against the civilian population. And, at the prodding of Washington, the military has organized elections for March to create a democratic facade for this repression.

However, despite this violent reaction, the relationship of forces continues to shift in favor of the liberation movement.

Liberation forces advance

In October 1980, the four main guerrilla groups — the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), the Organization of the People in Arms (ORPA), the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), and the Leadership Nucleus of the Guatemalan Labor Party (PGT) — announced the formation of a unified command.

In the spring of 1981, the guerrilla movement launched what a December 4 *New York Times* headline later described as "war" against the Lucas regime. The guerrillas extended their coordinated operation into new areas of the highlands and the countryside, and increasingly began to focus their attacks on economic targets.

Beginning with the bombing of an oil



Indian population is rebelling against savage repression, adding a powerful new force to ranks of liberation fighters.

refinery at Rubelsanto in late April, and an attack on four key army barracks in May, the size and intensity of the encounters have grown.

In June, the guerrillas were able to launch an attack against a military convoy in Guatemala City, the capital, and withdraw intact. On July 19, the guerrillas scored one of their most impressive victories when rebel units launched coordinated attacks against police posts and army convoys in Escuintla, Suchitpeque, El Quiché, Huehuetenango, and Sacatepeque. Chichicastenango, an important tourist center, was briefly occupied by 500 guerrillas celebrating the anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution. They were able to do this even though it was only fifteen miles from an important army garrison at Santa Cruz del Quiché.

Although the government's counter-offensive, aided by Argentine advisers, has inflicted casualties on the liberation forces, guerrilla attacks continue to mount and rebel forces continue to make headway, especially in the north and west.

Repression

In an attempt to terrorize the urban and rural populations that are increasingly attracted to the liberation movement, the Lucas regime has stepped up its terror campaign.

In describing the Lucas regime, Amnesty International's 1981 report, based on testimony and interviews done throughout the previous year, called it "a government program of political murder."

"Between January and November in 1980 alone some 3,000 people described by government representatives as 'subversives' and 'criminals' were either shot on the spot in political assassinations or seized and murdered later; at least 364 others seized in this period have not yet been accounted for," states the report.

It goes on to point out, "Nearly 5,000 Guatemalans have been seized without warrant and killed since General Lucas García became President of Guatemala in 1978."

This year alone, as the civil war has widened, the repression has intensified

and 11,000 people have been murdered by government troops and paramilitary forces.

An earlier report by the Inter-American Human Rights Commission, an agency of the U.S.-dominated Organization of American States, blamed the Guatemalan government for the "great majority" of the "thousands of illegal executions" that have occurred over the last four years.

The brunt of this terror is directed at the Indian population. The October 17 London-based *Economist* reported that 4,000 Indians have been killed just this year by the armed forces together with paramilitary groups such as the "White Hand" and "An Eye for an Eye."

The repression has reached such unprecedented levels that even the U.S. State Department, as reported by the November 19 *Miami Herald*, was forced to admit that "the rapidly growing level of political killings and violence in Guatemala, attributed mostly to right-wing extremists, is severely damaging that nation's economy and political freedom."

This same State Department report pointed out that "an average of 200 to 250 politically motivated deaths" occurred each of the first seven months of 1981.

On November 19, the International Labor Organization called for an end to the wave of murders of trade union lead-

ers, pointing out that thirty have been killed in the last two years. The Catholic church in particular has suffered fierce repression.

Capital flight

The economic crisis and the junta's inability to contain the liberation movement have led to a growing lack of confidence on the part of international bankers and the Guatemalan ruling elite. This can be measured by the difficulty in obtaining foreign loans and the massive capital flight from the country.

At the beginning of this year, reserves stood at US\$363.4 million, having fallen from US\$743.7 million two years earlier. By the end of October 1981, the total had slipped to US\$81 million, and is still falling.

Tourism, which has been the third-biggest source of exchange, fell off by 25 percent in the second quarter of 1981, and Washington has since advised U.S. tourists against vacationing in Guatemala.

Many businessmen thought the government would raise its output of oil in an attempt to make up the exchange deficit. But in spite of two new oil discoveries, the government has been unable to increase output. No doubt this is connected to the fact that the guerrillas have increased their attacks on economic targets — for example, the April bombing of the pipeline carrying crude oil to the Atlantic coast.

It's in the context of this grave internal crisis and international isolation that the Lucas regime is making big noises about the upcoming elections.

Fake elections

The problem with the elections is that the whole world has known since July who the winner will be.

The next president of Guatemala will be General Anibal Guevara, the former minister of defense and the hand-picked choice of the misnamed Popular Democratic Front, the military's rightist government coalition.

Using fraud, repression, and murder, this coalition of generals has prevented its own defeat in the last three elections. In the current elections any genuine electoral opposition has been physically eliminated. This leaves no doubt as to the outcome of the elections. Three other declared candidates, ranging from the extreme right to the moderate right, are being presented as "alternatives." But this is the best pluralistic window dressing that the junta can come up with.

The complete farce of the Guatemalan elections has created more problems than it is solving for the Reagan administration.

Washington attempted to persuade the Lucas regime to back a civilian candidate so that U.S. imperialism could more easily step up its military aid to Guatemala without facing charges of aiding a military regime. The junta brusquely rejected this proposal. Instead, it increased its repression and is going ahead with Guevara as its candidate.

New from Pathfinder Nicaragua: An introduction to the Sandinista Revolution

By Arnold Weissberg, Managua correspondent for 'Intercontinental Press,'
48 pp., \$.95.

The Struggle for Freedom in Guatemala

By Anibal Yáñez, 32 pp., \$.75.



Working people seek new

Socialist Workers Party National Committee assesses c

This is the second of two articles on the November 21-24 meeting of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) National Committee, held in New York City.

By Steve Clark

NEW YORK — Last week's article focused on one of the two main themes of the political report by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes that was adopted by the SWP National Committee:

What does capitalism have in store for the working class in the United States and around the world?

Barnes pointed out that events just in the three months since the party's August convention had made the answer to that question clearer than ever: "growing disasters, crises, reaction, and war."

This is not the result of bad policies in Washington, incorrect theories, or the fact that there is now a Republican rather than a Democrat in the White House. Instead, the militaristic and antilabor course being followed by the Democratic and Republican parties is the product of the inevitable workings of the capitalist system, which is in profound crisis.

The U.S. rulers "are going to go to war," the report said.

"They are going to drive down wages. They are going to attack the gains won by the doubly and triply oppressed, the oppressed nationalities and women."

But the other side of that reality is that working people are looking for ways to fight back, they are seeking solutions to the problems created by capitalism.

It is *that* side of the reality that is crucial to the SWP, Barnes said. "If you don't begin with your eyes on those who resist, then you miss the true picture. You miss the future, the line of march of the American working class. And if you do that, then there is no way to build a revolutionary working-class party."

He pointed to the examples being set:

- By the National Black Independent Political Party, which has responded to the mounting attacks by breaking with the twin parties of the oppressors and charting an independent political course on an anticapitalist program;
- By the striking air controllers, who have experienced a profound political transformation and heightening of class consciousness under the blows of the airlines and Reagan administration;

'If you don't begin with your eyes on those who resist, then you miss the true picture. You miss the future, the line of march of the American working class.'

- By the teachers who waged a determined strike against the Philadelphia school board, forcing the reinstatement of 3,500 laid-off teachers;

- By the ranks of the United Mine Workers union, who have slowed down the offensive of the giant energy trusts and shown the potential power of democracy in the union movement.

How has the current leadership of the trade unions and of Black and women's organizations responded to the capitalist war drive and austerity offensive? What has been their answer to the growing demand from the ranks for radical political solutions and a strategy to fight back and win?

AFL-CIO convention

Barnes began by looking at the national convention of the AFL-CIO, which had just ended.

"What a time for a national convention of the American working-class movement to be held!" he said, pointing to the intertwining of economic, political, and military attacks on workers interests over the fall.

"What a time for the working class to present *its alternative* to capitalism, when that system is demonstrating its total incapacity to produce peace and a decent life for the people of this country and the world. What a time to use the power of the unions."

What did the AFL-CIO leadership do?

"It attached itself even more firmly to the capitalist bandwagon."

Instead of condemning U.S. war moves in Central America, the union bureaucrats unanimously passed a resolution condemning Nicaragua and calling for international action to oppose the trend toward "totalitarianism" in that country.

"Instead of charting a working-class foreign policy," Barnes said, "the AFL-CIO officialdom demon-

strated once again that its foreign policy is that of big business, the foreign policy of American imperialism."

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's major proposal to counter unemployment, plant shutdowns, and takebacks was to investigate new ways of investing the federation's funds to exercise some influence over the capital spending plans of industry.

The convention voted down every motion calling for any *action* whatsoever in solidarity with the striking air controllers, who face a savage union-busting attack on their union PATCO. Instead, the bureaucrats passed a spineless resolution calling on the Reagan administration to be merciful, rather than vindictive and offering routine verbal support to PATCO.

The culmination of the entire treacherous gathering was the calling of "Solidarity Day II." What is that? A proposal to build on the September 19 demonstration of half-a-million workers by making a *political break* with the big-business parties that are carrying out the bipartisan offensive against labor, Blacks, and women?

No. "Solidarity Day II was called for November 1982 to 'elect labor's friends' in the Democratic Party," Barnes said.

Leadership of NOW

What about the national leadership of the National Organization for Women (NOW)?

On the question of imperialist war, the NOW leadership over the past year-and-a-half has energetically campaigned for the "right" of women to be drafted, offering its advice to the Pentagon about ways to make the imperialist army more effective.

"This is a pro-imperialist policy," Barnes said, "a policy that weakens both the fight against war and the fight for women's rights."

The report stressed some of the major political questions that socialists should be raising in women's organizations they participate in — NOW, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, union women's committees, and ad hoc coalitions around specific issues.

Central to the battle for women's rights today, Barnes said, is stopping the full-scale ruling-class assault on the right to abortion. He pointed out that abortions are not available in eight out of ten counties in the United States today.

The report attacked the NOW leadership's policy of consciously subordinating abortion rights to an alleged final push to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The policy pushed by NOW President Eleanor Smeal and the entire national NOW leadership has helped the Democratic and Republican politicians carry out their antiwomen assault on two fronts at once.

It is "particularly cynical," Barnes said, because the NOW leadership openly admits that the course they are advocating is not going to change the objective situation for the ERA prior to the June 1982 deadline.

"Yet, behind the *cloak* of fighting for the ERA," the report said, "NOW leaders are letting abortion rights be whittled away."

The aim of the emergency "countdown campaign" projected by the NOW leadership at its October convention was not to win ERA ratification, but to gear the entire organization into campaigning for the Democratic Party in the 1982 elections. Instead of turning toward women workers, the Black and Latino communities, and the ranks of the labor movement, Barnes said, NOW officials are forging an alliance with the labor bureaucracy. This was symbolized by Smeal's speech at the AFL-CIO convention hailing Solidarity Day II.

"A bourgeois liberal women's leadership has linked up with the class-collaborationist officialdom of the American labor movement to chart a course that subordinates the interests of workers and women to the Democratic Party," the national committee (NC) report explained.

Barnes pointed out that NAACP leader Benjamin Hooks had also endorsed Solidarity Day II in his speech to the AFL-CIO, while the Communist Party's



Report adopted by SWP National Committee said stop to battle for women's rights today. Above: 1980 New Y

Daily World welcomed this class-collaborationist proposal with a front-page banner headline.

Accept capitalism

All these misleaders of labor and the oppressed begin by accepting capitalism, Barnes said. "If you assume that as your framework, then there are no solutions."

These misleaders more and more take on the role of helping the bosses convince working people and the oppressed that they have to accept trade-offs: higher taxes or cutbacks; takebacks or plant shutdowns; busing or quality education; abortion rights or the ERA.

"The fight for reforms within the framework of capitalism end up helping the ruling class minimize even the reforms they would otherwise be forced to concede under mass pressure," Barnes said.

"As Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky all explained, reforms are the byproducts of mass revolutionary struggle."

Barnes explained that revolutionists advocate and participate in a broad range of struggles around immediate and democratic demands. In order to advance and defend the interests of workers and their allies, he said, socialists also have the responsibility of raising and arguing for transitional demands that challenge the profits and prerogatives of the capitalists. They must reject the bosses' fake tradeoffs and refuse to accept solutions that make the oppressed and exploited pay for the crisis of the capitalist system.

Socialists have to raise proposals "that at first may sound too bold," Barnes said — proposals that pinpoint capitalism as the problem.

"Not just to remove the cops from the Black community, but to replace them with a militia drawn from the Black community."

"Not schemes to help big business salvage its profits, as Kirkland proposes, but proposals to nationalize the auto industry, steel plants that are shut down, and the energy trust, as part of the fight for a new kind of government — a workers government."

Socialists have to put the fight for a break from the capitalist two-party system at the center of their program for the labor movement — the fight for a labor party based on the unions.

"A party with the aim of establishing a workers government," he said. "A party that represents different class interests, the interests of workers and farmers."

"It is through struggles that point in this direction, when those struggles take mass form," Barnes said, "that the ruling class concedes reforms."

"That may seem ABC for revolutionists," he said. "But as the capitalist crisis deepens and the blows from the employing class intensify, pressures mount to forget this and fall into class-collaborationist traps set by the misleaders of labor and the oppressed."

Within this overall framework of the leaders of the AFL-CIO, NOW, and other organizations moving to the right politically, Barnes called attention to "a striking exception" — the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

strategy to fight back

sis of working-class leadership



ABORTION
EVERY
WOMAN

Militant/Lou Howort
Working-class assault on right to abortion was central
ly in support of reproductive rights.



Militant/Chris Davis
Air controllers demonstrate in Philadelphia, October 16, with striking teachers. NC report pointed to both strikes
as examples of increasingly combative mood of American workers.

"There is one leadership of a nationwide organization," he said, "speaking for a large section of the working class and oppressed, that has moved to the left, not to the right, in the face of the challenge posed by the capitalist offensive."

"The NBIPP is a vanguard organization," the report said, "a brand new organization, but one that's growing and developing."

"Far from accepting capitalism as its framework, the NBIPP's founding program — discussed for months in every chapter, redrafted, and democratically adopted at its founding convention last August — is explicitly opposed to capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination."

The NBIPP is a Black party, Barnes said, but not simply a Black party. It is also a working-class party. That is its political trajectory.

"It has a program for national liberation of Afro-Americans and a program that, at the same time, marches toward the emancipation of all working people."

The NBIPP has broken with the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties, Barnes said, and rejects the perspective of operating within the oppressors' two-party system. While ongoing discussions around important aspects of this question are to be expected, he said, this is the position of the NBIPP.

As such, Barnes said, the NBIPP is today the most important force actively pointing toward not only a mass Black party, but toward a labor party as well.

The NC report emphasized that the SWP wants to work along with the NBIPP for common goals — against U.S. war moves, defense of democratic rights, against police brutality, in support of PATCO, and so on. Revolutionary socialists recognize the importance of loyally building the NBIPP, strengthening it, and winning new members to its ranks.

Working-class resistance

The NBIPP is one expression of a will to resist and to find answers among much broader forces in the American working class — PATCO workers, UMW coal miners, the half million workers who marched in Washington on September 19, women determined to defend abortion rights, and millions of other militant young fighters.

"Despite the blows that are coming down," Barnes said, "these changes are what are most important to us. When we look at these fighters, we see what the SWP is going to be like."

"It drives home the importance of carrying through the course we adopted at our August convention: *Deepening* the proletarianization of the party. *Deepening* the internationalization of the party."

Barnes drew special attention in this regard to the convention decision to build a national fraction of socialist workers in the garment and textile industry.

That decision, Barnes said, "is part of the trajectory of the party's turn to industry. It takes us deeper into the working class in this country. It takes us into a different layer of the industrial working class, a super-exploited layer. It connects us more closely with the so-called 'illegal' working class, the immigrant workers. And it broadens our union experience."

In carrying out this decision, the report said, the

party will be building on its experiences in these industries in New York City and North Carolina over the past few years. Building this fraction will also help advance the proletarianization of the party in California, Texas, and other parts of the country where there are significant garment and textile industries.

Young Socialist Alliance

A number of other important political and organizational conclusions were discussed at the National Committee meeting, flowing from the analysis of U.S. and world politics adopted there.

One was to help publicize and bring young people to the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) convention in Philadelphia at the end of December. "This gathering," Barnes said, "will register the most important single thing that has happened to our movement since the August convention — that is, the progress we've already made in carrying out our convention decision to strengthen the YSA not only by working with it more closely, but by having young party members rejoin it to help it move forward."

Barnes also stressed the importance of continuing to improve the political quality and timeliness of the party's newsworthy, the *Militant*.

He emphasized the importance of further regularizing the meetings of the party's national industrial fractions and their elected steering and coordinating committees. The national fractions are "political bodies which discuss the implementation of the party's political campaigns and to evaluate the evolution of political developments in these industries and unions." Meetings of all the party's national fractions or leadership bodies will be taking place over the next month or so.

The report also reemphasized that the party's elected leadership bodies at all levels — branch, local, district, state, and national — are above all political bodies, not administrative or organizational bodies.

These bodies "must lead politically," Barnes said. "They must take the responsibility to make political decisions and help lead the party forward and educate the entire party in revolutionary working-class politics."

The meeting adopted a report by NC member Mac Warren that underlined this relationship between the continuing proletarianization of the SWP and the strengthening of its political homogeneity, the politicalization of all party structures, its revolutionary centralism, and its organizational principles and norms.

Progress in this direction was reflected in the discussion at the NC meeting itself. The National Committee elected at the August convention is a reflection of the developing leaders in the party who are giving political direction to its industrial fractions, leading the work of its branches, taking important responsibilities in its national apparatus, and participating in the struggles for Black liberation and women's rights, as well as in other social and political organizations and movements.

Another example of the broad leadership development and political self-confidence of the SWP occurred while the NC meeting was under way. A group of socialist coal miners, railroad workers, and

workers from other industries played an important role in the second National Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment. Some 400 people, mostly trade unionists, participated in this gathering held in Gary, Indiana, November 20-22.

NC member Norton Sandler arrived back from the Gary conference on the last day of the SWP leadership meeting and presented a report on it.

The socialist workers there participated in lively discussions, Sandler said, on the dangers of nuclear power, the coal alternative to atomic fuel, the significance of the antimissile movement in Europe, the need for active labor solidarity with PATCO strikers, and the U.S. war threats in Central America and the Caribbean. Their ideas and proposals made a significant political impact on the conference.

The SWP National Committee unanimously adopted Sandler's proposals for the party's ongoing participation in this union-sponsored antinuclear organization.

The National Committee also made decisions relating to priorities for allocation of the party's financial resources and leadership personnel. Special emphasis was placed on three priorities:

1) Maintaining the party's publications, the *Militant* and the Spanish-language biweekly *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well as the weekly world-news magazine *Intercontinental Press*;

2) Maintaining the party's leadership training school, where NC members in groups of about a dozen carry out a five to six month study of the political writings of Marx and Engels; and

3) Maintaining the full-time presence of a *Militant*, *PM*, and *IP* reporting team in Managua, Nicaragua, to help provide coverage of revolutionary developments in that country and throughout the region.

In addition, the National Committee reaffirmed the August decision of the party's Political Committee to focus educational activities on a study of Lenin's political writings. A report adopted by the NC suggested classes on Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism*, as well. The SWP and YSA are also holding classes on the *Communist Manifesto* and other fundamental Marxist works in a number of areas.

1982 election campaigns

The political report adopted by the NC emphasized the importance of getting an early start on launching the 1982 socialist election campaigns for state and local office.

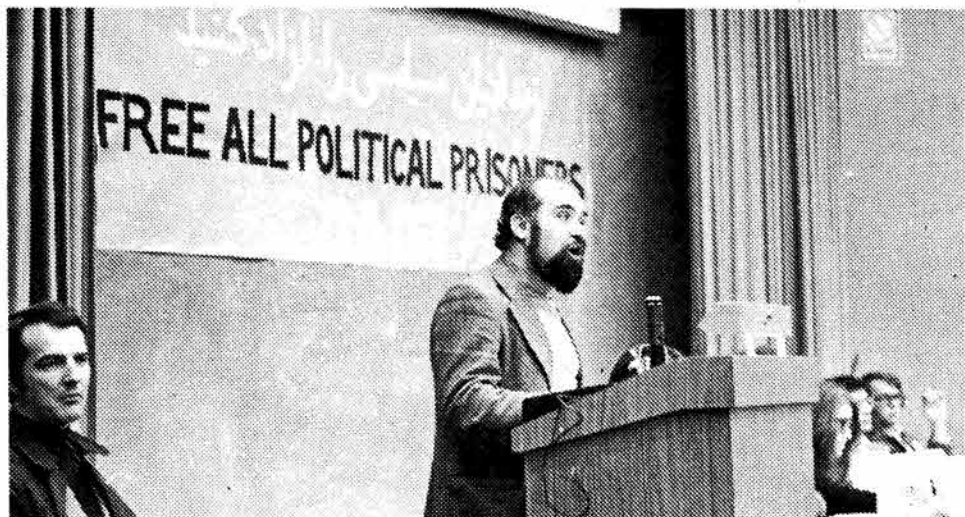
"The 1982 campaigns are a magnificent opportunity for socialists to explain things that American workers are waiting to hear," Barnes said.

The NC heard a special report on plans for the 1982 campaign in California by NC member Sam Manuel.

The NC also unanimously adopted a proposal to call a California state convention of the SWP. The purpose of this convention would be to establish a democratically elected statewide structure in California, the SWP's first statewide organization in several decades.

The 1982 SWP campaigns will enable the party to reach working people across the country with the socialist alternative to the wars and economic devastation that capitalism holds in store for them.

Amnesty reported in Iran; Baraheni still held



Reza Baraheni addresses 1976 U.S. rally to free shah's political prisoners.

By William Gottlieb

On December 5, the Iranian news agency Pars announced that Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini has granted amnesty to 1,932 prisoners. Khomeini acted on the recommendation of Iran's Supreme Judicial Council. Many of the amnestied prisoners had been arrested following imperialist-inspired terrorist attacks that led to the deaths of many Iranian leaders last June.

At the time of this writing, the Iranian government is still holding the well known antishah Iranian poet Dr. Reza Baraheni. Baraheni, who was arrested and tortured by SAVAK in 1973, was seized on a Tehran street October 12. The Iranian government has made no charges against Dr. Baraheni.

Baraheni has been in telephone contact with his wife Sanaz Baraheni. The Iranian government, however, has not disclosed where Baraheni is being held.

Many intellectuals and writers in Iran have protested Baraheni's arrest. They include: Bahram Bezaei, an Iranian film maker; and Javad Mojavi, Mohammed Ali Sepanlou, Mahmoud Enayat, Shams al-Ahmad, Cyrus Tahbaz, well known prorevolution Iranian writers.

Supporters of the Iranian revolution in other countries have sent messages of protest. They include Andrew Pulley, the 1980 presidential candidate of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, and Irish socialist Bernadette Devlin McAliskey. McAliskey wrote, "As a supporter of the

revolution, I find it difficult to understand how such a man is now in prison and ask you to release him unharmed."

Supporters of the Iranian Revolution are urged to send letters demanding the release of Baraheni. They should be addressed to President Hojatolislam Ali Khomeini, Tehran, Iran; and to Prime Minister Hossein Mossavi, Majlis Building, Tehran, Iran.

In another development the FBI has seized from journalists William Worthy, Randy Goodman, and Terri Taylor, Iranian reprints of secret U.S. government documents taken from the U.S. embassy. Worthy, Goodman, and Taylor, on assignment for the CBS Evening News, bought the eleven volumes of reprinted documents at a Tehran newsstand where they were on sale. According to the journalists the documents reveal how U.S. and Israeli secret-police agents supported the shah and SAVAK.

FBI spokesman Ed Gooderham said the books were "presently being looked at as part of a pending FBI investigation." Gooderham refused to tell the press whether any criminal charges were being considered.

According to the attorney for the journalists, Charles S. Sims of the American Civil Liberties Union, his clients will sue the U.S. government for illegally searching their baggage and taking their property unless the books are returned.

Taylor reports that FBI agents claimed that the books were U.S. government property and that the documents were "classified." How Iranian

reprints of U.S. documents that were freely sold on an Iranian street could be the property of the U.S. government remains a legal mystery.

Particularly revealing is the claim that the documents are "classified." Obviously the Iranian government is well aware of their content. The fact that the documents were being sold freely on the street indicates that the Iranian people are also well informed. According to Worthy the documents have been distributed in other countries as well.

The FBI's illegal action in seizing the documents is, therefore, aimed only at keeping their content secret from the American people.

Socialist arrested

On December 11, Bahram Ali Atai, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), one of the three organizations in Iran affiliated with the Fourth International, was arrested while distributing leaflets at the Friday prayer meeting in Tehran. He was taken to the Central Islamic Revolutionary Komiteh of Tehran and held for several hours, then released and told to come back the next day. When he did so he was again arrested. He is still being held.

Letters demanding his release should be sent to Hojatolislam Mousavi Tabrizi, Prosecutor General, Islamic Revolutionary Courts, Tehran, Iran.

Black nationalist leaders meet in New York

By Melvin Chappell

NEW YORK — The First National Plenary Conference on Self-Determination drew more than 200 people here December 4-6. Sponsored by the National Black Human Rights Coalition, the event pulled together a wide range of organizations.

Muntu Matsimela, of the National Black Human Rights Coalition and northeast regional organizer for the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) chaired the opening session, a panel discussion. Calling this an historic conference, Matsimela said this was only the start of a discussion on how to achieve self-determination.

Panelists included Rev. Ben Chavis of the NBIPP; Omali Yeshitela from the African Peoples Socialist Party; Chokwe Lumumba and Imari Obadeli from the Republic of New Africa (RNA); Amiri Baraka of the League of Revolutionary Struggle; and representatives from the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party and from the African Peoples Party.

The panel discussed the development of racism in the United States, from the slave trade up to today's increasing attacks under Reagan's austerity drive. Several speakers documented Ku Klux Klan and cop assaults on Blacks.

A debate focused on how best to achieve self-determination. Some panelists pointed to the migration of Blacks back to Africa as the solution. Others argued that as long as 30 million Blacks are living in this country, they should fight for the right to make decisions on

issues facing them. Still others, in particular the RNA, called for a nation to be formed in the Black Belt South.

Chokwe Lumumba, a vice president of the RNA, called for support for Fulani Sunni Ali (Cynthia Boston). A member of the RNA, Sunni Ali has been victimized by the FBI and the courts in the aftermath of the Brinks robbery in Nyack, New York.

Rev. Ben Chavis called on Black activists to join NBIPP regardless of their political or organizational ties. He was applauded when he said, "We are drawing the kind of people who perform and do consistent mass work with the masses of our people." He then named several NBIPP activists in the audience.

The NBIPP is working to become a mass party, Chavis said, but it is still in its infancy.

NBIPP activists from all four chapters in the New York and New Jersey area participated. Three chapters distributed leaflets on forums in their areas.

Workshop topics included: Land and Reparations; Identity and Culture; Black Workers; and the International Situation.

The international workshop featured a representative of the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO), who appealed for Blacks in the United States to support their struggle against South African rule. Elombe Brathe, chairperson of the International Affairs committee of the NBIPP and recently returned from a conference in Cuba on oppressed nationalities in the United States, gave the workshop his views on

how the Cuban people ended racism.

Samori Marksman of the Caribbean Peoples Alliance spoke about his participation in the First International Conference of Solidarity with the Grenada Revolution. He told how Grenada is mobilizing against the threat of U.S. military intervention.

The workshop passed a resolution calling for support to the nations of Cen-

tral America and the Caribbean — with special emphasis on Grenada — in their struggle for self-determination against imperialism.

A follow-up conference is planned for June. Participants were encouraged to attend both the convention of the National Black United Front in July and the second congress of the NBIPP in August.

Protest killer cops

By Sarah Matthews

LONG BEACH, Calif. — About 5,000 marchers, mostly Black, rallied outside Signal Hill city hall December 5 to protest the jailhouse death of Ron Settles. Settles, a Black twenty-one-year-old football player at California State College in Long Beach, was found hanging from a mattress cover in a Signal Hill jail last June 2. Settles had been arrested by Signal Hill police earlier that day for "speeding." He was beaten by police and found dead in his cell a few hours later. A coroner's inquest jury ruled five to four that Settles had been murdered. The cops claim however that Settles killed himself.

When Frank Berry, president of the

Long Beach NAACP chapter, asked the crowd whether they believed that Settles had killed himself, the crowd shouted "No!"

Besides Berry, speakers included David Arial, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6, as well as representatives of the National Black Independent Political Party, Mexican American Association, Long Beach Ministerial Alliance, La Raza Unida Party and the Los Angeles Equal Rights Council.

Rally organizers are calling for a boycott of all Signal Hill business and are mounting a petition campaign to recall District Attorney John Van de Kamp.



Parents of Ron Settles, front in glasses, lead march to Signal Hill City Hall.

Trotsky publishers firebombed

On November 25, a group of eight to ten masked men, armed with clubs and firebombs, attacked the editorial offices of Etudes et Documentation Internationales (EDI). Over the past two decades EDI has published a number of important works on the history of the workers movement, including the Trotskyist movement.

It is presently publishing a collection of Trotsky's writings of the 1930s, which are being prepared by the Leon Trotsky Institute. So far

eleven volumes have appeared covering the years 1933-36.

Several people were injured in the attack and damage is estimated at more than \$85,000. Thousands of books, manuscripts, and documentation on the history of the workers movement in France were destroyed.

An organization called the Association of Friends of EDI has been established to raise the funds needed to rebuild the operation.

Sentiment grows for reunification

U.S. military threats against North Korea

By Suzanne Haig

Six weeks ago, two U.S. fighter-bombers flew over North Korea, violating its airspace. The North Korean government charged that this was "a grave hostile act" and that it was the second such incident in five days.

In August, Washington accused the North Korean government of firing a missile at a U.S. spy plane.

The plane was in North Korean airspace.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK — North Korea) charged that the plane had been sent to "aggravate tension and start a new war in Korea." Dozens of similar U.S. spy flights had been conducted since June, it said.

This belligerent incident occurred just two weeks after U.S. F-14 fighter planes had shot down two Libyan planes in the Gulf of Sidra, part of Libya's internal waters, where the U.S. was staging naval maneuvers.

The violation of North Korean airspace is only one example of a pattern of provocation and surveillance by Washington that has gone on unabated since the end of the Korean War in 1953.

Washington has continued to justify its aggression by claiming to be the victim, and then proceeding to escalate its attack.

In 1968, the U.S. Navy spy ship, *Pueblo*, was seized in North Korean waters. President Lyndon Johnson responded to this defensive action of North Korea by sending two squadrons of fighter planes to South Korea, calling up 15,000 air force and navy reservists, and ordering the nuclear aircraft carrier, *Enterprise*, to anchor 200 miles off the North Korean coast.

In 1976, despite repeated warnings by the DPRK, Washington sent armed men into the Northern controlled area of the demilitarized zone separating North from South, to trim a tree they claimed blocked their view. When two of the American soldiers were killed, Washington sent in an aircraft carrier and squadrons of planes.

Armed camp

Some 40,000 U.S. troops occupy the South. Seven hundred nuclear weapons are there, targeted on the North, which has no nuclear weapons and no foreign troops on its soil. The 600,000 strong South Korean army is under the command of a U.S. officer and, until recently, was totally financed by Washington, except for food supplies and clothing.

The U.S. has helped organize a huge secret police apparatus, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), which enables the government to hold information on every citizen. The KCIA



During Korean War, UN troops burn homes of civilians 'suspected' of aiding guerrillas. U.S. and fifteen other countries sent troops to Korea to maintain U.S.-backed dictatorship in south, and attempted to roll back revolution in north.

has been known to beat up and even kidnap opponents of the South Korean dictatorship abroad.

Anticommunist and antilabor laws, national security restrictions, kangaroo courts, terror, and torture are other weapons in South Korea's vast arsenal of repression.

The main rationale used by both South Korea and Washington for maintaining this militarized state is the external danger supposedly posed by the regime in the North. But as already shown, it is Washington and the government in Seoul that are the aggressors against the North.

In reality, the South Korean government uses its repressive apparatus to hold back the revolutionary aspirations of the southern workers and farmers, who have courageously continued to rise up against the dictatorship and against the military domination and economic

exploitation of U.S. imperialism.

In May 1980, a mass uprising, the largest since the Korean War, occurred in Kwangju. Popular committees were set up and the police and army driven out. The armed population took over the city and demanded the ouster of the Chon Du Hwan government, which had succeeded the regime of Park Chung Hee who was assassinated by generals in October 1979.

The uprising was crushed only when 7,800 Korean troops were ordered into Kwangju by General John Wickham, the commanding general of U.S. troops in South Korea and head of the joint U.S./Korean command.

Despite arrests and jailings, protests have occurred on fifteen university campuses on thirty-three occasions this fall. Students have called for the overthrow of the Chon government and condemned Washington's domination of

The workers, farmers, and students of South Korea have not gone along with the slanders and attacks against the DPRK. On the contrary, there is broad support for reunification with the North.

Desire for reunification

The struggle for reunification of Korea has been the top political priority of the North Korean government.

Kim Il Sung, president of the Democratic People's Republic, has continued to press for a meeting of representatives from political and social groups in the North and the South to begin steps toward reunification.

In a report to the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party (Communist Party) of Korea in 1980, Kim laid out North Korea's proposal for moving toward reunification.

"Our country should be reunified independently," he said, "by the efforts of our own people, free from foreign interference, peacefully through north-south contact and dialogue without recourse to arms, and on the principal of great unity of all Korean nationals from north and south and abroad as one nation, irrespective of the difference in their ideas and social systems."

North Korea considers the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea to be a major condition for moving toward reunification.

The North Koreans call for the establishment of a Democratic Confederal Republic, a neutral nation, which would consist of a unified national government with both sides represented equally.

Such a republic would "effect democracy throughout the country and in all spheres of society. . . ."

The Korean people have a right to reunify their country and decide themselves — free from outside military and economic interference — how it will be run.

Major step forward

Serious steps toward reunification would represent a major advance for the masses of South Korea. The process of reunification, itself, would create openings for the workers and farmers of South Korea to advance their struggle and strengthen their interests.

The fight against the capitalist dictatorship in the South has been linked with the demand for reunification in most of the major struggles since the Korean war.

In 1960, when the Syngman Rhee regime was overthrown by a student-led movement, restoration of democracy and national unification were the major demands. In May 1961, a march to Panmunjom in the demilitarized zone was planned by students from both North and South to meet there in a demonstration of national unity. The day before the action, a U.S. backed, military coup occurred, crushing the upsurge, and bringing Park Chung Hee to power.

In 1970, sentiment for reunification was so great that Kim Dae Jung, the bourgeois opposition candidate in the presidential elections, said he would seek reunification if elected, despite Park's threats to prosecute him under the anticommunist law.

Park later claimed to support reunification — even allowing talks to begin and a joint agreement with the North to be made — only to turn around in 1972 and arrest and execute supporters of the movement.

In 1976, major religious and bourgeois opposition figures signed and made public a declaration for Democratic National Salvation, which proclaimed national reunification to be the supreme task.

Despite repression, the drive for national unity cannot be blotted out. Like the struggles in Iran, Nicaragua, and El Salvador this fight is part of the challenge to the continuation of U.S. imperialism's domination and exploitation of workers and farmers around the world.

Division of Korea: imposed by Washington

The division of Korea is totally artificial. It was imposed on the population against its will by Washington.

From 1910 until the end of World War II, Korea was a colony of Japan. When Japan surrendered in August 1945, people's committees, organized throughout Korea by workers and farmers, began to institute reforms.

The following month, however, after U.S. troops landed in Korea, Washington issued General Order Number One. This divided the country into two parts at the thirty-eighth parallel, supposedly to facilitate the disarming of the Japanese.

According to the order, the Soviet Union, whose troops had pursued the Japanese into Korea, would temporarily occupy the northern part, and U.S. troops would occupy the south.

In the north, the Soviet Union recognized the people's committees, which took on a revolutionary character.

Washington, however, refused to accept the committees in the south and flew Syngman Rhee, a reactionary, back to Korea from the United States to set up a right-wing government.

Fraudulent elections "supervised" by the United Nations in 1946 and 1948 were used as the logical basis for setting up a separate nation, the Republic of Korea, in the south in 1948. In response, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) was formed in the north to represent the entire country.

The population in both north and south refused to accept the division, and guerrilla warfare in the south against the Rhee regime escalated. Fearing the growing uprising, the Rhee regime, through numerous raids into the north and threats of invasion, provoked the DPRK to defend itself by moving troops into the south, technically beginning the Korean War on June 25, 1950.

The northern army was seen as a liberating force by the workers and farmers in the south, introducing revolutionary measures as it advanced. With the Rhee government and army in a state of collapse, unable to hold back the revolution, Washington and fifteen other imperialist countries sent tens of thousands of troops into the country. They fought under the flag of the UN, which called this intervention a "police action."

The imperialist troops got almost as far north as the Chinese border, but were beaten back to the thirty-eighth parallel by Korean and Chinese troops.

With more than three million killed, and all of Korea devastated, a truce was signed in 1953. The UN, Washington, and the government in the south have never formally ended the war, and still refuse to recognize the DPRK government.

— S.H.

Rail workers slam cuts in services and jobs

By Charles Scheer

MINNEAPOLIS — Under a banner reading "Private Greed = Public Rip-off," 350 angry railworkers and their supporters gathered here last month to protest layoffs and service cuts on the Burlington Northern Railroad (BN). The meeting was called by the Inter-craft Association of Minnesota (ICAM), an organization of BN rail unions. The meeting included representatives of nineteen different rail union locals, including locals on the Soo Line, Chicago and Northwestern, and Milwaukee Road.

The cutbacks on the BN, including layoffs of over 3,000 employees and projected abandonments of nearly 2,000 miles of track, are part of a reorganization drive by all the railroad owners. The aim of this drive is to organize the railroads in the most profitable way in spite of the consequences for the public and the workforce.

The BN, which just merged with the St. Louis-San Francisco Railroad to become the longest road in the country, has recently formed a holding company. This allows the owners to siphon off railroad profits into their other vast holdings in timber, minerals, and coal. ICAM was originally formed to sue the BN over the question of the legality of this holding company. But there is a growing realization among BN workers that it will take more than stopping the holding company, to force the BN, or any other railroad to provide the kind of rail service this country needs. This is true even in the unlikely event that the courts were to rule in the unions' favor.

The rally opened with local folksinger Larry Long's rendition of "Solidarity Forever" and other labor songs. The first speaker was Richard Arndt, chairperson of ICAM and Brotherhood of Railway and Airlines Clerks (BRAC) 1310 local chairman. Arndt said, "The Burlington Northern is ripping off the American public. They're ripping-off the people in the state of Minnesota and other states and it's time that someone tells the American public. That's what we're going to try to do tonight."

"Mr. Bressler, the president and chief executive officer of the Burlington Northern, refers to us in the latest issue of *Burlington Northern News* as 'rumor mongers' and 'doomsdayers.' Well, Mr. Bressler, we're not rumor mongers and we're not doomsdayers, we're real-



Fred Croes, chair of United Transportation Union Local 911 (left) and Dave Velde, from the Minneapolis Farmers Union, discuss building a united response to the attacks on rail services and jobs.

ists. We know that the Burlington Northern can not function if they do not have the people to repair the equipment, if they do not have the people to run the equipment, and if they do not have enough people to service the shippers adequately. . . ."

A featured speaker at the rally was Dave Roe, Minnesota State AFL-CIO president. Roe referred to the September 19 Solidarity Day action and pledged the full support of the AFL-CIO in the fight against rail cuts.

PATCO, farmers

Greetings were also brought to the rally by Tom Collopy, president of PATCO Local 305. Collopy told the audience, "Lately, I've been going around the countryside to other union locals, other groups, asking for support. Tonight's different. I'm here to offer support . . . because it's apparent in looking at what the BN is doing that there are many, many similarities between what is going to happen to you and what has happened to us."

Farmers are one of the foremost victims of the BN drive to cut jobs and service. Questioned by the *Minneapolis Star*, BN spokesman Chris Welsh said that most of the 775 miles of track the BN plans to abandon in Minnesota are rural branch lines serving farmers and grain elevators. Dave Velde, state and

national affairs director of the Minnesota Farmers Union, addressed the rally and gave his support.

In addition the rally heard talks from Elmer Berglund, Minnesota state legislative director of the United Transportation Union (UTU); Diane Drentlaw, president of the Twin Cities Coalition of Labor Union Women; Patrick J. Foley, attorney for the Burlington Northern General Chairman's Association; and Fred Croes, local chairman of UTU Local 911 on the Milwaukee Road.

'Open mike'

Some of the most enthusiastically received suggestions and remarks came from the floor during the "open mike" period in the rally.

Larry Dunham, a brakeman on the Soo Line, talked about the 1893 strike against the Northern Pacific which was led by Eugene Debs. In winning that strike the American Railway Union was able to reverse huge wage cuts being imposed by the Northern Pacific.

"I'm not calling for a strike tonight," said Dunham, "but I want to raise the basic question of what we really have to give is our labor. They can't make money without it. Our union leadership has got to consider that basic fact."

Bill Peterson, a brakeman and a member of UTU Local 911 on the Milwaukee Road, said that, "A lot of really inspiring things have been raised here tonight. A number of people pointed to the example of the Solidarity movement in Poland."

"But we've got a government in Washington, D.C., that arrests, prosecutes, jails, and chains labor leaders and in many ways is more repressive than the government in Poland."

"I think if anything is to be learned tonight it's that what we have to do is pull ourselves up by the bootstraps in the trade union movement, and start saying to ourselves what we need is more solidarity. What we need is more solidarity in action."

Lynn Henderson, a switchman-brakeman in UTU Local 1000 on the BN, commented that he agreed "with the brothers who said we have to start using our strike weapon effectively — regardless of Taft-Hartley and the Railway Labor Act."

"I think something else we have to consider for our unions to raise, in cooperation with the farmers and others, is nationalization of the railroads. I think that this is a step we have to take."

"Compared with other modern industrial countries the rail service that we have here is a sad joke. In most of these countries the railroads are nationalized, because they found out something from hard experience. If you leave the railroads in the hands of these owners they run them into the ground. As the banner up front says: 'Private Greed leads to Public Ripoff.'"

At one point a union official from the

carmen's union asserted that the main problem today was the apathy of the union membership.

Labor party needed

Cindy Burke, a member of BRAC Local 1310 on the BN, disagreed.

"I enjoyed all the speakers tonight. But I do have to take exception to what the brother from the carmen just said. I don't think the problem with the labor movement today is the membership. I don't think the problem is that we don't 'get off our backs.' If we didn't get off our backs we wouldn't be here tonight. If we didn't get off our backs there wouldn't have been half a million people in Washington, D.C. on Solidarity Day."

"I think one problem with labor today is that we don't have a political voice in Congress. That we have the Democratic and Republican parties who claim to see both sides of the issue instead of our side first and foremost."

"Now I think we can go a long way towards thinking through solutions to that. One suggestion I would make is that we begin discussing in our lodges and in our locals the question of forming a labor party."

The rally was chaired by Gayle Swann from ICAM and the Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers and Tom Dwyer, Minnesota state legislative director of BRAC. Swann's collection speech helped raise over \$300.00.

The broad way the action was built in the entire Twin Cities rail terminal was significant. The meeting was organized and publicized by a rally sub-committee of ICAM.

This committee included representatives from BRAC, the UTU, the Firemen and Oilers, the Electricians, and Maintenance of Way employees. Members of the rally committee visited various union meetings on the BN and other railroads to report on the rally plans and to secure endorsements and financial contributions. The rally was endorsed by BRAC lodges 1310, 1504, 593, and 434 (St. Cloud); UTU 1000; IBEW Local 506; Brotherhood of Railway Carmen 615; Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers 292; and the Minnesota Railroad Brotherhood Legislative Board.

A few weeks prior to the rally Tom Dwyer, BRAC state legislative director, took the floor at the Minnesota State convention of the AFL-CIO and got their unanimous endorsement for the protest. That endorsement, plus the presence of Dave Roe, president of the AFL-CIO, on the platform, signaled the importance of the rally to many trade unionists in the Twin Cities and across the state.

The rally's success and the exchange of ideas that took place there have encouraged a lively discussion among BN rail workers concerning what next steps should be taken to defend their jobs.

'What we did to defend our jobs'

Five weeks following the rally the Twin Cities Militant Forum sponsored a panel discussion of four rail activists titled "What We Did to Defend Our Jobs." The speakers were Cindy Burke, a member of BRAC 1310 and an activist in the October 5 protest; Fred Croes, UTU 911 local chairman on the Milwaukee Road; Joe Swanson, a member of UTU Local 305 (BN), and a representative of the Lincoln (Nebraska) Coalition of Rail Crafts; and Nate Greene, a member of BRAC 1310 and the press director for the October 5 rally.

The audience of forty-five people, including twenty rail workers, heard the four describe their assessment of the carriers' offensive and what can be done about it.

Burke called for nationalization of the railroads, explaining that this vital service cannot be left in the hands of the profiteers. She said, "We can petition the ICC, write our congresspeople and sue the railroads until we're blue in the face and it will have very little effect on the course of events. The day that we divorce ourselves from the idea that the Democratic and Republican parties, the courts and the ICC are some kind of neutral bodies which can be persuaded to see things our way will be

great cause for celebration."

Fred Croes seconded the call for nationalization. He pointed out that what Milwaukee and BN workers face is part of an industry wide crisis that more and more rail workers are waking up to.

Joe Swanson described the activities of the Safe Energy and Full Employment Committee in Lincoln which started out as a committee in his UTU local and now includes activists from the carmen and the clerks. Swanson helped found this committee which has done successful work in exposing the dangers of transporting nuclear wastes on the rails.

Swanson also explained that recognizing that the fundamental problem facing railworkers, as well as all other workers, is capitalism, led him to join the Socialist Workers Party recently.

Nate Greene spoke about the history of the Railway Labor Act. He said that the time has come for rail workers to push that act aside and exercise their right to strike in defense of their jobs.

He pointed to the example the PATCO strikers have set for all of labor and criticized the AFL-CIO leadership for not taking the measures to win the strike.

UAW officials give in to company takebacks

By Stu Singer

This has been a bad week for auto workers. The biggest retreats in the history of the union were accepted by the International Executive Board of the United Auto Workers.

The December 7-10 union leadership meeting in Detroit capitulated to industry demands. It authorized union councils for each company to reopen their contracts immediately. UAW President Douglas Fraser explained, "Times have changed. The situation in our industry is distressful and has changed since we last discussed this issue."

Fraser sounds like a company spokesman. He sounds like the Chrysler board member that he is.

\$1 billion in 1982

The initial company demands that led to the union leadership capitulating are staggering. And they will get worse.

American Motors, which is partly owned by the French auto company Renault, called for \$150 million in wage and benefit concessions, which they claim they will pay back with company stock. UAW contracts with AMC don't expire until January and September 1983.

International Harvester wants \$100 million before October 1, 1982, when their contract expires. That contract was won after a 172-day strike by the UAW in 1979-80.

Ford's first suggestion is for the union to give up two scheduled cost-of-living raises and nine paid personal holidays, and for workers to pay part of medical insurance premiums. Ford estimates this would be worth \$535 million be-

million. Two months later, the membership was convinced to take another \$200 million in cuts. A year later, in January 1981, Chrysler workers gave up \$622 million more to help the company.

One-and-a-quarter billion dollars in charity from Chrysler workers to the banks and stockholders.

Today, Chrysler workers take home at least \$50 a week less than other auto workers. Company labor costs are estimated to be \$3.25 an hour less per worker. The other companies are jealous.

Chrysler workers never got anything in exchange for the givebacks.

No jobs were saved. After each round of givebacks, Chrysler shut more plants. From November 1979 to January 1981, the Chrysler workforce went from 130,000 to 65,000. Just last week, Chrysler announced four- and five-week shutdowns at two plants, throwing 6,300 more workers on the street.

The company's only concession to the union was to give Fraser a seat on the board of directors. But this has hurt the union, not the company. Fraser has proven himself a loyal company man.

Give an inch

The Chrysler concessions have become the model for auto contracts.

The auto companies did not wait for the union executive board decision to reopen contracts. They have been going after individual union locals and recently inflicted a number of defeats.

Under the threat of closing the plant, General Motors swindled auto workers at the GM Hyatt Bearing plant in Clark, New Jersey. The workers were forced



General Motors sit down strike, forty-four days, 1936-37. The UAW was built through struggle; new leaders will emerge from coming battles.

tween January 1 and September 14, when its contract is scheduled to expire.

General Motors and Ford estimate they can make over \$1 billion just in 1982 in takebacks from auto workers.

The companies have announced these huge savings will not be used to lower car prices. With sales plummeting, the companies have continued to raise prices. The money is intended to "re-build profit margins," as Ford management puts it.

The collapse of auto sales in the United States is hitting imports as well as U.S.-produced cars. November import sales were down 10 percent from last year, and were the lowest since 1978. Sales of U.S.-made cars were the lowest since 1959.

More than 250,000 auto production workers are indefinitely laid off. Over 650,000 auto parts workers' jobs have been cut.

The decline in auto sales is part of the economic crisis gripping this country. Official unemployment figures are 8.4 percent, prices are rising much faster than income, interest rates are between 14 and 20 percent. Far more cars are produced than can be sold.

The auto industry is on a drive to make auto workers pay for the capitalist crisis of overproduction.

Chrysler

The executive board decision last week is part of the pattern of retreats that began at Chrysler in 1979. Under a concerted drive by the company and the federal government, the union leadership agreed to break up the "big three" auto industry contract to help save Chrysler from bankruptcy.

The first round of union concessions in November 1979 amounted to \$400

into a 30 percent pay cut: an investment scheme where they borrow money from GM to buy the plant from them. They were also pressured into accepting a cut in the workforce from 1,700 to under 1,000, a 50 percent cut in pay for new workers, and renegotiation of the entire union contract. According to *Ward's Auto World*, "Despite their new status as stockholders, hourly workers get little input into management; a new board of directors remains self-perpetuating for 10 years."

At four Ford Motor Company plants in the Detroit area, workers were convinced to accept work rule changes expected to save the company 5 percent a year in costs.

But not all auto workers have given in. At the Ford aluminum castings plant in Sheffield, Alabama, union members refused the company ultimatum to accept a 50 percent pay cut and to buy the plant. Ford responded that they will close the operation gradually over the next two years.

The union executive board decision to reopen contracts will encourage more company assaults against union local work rules.

The setback accepted by the UAW leadership will hurt workers in every other industry, union and nonunion. The UAW contract has set the pattern for wages and benefits for all industrial workers. But these blows will lead to a fightback.

Forty-five years ago, auto workers helped lead labor's giant step by taking on the companies and the government to build their union. The heroism and combativity of that generation of auto workers will appear again. And leaders will come forward from the ranks to lead the struggles that are coming.

National Picket Line



UMW elections in 1982

Members of the United Mine Workers union will vote late next year for international officers. Incumbent President Sam Church has announced that he will run, but he has not yet announced a slate of candidates to run with him. Church was elected vice president in 1977 on the slate with President Arnold Miller. Church became president when Miller resigned in 1979.

A slate of candidates, headed by Rich Trumka, International Executive Board member from District 4, was announced November 27 at news conferences in Pittsburgh; Charleston, West Virginia; and Carbondale, Illinois. Under the slogan, "Why not the best," Trumka, thirty-two, announced for president; Cecil Roberts, thirty-five, for vice president; John Banovic, fifty-two, for secretary treasurer; and Clemmy Allen, twenty-eight, for teller.

These candidates are now leaders of UMW districts 4 and 5 in southwestern Pennsylvania, 17 in southern West Virginia, and 12 in Illinois.

In his statement, Cecil Roberts charged that the present union leadership, "in their eagerness to 'cooperate' with the industry . . . have negotiated away many previously gained benefits. . . . I'm convinced our members are sick of voting on 'take away' contracts."

British miners elect left-winger

Arthur Scargill, forty-three, was elected president of the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain. The 244,000-member union elected Scargill by a margin of more than 70 percent against more conservative candidates. Similar to the United States, the coal miners are the strongest, most militant union in Britain.

Through strikes and the threat of strikes they have broken through government pay guidelines many times. Their strike in 1974 helped force the Conservative Party government out of office.

Scargill is associated with the left wing in the British Labor Party. His election is another sign of the growing sentiment by British workers to fight against the all-out assault by the capitalists and their Conservative Party government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

English only

Feliberto Garcia of Leadville, Colorado, was reprimanded by a supervisor at the Climax Molybdenum mine for speaking Spanish. Garcia got his union, Local 2-24410 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, to file a grievance against the reprimand. The union officers got the company to remove the reprimand by agreeing officially to support the racist company policy of prohibiting Spanish, or any other language except English, from being spoken in the mine.

Garcia is pursuing the fight both through the union and outside by protesting the violation of his civil rights.

'Compassion' against PATCO

Reagan's scab herder Drew Lewis, the secretary of transportation, said, "Now is the time for compassion." Some of the almost 12,000 fired air traffic controllers will be allowed to apply for federal jobs, except as controllers or any other job with the Federal Aviation Administration.

Office of Personnel Management Director Donald Devine said that controllers would not be "determined suitable for federal employment" if they were found to have intimidated working controllers or coerced others to go on strike.

In other words, no union leaders or activists need apply.

PATCO President Robert Poli termed the offer a "cruel hoax." He pointed out there are few federal jobs available anyway.

Reagan's move was applauded by the two union leaders with the most experience in organizing strike breaking: J.J. O'Donnell of the pilots union and Teamster President Roy Williams.

The AFL-CIO leadership announced they were "disappointed" in Reagan's move.

Fines, civil court rulings, and felony convictions continue to pile up against PATCO and its members. The union has filed for bankruptcy.

Vote with your feet

The *Shelton-Mason County* [Washington] *Journal* reported that more than 21,000 of the 102,000 sawmill workers in the West are out of work. The "Journal of Opinion" column in the November 26 issue of the weekly paper offered Reagan's solution: move to more prosperous regions of the country.

The column reported on what could be the response:

"Western lumber industry workers wasted no time in following the President's advice. Union officials revealed this week that 60,000 unemployed loggers and sawmill workers in the Western states headed for Houston.

"A few may drop off along the way as they find jobs in the woods around Phoenix or Tucson," said an IWA spokesman, "but most intend to strike it rich in Boom City."

"The mass movement has given a needed shot in the arm to the ailing real estate industry. The thousands of houses thrown on the market are 'selling like hotcakes,' according to one happy salesman."

(Thanks to ex-logger and laid-off miner Frank Anderson for the clipping.)

— Stu Singer

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — The Communist Party (CP) has hailed the emergence of the Unity Party as a big step toward independent political action.

The party said it was much gratified by the showing of Unity Party nominee Frank Barbaro in the mayoral election. A Democratic member of the state assembly, Barbaro ran with the Unity ballot designation after being defeated in the Democratic primary by incumbent Ed Koch.

Between the primary and general elections, Barbaro's support shrank considerably, but he did poll 160,000 votes and had the support of most radical groups in the city as well as some of the smaller unions.

The Communist Party is now urging that this electoral coalition be maintained. It points out that if the Unity Party fields a gubernatorial candidate in 1982 and polls 50,000 votes it will have permanent ballot status.

According to CP State Chairperson Jarvis Tyner, the Unity Party represents "the coming on the scene of a new mass-based independent electoral coalition. . . ."

Hastily considered, what the Communist Party has to say about the Unity Party suggests a shift in political line. If this were indeed the fact it would be welcome news. But, unfortunately, it's not so.

Since the mid-1930s, the CP has steadfastly followed a course of supporting major party politicians, mainly, but not exclusively, Democrats. Such capitalist candidates were either touted as "progressive" or, at a minimum, "lesser evils."

Costly policy

What the CP really means by the Unity Party being a step toward "independent political action" was indicated by Simon Gerson, an old-time party leader, in the November 17 *Daily World*.

The emergence of the Unity Party in the elections, Gerson advises, showed "that there is a base for a new movement, a united electoral formation that advances an independent and progressive program and selective candidates and yet maintains relations with those who still have ties with the Democratic Party."

'Unity Party' meeting discusses 'antimonopoly' third party

By Mark Friedman

NEW YORK CITY — A post-election forum November 22 sponsored by the Coalition to Defeat Koch failed to address the need of working people to form their own political party.

Instead they discussed building the remnants of Frank Barbaro's Unity Party into a third capitalist party based on an "antimonopoly peoples coalition."

Si Gerson represented the Communist Party (CP) which actively supported Barbaro.

He explained that "The Barbaro vote is a conscious vote for independent political action . . . [we have the] basis for a coalition in New York with independents still committed to the Democratic Party. The Unity Party

CP advocates third party with ties to Democrats

Will voting for capitalist politicians promote independent political action?



Fiorello LaGuardia; Frank Barbaro. Communist Party believes Barbaro campaign is leading a new, third capitalist party in the spirit of American Labor Party, which supported LaGuardia in 1930s and '40s.

Like, for instance, Frank Barbaro, who makes it very plain that he has no intention of leaving the Democratic Party.

In other words, the "independence" of the new movement would be in form only, not in political content. Authentic independence means opposition to both capitalist parties.

That kind of a "new" party is but one more pressure vehicle designed to try to influence major party politics.

Some may even dream of such a party becoming a "balance of power" that could extract concessions from the two parties in terms of candidate selection and platform planks. Experience has shown, such "balance of power" politics reduces itself to selling out to the highest bidder.

The ultimate dream of the CP and other proponents of such a third party is to become influential enough to be accepted into a coalition with one or

another allegedly "progressive" sector of the ruling rich.

If all of this sounds like it's reading too much into a couple of CP statements about the Unity Party, let's look back at some political history. History suggested by the CP leadership itself to explain what they're dreaming about.

'A different day'

Recently, national CP Chairperson Henry Winston declared that when the Unity Party emerged, "I began to think of a different day, of the LaGuardia inspiration, the role of the American Labor Party."

That was indeed an important historical moment worth reviewing.

Founded in 1936 and dissolved in the mid-1950s, the American Labor Party (ALP) was a New York state organization, with its primary strength in New York City. It was established by major New York unions. Most, but not all, of the affiliated unions were led either by members of the Communist Party or such social democratic figures as Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

This was during the depression and the first stormy years of the CIO. There was a deep radicalization among the workers which was reflected in a strong alienation from the two capitalist parties. This was particularly true in New York where the Socialist and Communist Parties had big followings.

By the mid-1930s, both the Stalinized CP and the Socialist Party had totally abandoned the idea of working to advocate the class struggle of the workers. They were, in fact, doing what they could to contain that struggle. Both practiced, as they do today, class collaboration on the political arena as well as in direct union-employer relations.

In 1936, the Stalinists and the social democrats were both supporting New Deal Democrat Franklin Roosevelt for reelection. In New York, they decided they couldn't effectively win votes for Roosevelt on the Democratic line, so they launched the union-based ALP and nominated Roosevelt as the candidate of the new party. That way, they told the workers, you didn't have to vote Democratic. You could vote for Roosevelt "independently" on the ALP line.

In a biography of Sidney Hillman, Matthew Josephson put it succinctly: "The thought was to channel the 'regular' socialists into the Roosevelt camp."

Repeat performance

In the 1937 New York mayoralty election, the ALP played the same role that it had the year previous for Roosevelt. This time it helped to reelect Fiorello LaGuardia mayor.

New York City government had been in a shambles when LaGuardia first took office in 1934. For years the Democratic Party Tammany Hall machine had been looting the city treasury with both hands. In the predepression era, the bankers, industrialists and realtors who run the city were ready to overlook this thievery in return for services faithfully rendered.

But with the depression, municipal problems became acute. More important than the plundering of the city treasury, there was a precipitous drop in revenue as a result of the economic crisis.

Then, as now, the floating of bonds was the principal means by which the city operated. The bankers faced the threat that the city would be unable to meet bond payments, plus, naturally, the lucrative interest rates.

A new hand was needed on the helm at city hall. One that could curb the theft and, more decisive, make the budget cutbacks necessary to ensure continued, uninterrupted bond payments to the bankers.

Fiorello LaGuardia, an effective Republican politician, was tapped for the assignment.

In 1933, he ran against the Tammany Democrats, representing himself under two labels, Republican and "Fusion." In that depression period, LaGuardia skillfully came on as a radical populist type.

In office, he continued the radical rhetoric. Meanwhile, he busied himself laying off city workers, reducing the pay of teachers and others, and resisting the demands of the hungry unemployed for adequate welfare.

To get away with this kind of double game, LaGuardia needed more than the support of the bankers and slumlords. The leaders of the radicalized labor movement had to be coopted. Just as Roosevelt incorporated the union leadership into a national "coalition" which he controlled, so LaGuardia created a similar one in New York.

Thomas withdraws

Initially, the Socialist Party (SP) had nominated Norman Thomas as its 1937 mayoral candidate, but then withdrew him from the race. This was a departure

New York Election Results

Socialist Workers Party candidates in New York City received the following votes: Wells Todd, mayor (5,793); Susan Wald, city council president (9,093); Raul Gonzalez, comptroller (19,191); and Ken Miliner, Manhattan borough president (1,330).



WELLS TODD

Militant/Lou Howort

for the party, marking a new stage in the reformist degeneration of the SP.

The Communist Party was going the same treacherous route. In 1936 it had run a token presidential campaign for Earl Browder while actually supporting Roosevelt.

In 1937, Browder gave LaGuardia the CP's official blessing. (LaGuardia promptly repudiated the CP endorsement and Browder publicly assured he understood and wasn't offended.)

Both the *New York Times* and its Republican rival, the *Herald-Tribune*, endorsed LaGuardia. Major figures in the world of banking and industry staffed key Republican and Fusion campaign posts.

To maintain good standing in the coalition, the radicals had to swallow quite a bit. For openers, during the campaign LaGuardia endorsed a Republican for Bronx borough president who had a reputation for being one of the most virulent red baiters in town.

Norman Thomas expressed "great shock" at the LaGuardia endorsement. Israel Amter of the Communist Party said he was "keenly disappointed."

Actually, LaGuardia's support to an ultrarightist probably didn't come as too big a shock. A year previous, in the face of public protest, LaGuardia spoke at a rally with profascist Italian-American businessmen and politicians. Meanwhile his cops clubbed antifascist demonstrators who came to protest.

Great train robbery

It was also LaGuardia who arranged for the city to buy up a no longer profitable city transit system. New bonds were floated, the system was bought for a price far beyond worth, and New York straphangers are paying interest on those bonds to this day.

Those are the "golden" LaGuardia days, the CP leadership dreams the Unity Party will lead us back to.

In 1944, a faction fight for control of the ALP resulted in a split. Forces led by David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union fought a combination led by the Stalinists and Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

With the split, the Dubinsky faction established the Liberal Party. Like the ALP it continued to hustle votes for capitalist politicians (often they even nominated the same ones).

The last ALP campaign was in 1953. The late Clifford McAvoy, who had come to favor a genuinely independent course for the party, ran for mayor against the Republicans and Democrats.

The CP, which by then was determined to bury the ALP, gave formal support to McAvoy, but actually threw its forces behind the Democrat, Robert F. Wagner.

Marcantonio quits

The late Vito Marcantonio, a former member of congress and a leader of the ALP, angrily denounced the CP for its knife job on McAvoy and quit the party.

In recent days, the CP has complained vociferously about the "divisive" role of the Liberal Party, particularly its decision to run Mary Codd against Barbaro in the recent election.

But, in the past and very likely in the future, the CP has swallowed its hostility to the Liberal Party, despite the virulent anticommunism of its leaders.

Back in 1957, the CP supported Wagner for reelection on the Liberal line. It did the same thing when Republican John Lindsay also ran on the Liberal line in 1965.

That is but part of the dismal electoral record of the Communist Party. It helps to illuminate what CP leaders mean when they muse about returning to the LaGuardia days.

In the recent mayoral election, the Socialist Workers Party was the only left organization to enter the race and challenge all of the capitalist candidates — Barbaro included.

In doing so, the SWP pointed the way forward. Today more than ever the fraudulent argument that the interests of the workers can be advanced by any kind of ties to the capitalist parties must be vigorously exposed.

NBIPP says 'no' to Democrats, charts anticapitalist course

By Malik Miah

On November 21-23, 1980, an historic conference of the Black movement occurred in Philadelphia. Fifteen hundred people gathered to launch a movement to establish the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), a political party independent of the Democrats and Republicans and the ruling rich they serve.

How has the NBIPP, in its first year, responded to the prowar, anti-Black, and antilabor policies of the Reagan administration?

How do NBIPP leaders compare in this respect to the established leaders of the labor, women's, and civil rights organizations?

War issue

At its founding congress in August, the NBIPP adopted an uncompromising antiwar program. It says, "We believe that no Black person should be forced to fight an imperialist war of aggression for the U.S. against people who are oppressed and fighting for freedom as we are here in the U.S."

In response to the latest war threats against Cuba, Grenada, Nicaragua, and El Salvador, NBIPP participated in the November 21 protests organized in many cities throughout the United States.

National cochair Ron Daniels also participated in a seminar on the situation of oppressed nationalities in the United States held in Havana, Cuba. In addition to explaining the aims of the NBIPP, he expressed his strong support for the Cuban revolution and firm opposition to U.S. war moves in the Caribbean and Central America.

He stated, "The Cuban revolution occupies an important place in the minds of Afro-America."

"We take an intense interest in the degree to which the advent of socialism has eradicated institutionally, and in terms of all forms of policy, racism."

Sharp contrast

In sharp contrast to the NBIPP's position was the warmongering that occurred at the recent AFL-CIO national convention. That gathering of labor officials adopted a shameful resolution attacking the Nicaraguan revolution. This position is consistent with the top labor brass's open backing for Washington's imperialist foreign policy.

Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), also spoke at the AFL-CIO convention. At the October NOW convention, Smeal and other NOW leaders led the charge in getting delegates to reaffirm NOW's reactionary fight for the "right" of women to be drafted.

Although leaders of the major civil rights organizations have been more critical of the size of the war budget and the social cuts of the Reagan administration, they do not oppose the fundamental objectives of imperialist foreign policy.

Capitalist parties

One of the sharpest sections of the NBIPP's charter is on electoral politics. It says, "We believe that the Democratic and Republican parties serve the interests of the ruling class and not the masses of Blacks and other oppressed and exploited peoples. These parties protect and defend the interests of the bankers and industrialists. They have sold us out. The electoral strategy of the NBIPP is independent of the Democratic, Republican, and all other parties."

NBIPP has not determined guidelines for local chapters to run or support candidates for public office. A discussion on this will likely occur soon because of the elections in November 1982. One point is clear: the charter adopted at the August convention rejects the idea of NBIPP members running in the two political parties that share governing of the United States and serve those who oppress Blacks.

Compare this political stance to that of the top officials in the labor movement, NOW, the NAACP, and other civil rights organizations. What do they propose working people do in 1982?

Solidarity Day II

This question was the principal topic of discussion at the AFL-CIO convention.

Kirkland proposed that Solidarity Day II be election day 1982. This was hailed by union officials from Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride to International Association of Machinists President William Winpisinger. Smeal and NAACP head Benjamin Hooks, who were present, applauded. The idea is not to break with the capitalist parties and run labor candidates. In fact, Kirkland

told Democratic Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill that "your party has never and will never prosper if it abandons the interests and concerns of the plain working people of this country."

Kirkland's perspective is for labor to fill the chests of the "prolabor" Democratic Party candidates with the hard-earned money of unionists. The AFL-CIO officials gave nearly \$1 million in contributions in 1981.

What a slap in the face to the half million working people of all nationalities who marched in Washington, D.C. on September 19 for Solidarity Day. What they were seeking was not more of the same, but a new perspective to fight the employers' attacks.

Rightward shift

Unlike the leaders of the NBIPP, who are moving to the left in response to Reagan's austerity policies, threats of new Vietnams, and increased attacks on democratic rights (such as the cops' campaign against Black organizations, the left, and others following the Nyack Brinks bank robbery) the liberal misleaders atop the unions, NOW, and the NAACP are moving politically to the right.

Instead of telling the truth to working people about the government's real aims, these misleaders are adapting to and, in many cases, helping to carry out the reactionary policies of the bosses and government.

That is what the AFL-CIO leaders are doing to PATCO now. They blame these courageous workers for being decertified and blame them for the government's increased attacks on other public workers.

By joining the Board of Directors of Chrysler while campaigning among his own union members to take wage cuts, United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser is setting an example to the entire labor bureaucracy for this type of servile collaboration.

Black mayors are doing the same. They administer the bipartisan cuts in social services and the anti-labor policies of the employers.

That's what NOW's leaders are doing by dropping defense of abortion rights while campaigning for "friends of women" in the Democratic Party. This course is justified with the cynical promise that it will win passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

NBIPP stands in sharp contrast. Although small, and only a propaganda organization itself, it tells Blacks and other workers the truth about capitalism. It explains that it is the economic and social system based on profits that must go if racism and exploitation are to be eliminated.

It is not buckling to the wage-cut demands and the antibusing and anti-affirmative action pressures of the employers. It urges Blacks to fight for our rights. It proposes establishing alliances with other forces — such as the Salvadoreans, Nicaraguans, Grenadians, and Cubans abroad and other oppressed minorities and progressive whites at home — to fight back.

Although only one year old, NBIPP represents an important advance for all working people in this country. It is setting the example that workers must think socially and act politically.

It favors affirmative action for women in the struggle too. It has taken significant steps to establish equal leadership participation by women.

NBIPP believes that the end to sexism and racism is only possible with the eradication of capitalism and imperialism.

This is what the leaders of the AFL-CIO, NOW, and the NAACP consciously reject. They seek collaboration with the parties of the oppressors.

The independent direction charted by the NBIPP is the only way forward for Blacks and women and for the working class today.

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Suggestion dep't — We were intrigued by the study done for the government by Union Carbide suggesting that after a nuclear blast old people be sent out from the shelters for food and water since many of them would probably die before they got cancer anyway. We're ready to buy that idea, provided it's agreed Ol' Ron goes first.

We knew there was a catch — The pope said that in heaven men and women maintain their masculine and feminine "peculiarities." But, he emphasized, there's no procreational activity.

The march of science — According to *Pacific Packers Report*, a trade journal, the shelf life of fresh seafood could be doubled or tripled just by giving it a shot of radiation from recycled nuclear waste. There are a few bugs remaining. One is that dark fish may "bleach slightly" and light fish darken. Also, "a peculiar odor sometimes remains with the product."

P.S. — Another obstacle to this new improvement in our lives, according to the *Packers Report*, is that "antinuclear sentiment will probably hinder marketing irradiated fish in the U.S.,

especially if labeling is required on the retail package."

Sun 'n gun — A good number of Hollywood's "beautiful" people are signing up for membership in the Beverly Hills Gun Club, where they learn to handle pistols and shotguns in properly plush surroundings. A wall poster shows a woman wearing a holster, over the words, "You can't rape a .38." Most of the staff are moonlighting L.A. cops.

And no overtime — Federal District Judge James McFadden is quitting the bench. Says he's had it with scraping

by on \$70,300 a year.

Cultural guardians — The Texas Board of Education banned the Merriam-Webster New Collegiate Dictionary from the public schools because it contains words banned from the public airwaves by the Supreme Court. The offending words describe human excrement, sexual intercourse, and sexual organs.

Old twinkle-toes — Madam Arpel's New York shoe shoppe is offering a satin, low-heeled pump with a rhinestone toe, dyed any color you want; \$900 a pair.

What's Going On

Support Polish workers

ALABAMA BIRMINGHAM

SUPPORT POLISH WORKERS: WHAT SOLIDARITY IS FIGHTING FOR. Speakers: Jim Connolly, member, United Mine Workers, and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. 205 18th St. South. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

DEFEND POLISH WORKERS! SUPPORT SOLIDARITY! U.S. HANDS OFF CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN! THE STRUGGLE IN POLAND AND ITS IMPACT ON WORLD POLITICS. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, national co-chair, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Dec. 20, 3 p.m. Women's Building, 3543 18th St. (near Valencia). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

GEORGIA

ATLANTA

POLAND IN CRISIS. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Dec. 20, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree Street. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON

CONFRONTATION IN POLAND: WHAT IS

SOLIDARITY FIGHTING FOR? Speaker: George Saunders, Socialist Workers Party, visited Poland last spring. Sat., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

NEW JERSEY

NEWARK

THE CRISIS IN POLAND: WHY IS THE GOVERNMENT CRACKING DOWN ON SOLIDARITY? Speakers: Malik Miah, national co-chair, Socialist Workers Party; Martin Koppel, *Perspectiva Mundial* staff writer, eyewitness to Solidarity's first national conference. Sat., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK CITY

THE WORLD REVOLUTION AND THE CRISIS IN POLAND: AMERICAN IMPERIALISM'S STAKE IN THE CRACKDOWN ON SOLIDARITY; WHAT POLISH WORKERS ARE FIGHTING FOR. Speakers: Larry Seigle, Socialist Workers Party Political Committee; George Saunders, visited Poland last spring; Tom Pontolillo, chairman, Division 501, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Fri., Dec. 18, 8 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. (between Hoyt and Smith), Brooklyn. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

staff writer, founding member of the Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. 108 East 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

OREGON

PORTLAND

WATT, REAGAN, AND BIG BUSINESS: THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR ENVIRONMENT. Speakers: Ron Richards, Young Socialist Alliance; representative, Sierra Club. Sun., Dec. 20, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

ARIZONA

"Arizona Illustrated" will be shown on December 30, 1981, on Channel 6 TV (KUAT) in Tucson. A segment of this program is about maquiladoras (assembly plants) in Nogales, Mexico. The maquiladoras are American owned plants at which the Mexican workers have been fighting for a union. The Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT), Mexican sister party of the Socialist Workers Party, is shown in the film explaining the strike to unionize the maquiladoras.

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NICARAGUA TODAY: HAIG'S LIES UNDONE. Speaker: Kathy Michaels, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

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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 Dorr 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, 803 N. 2nd St. 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.

From our readers behind bars

Thank you

For the last six years I have been receiving every week without failure a copy of the *Militant*. I wish to thank you and all the people responsible for this. My thanks and appreciation for your kindness and consideration in sending me the *Militant*. The *Militant* is the only newspaper I rely upon to give me the news as it happens throughout the world, and the truth about the issues as they occur.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

'Mind is free'

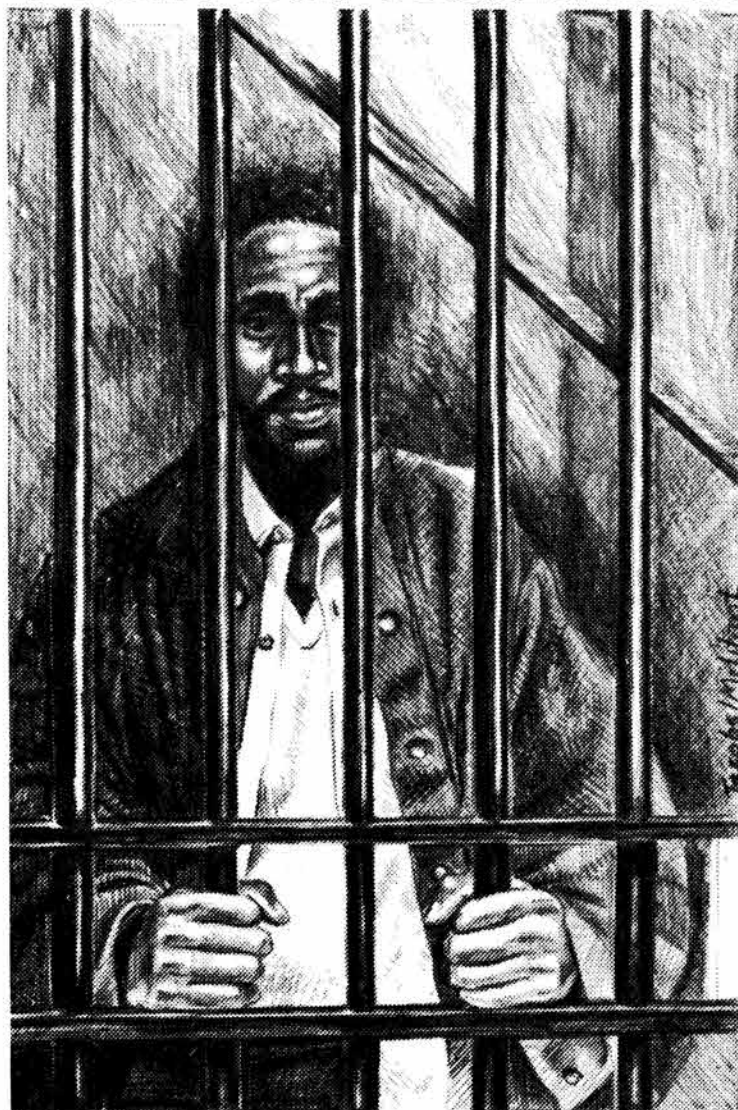
I am writing you concerning the newspaper the *Militant*. I used to buy the paper to read, as well as other books — back in the sixties and early seventies — from a company called Merit Publishers. I had a store at that time. I even bought books wholesale from the company, because they had more books on Malcolm X than anyone else.

I am in prison now and would be very thankful for any books and newspapers you could send me dealing with world news and especially third-world news, old or new. I hope to hear from you soon. My body is in lock-up but my "mind" is free.

Stormville, New York

Avid reader

I've been a reader of the *Militant* since 1964. I've had subscriptions a few years of



that span and most often I've bought the paper from friends in the Young Socialist Alliance or Socialist Workers Party, or from the SWP bookstore in San Francisco. I'm an avid reader, but

I haven't seen a copy of the *Militant* since June of 1980 because in July I was locked up again. I'm doing a "tenner" this time and won't be released until early 1987.

Now I know that you often

subsidize prisoners' subs to the paper. I have no money at all in here, but I'd really like to keep up with the news presented in the *Militant*, so could you please send me a prisoner subscription to your paper?

Also, many of us here at CMF need penpals, including myself. I answer all of my mail faithfully.

Bob Grove C-24181

P-151 CMF

Box 2000

Vacaville, California 95696

International union

I am requesting that you print this letter in order that we receive feedback from individuals that are incarcerated in other institutions throughout the U.S., South America, the Caribbean, and Central America.

We are in the process of attempting to establish a Prisoner United Liberation League (PULL) here in American prisons. We shall be dealing with problems facing inmates upon release.

Those interested in establishing a cell or chapter, send letters to:

P.O. Box 57 No. 143-166

Marion, Ohio 43302

Not welcome

Greeting comrades. I guess I can consider myself lucky to have received this paper (*Militant*). As I sit before this issue, September 11, I notice that it was addressed to the walls in Nashville, Tennes-

see. Upon my arrival here at Fort Pillow State Farm, I did write to the *Militant* and notify you of my address change. I now feel that the letter caught the garbage can.

Fort Pillow is about dehumanizing the human spirit. Anything that is about enlightening the consciousness of individuals is not welcome by the officials, ironically; in other words, anyone with a militant view.

I'm now trying to get some legal material that a comrade sent to me over two months ago.

Fort Pillow, Tennessee

For the people

I have been a member of the Black Panther Party since 1960. Even now my fight is still for the people. I support you and the other militant sisters and brothers in the movement in bringing out the truth to all the people of the U.S.

I was sent here for murdering two pigs who kicked a poor Black woman when she was down on the ground. She was going to have a baby in another three or four months. I was the only brother who had enough heart to help her.

I never knew there was a paper out there named the *Militant*. There are two other brothers here who would like to know if you could send us some late papers that have not been sold that will help us keep up on what is happening in the world.

Menard, Illinois

Teachers

The November 13 article by Vivian Sahner which contains many facts about the Philadelphia teachers' strike leaves much to be desired in the way those facts were politically presented and interpreted. From discussions with other teachers about the strike and teachers who have read the article, I must conclude that its tone was extremely "down" and negative with regard to the union's role and whatever gains were made through the strike. This does not mean that the strike should have been portrayed as a major victory, but neither was it a defeat for a workers organization that was in the midst of a life-and-death struggle for survival.

The first sentence of the *Militant* article, "Labor movement lost another round," set the defeatist tone that was to continue in its emphasis for the better part of the article. It ended with a number of questions quoted from the *Philadelphia Inquirer*: "Has the strike gone on for nothing? Have we been defeated?"

Few unions in the past year, industrial or public workers, have as valiantly, energetically, or aggressively carried out a struggle as did the young, Black, and women school employees of PFT Local 3. For fifty days, every day, thousands walked the lines, stalked the scabs, participated in seven citywide

demonstrations and rallies and kept 260 schools from opening, until the educational programs were restored and 3,500 laid-off workers were brought back to work. This was the basic promise that union President Murray made at the initiation of the strike and that promise was kept. He made one other promise — that we would be paid retroactively the 10 percent that was agreed upon in the second year of the contract. Though this was not achieved it is still up for consideration in the negotiations that are taking place now.

More serious was the way the article described the call for a "general strike." The call and resolution was described and implied as a "bluff."

The mobilization of the PFT in 1981 was not a "bluff," nor did the leadership of the local misrepresent to the membership the character of the action that was planned. While the AFL-CIO Council voted unanimously for a one-day "general strike," at district meetings Murray explained that he was not certain how much support could be generated, that each local was still free to participate in whatever manner each decided. That he had commitment for walkouts from a number of unions — firemen, construction workers, and the possibility of important support from the transit and hospital workers. That it ultimately would

depend upon the local to make the day a good sizable demonstration. Teachers were organized into teams to put up picket lines at every major transport depot and public works site to test their fellow unionists' support. The Crumlish decision and court order came within twelve hours of the planned action. The judge had been sitting on the case for sixteen days before he acted.

What moved him off of the lower court's decision to enforce the school board's decision to lay off 3,500, if not the call for a general strike? It is my understanding that the executive board of the PFT first turned in a decision against honoring that court order but was finally dissuaded by the union attorney. Haskell Berman, Philadelphia, Pa.

(In reply: We agree that the Philadelphia teachers' strike was an important labor struggle. We sent a staff reporter to cover one of the major support rallies and interview striking workers, and we published several prominently featured articles on the strike.

(Reader Berman, however, correctly points to a weakness in our evaluation of the strike settlement. In spite of the weakness of the agreement, the strikers won an important victory in preventing the layoff of 3,500 teachers. Readers are urged to see the article on page 10 of this

issue on the Socialist Workers Party National Committee meeting, which adopted a report that noted this achievement of the Philadelphia strike. — Editor)

'Reds'

Socialists here saw Warren Beatty's film *Reds* last night and found out how lucky we are to be in one of seven cities chosen for an early run.

The film tells the truth about the Russian revolution and people from this country who supported it. It tells the story of the personal and political lives of John Reed (Warren Beatty) and Louise Bryant (Diane Keaton).

We see Russian workers cheer Reed when he promises them that American workers will follow their example if they go all the way against their rulers.

A striking scene shows farmers racing on horseback and camel, waving their swords to welcome a train. Inside are representatives of the Communist International arriving at the Baku congress of oppressed nationalities.

Filmgoers will learn that Washington sent troops to help crush the Soviet Union when it was young. In documentary shots, they'll see a former U.S. official tell how he got noncitizens deported as "subversives" for favoring the Russian revolution. The words "Iran" and "Nicaragua" are going to come to the minds of

some viewers.

Lenin and Trotsky appear together several times in the film.

Militant readers shouldn't let this one go by.

David Keil

Newports News, Virginia

Good answer

The events of the past few weeks, with the actions of the Weathermen or underground movement in the Brink's robbery has turned me to reading George Novack's pamphlet on *Marxism vs. Terrorism*. In it he gives a concise and profound Marxian answer to terrorism.

I think the *Militant* should have dealt with the events more fully and certainly featured the pamphlet. Also, sales of the pamphlet should have been carried out in schools, campuses, and working class communities.

Joe Carroll

Newark, New Jersey

(In reply: *Marxism vs Terrorism*, \$.25 plus \$.75 for postage, is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.)

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

THE MILITANT

'Safety lamp lit up like Christmas tree'

Tennessee mine deaths were avoidable

By Clyde Sharon

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn. — Twenty-seven coal miners were killed in the United States in the six days between December 3 and 8. Their deaths did not result from unavoidable accidents, as the mine owners, the big-business press, and the government would like us to believe.

They were victims of the mine operators' quest for profits, which they put ahead of human life.

The twenty-seven were killed in six separate incidents: three in a West Virginia roof fall, eight in an explosion in Kentucky, thirteen in an explosion in Tennessee, one in Indiana, and two in separate accidents in Virginia.

The biggest slaughter was in Whitwell, Tennessee, thirty miles from Chattanooga. If the big-business news media had any interest in the truth, they would have reported some of the facts I learned: the methane explosion that killed thirteen people there should have been avoided.

Methane concentrations in Grundy mine No. 21 were high. The miners were drilling into an abandoned tunnel in order to get more air for ventilation. Drilling into an abandoned tunnel is very dangerous because of the risk of releasing large buildups of methane.

Safety rules require small holes be drilled and samples taken to check methane. Any concentration greater than 1 percent is supposed to mean mining stops and all electrical equipment is turned off to avoid a spark.

Dec. 8 mine murder victims

The thirteen killed in the Tennessee mine explosion December 8 were: Larry Bruce Cooley, 28; Danny "Mort" Cooley, 27; Ed French, 47; Lee Grimes, 23; Jacob Kilgore, 39; Charlie Myers, 34; Harvey Nolan, 34; Gaylon Parsons, 28; Jimmie Wayne Rogers, 43; Darrell Rollins, 28; Jackie Tate, 38, uncle of Larry and Danny Cooley; Roy White Jr., 37; and Frankie Wilburn, 29.



Militant/Richard Lloyd

Funeral for miner Ed French, one of thirteen killed in methane explosion in Whitwell, Tennessee, mine, December 8.

Tuesday, December 8, the ten miners and their foreman, Jackie Tate, were a half mile inside the mine in the side of a mountain. This kind of operation is called a drift mine.

I spoke to friends of Jackie Tate. They told me he had been very worried about methane buildups. He was talking about quitting the mine and going back to driving a truck.

Miners who were not in the mine when it exploded know more about what happened that day than any newspaper has been willing to print. Miners told me that the morning of the explosion the methane reading was 3 percent. It went up to 5 percent.

Jackie Tate called the mine superintendent's office. He said his safety lamp was lit up like a Christmas tree. Tate and his crew were told to stay where they were and that the assistant superintendent, Jimmy Wayne Rogers, and general foreman Roy White would come down themselves.

They did. None of the thirteen ever came out.

Grundy No. 21 is owned by Tennessee Consolidated Coal Company. They operate a number of mines in the area. They are all nonunion.

It took an eight-year war, from 1962 to 1970, to drive the United Mine Workers union out of these mines. Several union men and some strikebreakers were killed. Two union halls were burned down. There was mass picketing by miners and their families.

The strike was officially ended when a procompany district judge overturned a National Labor Relations Board ruling that the company should bargain with the United Mine Workers.

Tennessee Consolidated Coal is owned by St. Joe Minerals company, which made a cool \$117 million in profits last year. This year, St. Joe was bought by the giant Fluor conglomerate. United Mine Workers President Sam Church issued a statement on the mine disasters December 10.

The deaths "are all the more shocking

and tragic because they could have been prevented," he said.

Church pointed to inadequate staffing and low morale within the federal Mine Safety and Health Administration as contributing to the deaths.

As of December 10, 144 coal miners have died this year in the United States, compared to 133 for all of 1980. The increase this year is even more dramatic when you consider the seventy-two-day UMW national strike that shut down most U.S. coal mines.

Over 70 percent of underground miners are in the UMW. The deaths break down to sixty-one at UMW mines and eighty-three at nonunion mines.

Church explained, "Under terms of our contract, UMWA miners do not have to work in unsafe workplaces. They have the right to withdraw, and if there are any safety problems they are aware of, they should withdraw until the problems are corrected.

"But all too often in nonunion mines . . . miners either have the choice of working unsafely or looking for work elsewhere."

5,000 demonstrate to defend Haitian refugees

By Michael Baumann

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "Let our people go!" chanted more than 5,000 demonstrators as they marched through the streets here December 12, protesting the Reagan administration's denial of political asylum to Haitian refugees.

The demonstrators, nearly all of whom were Black and most of whom were Haitian, mobilized from across the northeast United States. From New York alone, the Haitian community sent sixty-eight busloads of protesters. They were aided in this effort by the NAACP, which was a cosponsor of the action, and by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which organized a special union bus.

Literally hundreds of hand-lettered signs, placards, and banners expressed the main aims of the demonstration:

- Freedom for the more than 2,500 Haitian refugees currently being held in detention camps in the United States.

- Political asylum to the Haitian-style "boat people" forced from their homeland by the Duvalier regime's repression.

"We want a halt to the interdiction of Haitian vessels on the high seas," explained Eguy Sanfaricq, one of the New York coordinators of the demonstration.

"We also want an end to U.S. military and economic support to the Duvalier dictatorship, and freedom for the thousands of political prisoners in Haiti."

Prior to the demonstration, a fiery rally, mostly in Creole, was held on the steps of the U.S. Capitol building. The rally closed with most of the crowd joining in singing the national anthem of the Haitian freedom struggle.

One of the demonstrators, a garment worker who had come all the way from Connecticut on a standing-room-only bus, translated the words for the *Militant*:

"Haitian people stand up.

"Don't let them take your country.

"We want our freedom.

"We have to fight for ourselves!"

The solidarity of American Blacks with this struggle was summed up in a hand-lettered sign carried by an elderly Black NAACP member: "Afro-American, Haitian — same people, same struggle."

Stevie Wonder calls King Day march in Washington Jan. 15

Stevie Wonder, the well-known Black musician, has announced plans for a march and rally in Washington, D.C., on January 15 to demand that the date, the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., be declared a national holiday.

Wonder's call for a similar march last year brought out more than 100,000 people, making it the largest such outpouring of the Black community in the nation's capital since the 1963 march on Washington.

Wonder announced plans for the demonstration at a news conference in Los Angeles. News conferences were also held in Atlanta and Detroit.

The National Black Independent Political Party at a recent leadership meeting in Youngstown, Ohio, endorsed the action and called on NBIPP chapters to build the march.

Rev. Ben Chavis, a national NBIPP

leader, has been asked to speak at the rally.

Legislation has been introduced by Michigan Congressman John Conyers, Jr., to have the date made an official national holiday.

Last year's demonstration drew busloads of marchers from scores of towns and cities. A wide range of Black organizations, including church, community, and social groups, turned out for the march.

Next month's action, as did the one last January, is expected to become the focal point of protests over a multitude of Black and working class concerns. Reagan's budget cuts, which are hitting the Black community the hardest, are sure to be one target of demonstrators.

The demand to make King's birthday a national holiday has gained wide support. In several states local governments have already declared the date a holiday.