

# THE MILITANT

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

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economic  
bubble  
bursting?**

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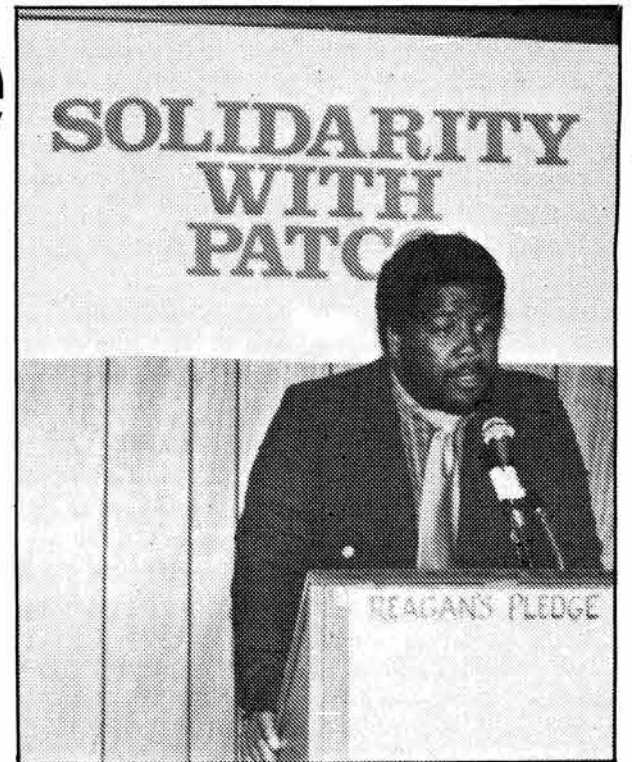


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## Affirmative action under fire

The Reagan administration has taken another step toward reversing measures barring discrimination by employers.

Under proposed new regulations affirmative action guidelines will be weakened. The guidelines, which spell out how the 1965 civil rights act will be implemented, cover employers holding contracts with the federal government.

Under Reagan's new plan, companies with less than 250 employees or with contracts of less than \$1 million are free to run a lily white, all male operation.

Current rules cover firms with fifty or more workers and \$50,000 contracts.

Some 30 million workers and 200,000 firms are directly affected.

Other aspects of the plan would generally loosen pressures on business to hire and maintain women, Blacks, and other minorities.

The new rules, announced August 24, do not formally go into effect for ninety days.

The administration says the changes are aimed at easing pressures on businessmen suffocating under mountains of paperwork.

Paperwork has nothing to do with it. It's all part of the ruling class assault on the rights and living standards of American workers.

William E. Pollard, director of the department of civil rights of the AFL-CIO, lashed out at the plan.

"Affirmative action is an effort to eliminate discrimination against minorities and women," he said. "No president until now has tried to weaken them. President Reagan is saying discrimination is over, just like that. He's wrong. The Government ought to lead the way against discrimination, not the retreat."

The bosses promote the notion that affirmative action hurts white male workers. It's a lie.

Who benefits from paying Blacks and women less? One thing's for sure. It's not any of the workers. They don't get the money. It goes into the bosses' pockets.

By maintaining a special category of low paid workers—the last hired and the first fired—the bosses drive down wages of all workers. They promote racism and sexism in order to divide workers and strengthen their own hand.

Under affirmative action companies were

forced to set up training programs that benefited all workers. Company favoritism was curbed, and job bidding was made more equitable.

Government-enforced rules against discrimination were not a gift. Congress passed laws, the executive branch implemented them, and the courts issued favorable rulings because they were forced to—by a mass civil rights movement, supported by millions.

Now the government is trying to turn back the clock. It's part of big business's attempt to fatten their bank accounts at the expense of workers. It's in line with Reagan's budget and his tax cut boondoggle. Both are custom made to take from the poor and give to the rich—through tax give aways and lucrative defense contracts.

The September 19 March on Washington called by the AFL-CIO will give working people a chance to stand up against Reagan's racist, sexist, anti-working class schemes.

## Police spies win in Chicago

Civil liberties lost a round August 11.

A federal judge approved a deal between lawyers for the American Civil Liberties Union and a local group on one side and the FBI, CIA, and the Chicago Red Squad on the other. It settled a suit brought against the police agencies six years ago.

The decision is a slap in the face to hundreds of people, most of them Black, who packed a Chicago courtroom last February to condemn this sellout.

The agreement does not brand one act carried out by the police as illegal. Not the planting of informers in the Black Panther Party to set up Fred Hampton's murder. Not the spying on the United Steelworkers, United Auto Workers, NAACP, Operation PUSH, Socialist Workers Party, and Communist Party. Not the 500 burglaries in Chicago that the FBI admitted to in court.

Instead of calling such actions to a halt, the settlement sets out "guidelines" on police spying that are much worse than useless.

The cops promise to conduct investigations "with the least intrusion consistent with its need to collect information" and to "minimize unnecessary collection and recording of information on legitimate First Amendment activities."

A "question left open" in the settlement, one ACLU lawyer admitted to the *New York Times*, "is the constitutionality of an FBI investigation of a domestic political group supporting what

the FBI calls 'international terrorism,' for example, a Chicago group sending funds or food to the liberation movement in El Salvador." In short, opponents of U.S. intervention in that country will continue to be targets.

Earlier, ACLU lawyers conceded that the Communist Party would continue to be harassed by police spies under the accord.

The Chicago settlement is totally consistent with the government's plans to strengthen the secret police. Laws passed in the wake of Watergate—like the Freedom of Information Act—are under attack.

The Reagan administration sends one signal after another to the FBI and CIA sleuths that they have a free hand. The latest was an August 24 announcement that the number of officials needed to approve domestic spy operations will be reduced.

The ruling rich know that budget cuts and moves toward war will be opposed by working people. And they are preparing to use the FBI, cops, and right wing terror gangs to quell opposition.

A preview came when the air controllers went on strike. Reagan fired them, called out the FBI to spy on their picket lines, and threw union leaders in jail. Trumped up indictments against union members are being handed down across the country.

In the face of this assault, the leaders of the ACLU promote Chicago-style settlements. Under the circumstances, they claim, they are the best you can get.

But in reality, the victims don't get anything. On the other hand, police spying gets a cloak of legality and an ACLU seal of approval.

A similar proposed settlement is running into stiff opposition in New York City, where the ACLU leaders are taking the same approach to settling a ten year lawsuit against that city's Red Squad.

The ACLU's stance is the opposite of that taken by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in their lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, and other political police.

During more than two months of court testimony in the socialists' suit, the government held that it had the right to spy on individuals or organizations, whether or not they broke the law.

The SWP and YSA said no. The government has no right to spy on or disrupt political activity.

The ACLU's approach will only lead to more attacks. Opponents of the New York settlement need to redouble their efforts to block this bad deal.

And the suit brought by the SWP and YSA against the government snoops continues to need broad support.

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If You Like This Paper...



### How can labor answer Reagan offensive?

As administration steps up its attacks on American workers, over 1,300 meet at Socialist Workers Party convention in Ohio to discuss challenges faced by labor and by revolutionary party. **Page 13**

## The Militant

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# U.S. gov't targets Grenada

## Stages 'practice invasion' of Caribbean island

By Nelson González

Reports from the island of Vieques, off the coast of Puerto Rico in the Caribbean, have confirmed recent charges that U.S. armed forces are preparing for a possible invasion of Grenada.

Grenada, a Caribbean island of 120,000 people, had a revolution in 1979 that ousted dictator Eric Gairy who had been favored by Washington. Since then the country has had a popular revolutionary government headed by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and the New Jewel Movement.

An Associated Press dispatch in the August 11 issue of the Virgin Islands *Daily News* reported that U.S. military units on Vieques were practicing an attack on "a mythical small island nation called 'Amber,' which in certain ways bears a striking resemblance to Cuba's close Caribbean ally Grenada."

"'Amber' has an army of 2,000 and holds sovereignty over several out-islands called 'Amberines.' . . .

"Grenada, with an army estimated by U.S. diplomats to number 2,000 holds sovereignty over a chain of out-islands called the Grenadines."

On August 20, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop of Grenada sent an emergency message to United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim warning of the invasion preparations.

The operation forms part of U.S. and NATO military maneuvers in the Caribbean code named "Ocean Venture '81."

These exercises began August 1 off the coasts of Cuba and Puerto Rico. They will last until October. Officials describe them as the biggest show of U.S. naval strength since World War II. They involve 250 ships, more than 1000 aircraft, and 120,000 troops, drawn from the NATO countries, Argentina, Colombia, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

The exercises include a practice invasion by an amphibious force on the southeastern tip of Vieques. This is the operation described in the Virgin Islands daily.

As part of the simulated invasion of "Amber" 320 U.S. Army Rangers from the 75th Regiment were flown 3000 miles from Norton Air Force Base in California and parachuted onto Vieques.

According to Bishop, "There is in fact an area on the Southern tip of Grenada called Amber which is in close proximity to a security zone and the New International Airport."

According to reports received by Bishop, 7-10,000 marines and paratroopers, 14 ships, and several airplanes were involved in the operation. The pretext for the invasion was the rescue of "hostages."

The real purpose of the "practice invasion" according to Bishop, is to "take power from the Amber Government," which is described as unfriendly, "station troops in the island until an election is called," and "install a government favorable to Washington's brand of democracy." This was stated, he said,



in a news conference on Vieques after the maneuvers.

In a recent interview on New York's WBAI radio station, Bishop was asked why Grenada was being singled out in this way.

"I think that the fact that Grenada is the first in the English-speaking Caribbean to have had a revolution would be important," Bishop replied. "Grenada is attempting to develop a new alternative, a new path to social, political, and economic development for our people. This is something that [Reagan's] administration is very fearful of."

"They recognize that a new economic path has been able in a short period of time to bring free medical care to our people, bring free education to our people, and reach a point where we are able to more than double the number of doctors, more than quadruple the number of dentists—that kind of thing is very subversive in terms of the other system that this region has been following over the years."

Bishop further noted, ". . . Grenada is primarily a Black country, a country with people of African descent. And this of course has tremendous appeal to Blacks and other national minorities and ethnic minorities in the United States."

According to the AP dispatch in the Virgin Islands *Daily News*, the Caribbean naval maneuvers were also described as being aimed at the "expansionism" of another nation called "Orange" whose "regional goals" are supported by "Red" which is "promoting political instability and projecting its military capability throughout the area."

U.S. military officers laughed when reporters alluded to the obvious relationship of the code name "Orange" and "Red" to Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Rear Admiral Robert P. McKenzie, commander of the Caribbean Joint Task Force, and his chief public affairs officer,

both confirmed the exercises were based on real "scenarios" drawn up with specific islands in mind.

Explaining the maneuvers, McKenzie described Nicaragua, Cuba and Grenada as "practically one country" presenting a "political-military problem" to the U.S. government.

He alluded to charges by Washington that Cuba poses a threat to Caribbean shipping because of its reported acquisition of a Soviet frigate. McKenzie didn't mention that Washington—not Cuba—has constantly interfered with shipping in the Caribbean, going to the point of placing a naval blockade around Cuba in 1962.

According to McKenzie, the exercises are intended to "reinforce in the eyes and the minds of those watching our military commitment around the world—to give an example of one facet of the U.S. capability to respond in the Caribbean basin."

Attempts to economically strangle

Grenada have escalated, as Reagan has sought to block funding for an airport and other projects. Television news broadcasts depicting Grenada as a police state represent an effort to soften up public opinion here for any interventionist moves. The immediate danger of U.S. intervention in Grenada is very real.

Grenada is making preparations to meet this danger.

In addition to sending the message to Waldheim, the Media Workers Association of Free Grenada organized a rally of several thousand people in St. Georges on August 23. Prime Minister Bishop and former CIA employee Philip Agee exposed the invasion plans and read numerous messages of solidarity sent by supporters of the revolution. Among the messages read were those from the Canada-Grenada Friendship Society, the National Black United Front, and the Socialist Workers Party of the United States.

In addition, on Monday, August 24, the National Black United Front held a news conference, expressing continued solidarity with Grenada.

In his WBAI interview, Bishop asked people in this country to "issue very strong statements of protest about these maneuvers. We believe that the force of international public opinion will be extremely important to us. It was very important to the Nicaraguans, and before them the Vietnamese. We have no doubt it will be of equal importance to us. So we feel whatever forms of protest can be organized, whether meetings, demonstrations, whether statements of solidarity, all of these will have an impact."

"To the extent that it is possible to organize excursions to come to Grenada," Bishop continued, "so that the people of America can see the reality of Grenada for themselves, see the strength and popularity of the revolution, the new democratic processes we are building—that would be extremely important also."

## Washington backs S. Africa in Angola invasion

The racist government of South Africa publicly admitted August 26 that its troops have penetrated deep into Angola, where they are combating forces of the independent Angolan government.

The invasion aims to put an end to Angola's opposition to apartheid and support to independence fighters in Namibia.

Angola has called on international public opinion to demand that South African troops be withdrawn. Such appeals have been issued by the governments of France, Britain, Germany, the Soviet Union, Cuba, and many others.

But not by Washington.

The State Department said August 26 that it deplored the raid. But it said it must "be understood in its full context." It mentioned the guerrilla struggle against South African occupation of Namibia and the presence of Cuban troops in Angola as extenuating circumstances.

Cuban troops came to Angola, at the invitation of the independent government, in late 1975 to beat back an earlier South African invasion. It later turned out that the whole South African operation had been financed and planned with Washington's help.

Cuban troops have remained in Angola to help defend its independence against such attacks.

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# Is Reagan's economic bubble bursting?

By Stu Singer

The cost of living in the United States rose 1.2 percent from June to July this year. If that keeps up, prices will rise over 15 percent in the next year.

No union contracts provide yearly raises that high. Workers with contracts that have cost-of-living escalators still suffer from a gap between price rises and the pay hikes they get.

The \$10,000 across-the-board pay hike the air controllers asked for—as their bargaining opener—in their next three-year contract, is less than the rate of inflation today in the United States.

The 10 percent-a-year hike the powerful United Mine Workers union won in their recent contract does not keep them even with inflation.

What does this inflation mean?

What you paid \$10 for in 1967 costs \$27.44 today. For food alone, \$10 worth in 1967 would cost \$26.67 now. \$100 rent in 1967 would be at least \$300 now.

In three years, the cost of buying a house in the U.S. has increased between 33 percent and over 100 percent, depending on where you live. Average monthly housing costs—including mortgage payments, taxes and utilities—in Detroit are \$934, a 62.2 percent increase since 1978.

This skyrocketing inflation is like an arrow shooting off the graph and puncturing one of the last bubbles of the "Reagan mandate."

## Reagan's performance

President Carter was hated for the growing unemployment and high inflation. Some workers thought Reagan would do better—it was hard to imagine doing worse.

We've had seven months of Reagan. We have a reactionary budget. Social programs are being slashed and dismantled. Social Security, which Reagan promised not to touch, has already been cut. Deeper cuts are planned.

We have a new tax plan that shifts more wealth from the poor to the rich. Corporate taxes, inheritance taxes and taxes on income of the rich are drastically cut. The burden of government is shifted more onto the backs of working people.

Reagan the candidate said he was opposed to Carter's draft registration. He's continuing it. The biggest military budget in history has been passed.



Militant/Diane Jacobs

But the question still remained: how will the economy function?

Would business pick up under the pro-business administration?

Would there be more jobs? Less inflation?

The answer is coming in.

NO.

The corporations were thrilled by Reagan's election, budget, and tax plan. But from a peak in April, the stock market has now plummeted 125 points.

Instead of declining as Reagan promised, the administration is increasing the government deficit. The idea of balancing the budget by 1984 is being canned. And interest rates stay high.

The wave of business investment that was supposed to be inspired by Reagan's policies isn't happening yet. And business confidence remains shaky and seems likely to decline.

Many economists say that we are entering another recession.

## With mirrors?

Looking at the situation, the *New York Times* recalled an opposing candidate's prediction that "there was only

one way that Ronald Reagan could make good on his pledge to cut taxes, raise defense spending, balance the budget, and bring inflation under control—and that was with mirrors."

The only way out that big business can suggest is more unemployment and more budget cuts.

Out of a work force of 108 million, 9 million are jobless. Two million out of 11 million Black workers are unemployed, over 17 percent. Of 5.7 million Latino workers, 600,000 are out of work.

The *New York Times* recently ran an article claiming there is a "higher threshold of pain over joblessness" than there used to be. You can throw even more people out of work without creating a social explosion, they suggested.

The *Times* also pointed to "a need to cut more billions from the budget than most people can imagine." It even suggested the possibility of a tax increase on working people "to limit consumer spending."

## Economy out of control

We live in a capitalist economy. Under a capitalist government. The profit

drive comes first.

But today their economy doesn't even work for them.

They have no solutions to inflation and unemployment.

Instead, economists and government spokesmen are discussing one proposal on inflation: change the statistics.

They propose that housing costs not be included in inflation, because housing costs are increasing too fast.

If the Consumer Price Index trailed further behind real inflation, cost-of-living escalators would be even smaller.

What's happening now is exposing the claims of the bosses that wage increases cause inflation.

Inflation is caused by massive military spending, huge government deficits, and by the normal workings of capitalists who set prices on the basis of profit and not human need.

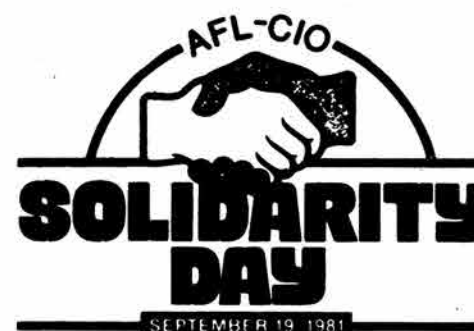
Workers bear the burden of inflation. American workers' standard of living has been declining since 1978. In July, when prices went up 1.2 percent, pay went up 0.4 percent. In that month, workers fell 0.8 percent further behind. That is a rate of about 10 percent a year.

In the past year, the buying power of workers has declined 5 percent.

If you compare take-home pay to prices, a worker with three dependents has less income now than any time since 1964.

It is not Reagan's fault that the economy is declining. The laws of the capitalist economy are bigger than Reagan, just like they were bigger than Carter. And they're bigger than the greedy businessmen who are trying to profit from them.

Reagan can't stop the crisis, despite his campaign promises to the contrary. His job is to see that workers and not the capitalists pay the price. That is the meaning of his economic program.



# Phoenix mayoral candidate backs PATCO

"I support PATCO and their strike 100 percent. If I were mayor, in the interest of safety of passengers, plane crews, and Phoenix residents, I would shut down Sky Harbor Airport until the air controllers are rehired and their just demands are met."

With those words, twenty-eight-year-old Eleanor García opened her campaign August 17 as Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Phoenix. "The government tries to break the unions of American workers while hypocritically praising the Polish workers," she said angrily.

The candidate, who works at the Reynolds Metals Extrusion Plant here and belongs to United Steelworkers of America Local 3937, demanded that the administration of Mayor Margaret Hance shut down the airport for the duration of the strike.

García, mother of a five-year-old daughter, is a native of Phoenix. For a decade she has been fighting for the rights of Arizona farm workers. In 1971, she joined the United Farm Workers Boycott Committee, helping organize a successful boycott of non-union lettuce by the school cafeteria while she was attending Glendale Community College.

In 1977 she joined the staff of the United Farm Workers Union. In 1978, she helped organize sit-ins by farmworkers demanding state aid after severe flooding.

García has also been active in the

struggles of the Chicano community here. A strong supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment, she is a member of the National Organization for Women.

Her views of local issues reflect her background as a worker, a Latina and a socialist (she joined the SWP in 1977 and is also a member of the Young Socialist Alliance).

"The Hance administration's union-busting attacks on the city workers' unions parallel the government's assault on the air traffic controllers," she charges. "Hance and the City Council have cut CETA job-training programs and social services. Hance seeks to attract business to the Valley through low corporate taxes and low wages caused by the anti-union right-to-work law in this state."

"As a worker, I propose the opposite: to shift the tax burden from working people to the rich and big business. This would make possible an expansion of social services instead of cutbacks. It would make it possible to establish a real mass transit system for Phoenix instead of cutting bus service."

The real problems of working people can only be resolved by a complete reversal of priorities; that is, putting working people's needs first—not those of big business. As mayor, I will seek to implement a program in the interests of the majority of people in Phoenix—Blacks, Chicanos, all working people."

García is urging a big turnout from Phoenix for the September 19 march on Washington against Reagan's policies called by the AFL-CIO.

Summing up the theme of her campaign, García stated: "As working people, we keep this city running and I think we should run the city."

## N.Y. socialists petition

By Mark Friedman

NEW YORK—"Put a Black socialist on the ballot against Mayor Koch." That was the slogan as supporters of mayoral candidate Wells Todd began an effort to collect 17,000 signatures to place him and the rest of the Socialist Workers Party slate on the November ballot here. Some 6,000 signatures were collected on the first day.

The day's campaigning included participation in a demonstration of hundreds in support of the Equal Rights Amendment, sponsored by the National Organization for Women. Todd, Susan Wald (SWP candidate for city council president), and Democratic mayoral candidates Koch and Barbaro were among the speakers.

Teams of SWP campaign supporters have fanned out to Brooklyn Navy Yard, bus and train barns of the Metropolitan Transit Authority, the garment district, and other work places to gather signatures.

There is wide support also for the

right of the socialist candidates to appear on the ballot. Even after they gather more than enough signatures to qualify, socialists often face challenges to this right from Republican or Democratic politicians who want to keep the ballot a two-party monopoly.

Statements of support for the ballot rights of the socialist slate have come from Ring Lardner, Jr., one of the "Hollywood Ten"; Afeni Shakur, former Panther 21 defendant; Michael Meeropol, civil liberties activist; and *Guardian* staff writer John Trinkl.

Tom Pontolillo, the chairman of division 501 of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and Marjorie Morro, president of the New York Library Workers Guild Local 1930, have also supported the socialists' ballot rights.

Volunteers are needed to help gather signatures on the socialist slate's petitions. If you are interested, call (212) 533-2902 or visit the campaign offices listed on page 19.



# Atlanta labor urges big turnout on Solidarity Day

By Jean Savage

ATLANTA—More than fifty leaders of the union, civil rights, and women's movement held a press conference on the steps of the Richard Russell Federal Building August 24 to build Solidarity Day, the September 19 march on Washington called by the AFL-CIO.

The urgency of this demonstration was immediately clear to everyone there. Inside the federal building four striking air controllers were being indicted by the Justice Department on criminal charges for supporting their union.

The four members of PATCO Local 101, whose cases were handed over to a grand jury, are Phil Jones, John Devane, Ron Elliott, and Jonathan White.

Dozens of PATCO members joined the press conference and distributed a statement in support of September 19. It read: "PATCO stands firm in its belief of a free labor movement and therefore enthusiastically endorses and supports Solidarity Day."

Loud applause from the press conference participants greeted the air controllers when they left the building after the hearing.

Herb Mabry, president of the Georgia State AFL-CIO, opened the press conference by urging all union members to participate in Solidarity Day. He announced that at least twenty buses would be going to the march from Atlanta.

Several leaders of the civil rights movement in Atlanta spoke.

It is time, Rev. Timothy McDonald, assistant pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church, told the press, "to say to the nation and the world, that we do not only oppose Ronald Reagan but we are adamantly opposed to Reaganism."

Rev. Fred Taylor, a representative from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, also spoke at the press conference. A statement in support of Solidarity Day by SCLC president Joseph Lowery was released.

Sherri Schulman, president of ERA Georgia added her support for September 19.

"Because equal rights for all is the basis of all human rights, ERA Georgia joins the Georgia State AFL-CIO and 120 other human rights groups in celebrating Solidarity Day," she said.

The press conference received extensive media coverage in the Atlanta area.

## Miners: '100 percent' support for Sept. 19

By Ruth Robinette

FAIRMONT, W. Va.—On August 24, Carroll Rogers, president of United Mine Workers District 31, held a news conference at the union headquarters to build support for Solidarity Day. Speaking with him were a number of union officials from the area and a representative of the Morgantown NAACP.

"District 31's statement here today," Rogers said, "is that we unequivocally and wholeheartedly support the Solidarity Day demonstration."

Steve Webber, an international representative of the UMWA, told reporters, "We like to think that we were the first to protest these cutbacks when we demonstrated—10,000 strong—in Washington, D.C., on March 9 to protest against the proposed cutbacks in black lung benefits."

"At the time, Reagan promised us that the proposed cutbacks would be withdrawn from his economic package. But this was never done. Like our brothers and sisters in PATCO, we've come to learn that Reagan cannot be taken at

his word, but must be judged by his actions.

"It's time to draw the line," Webber said. "It's time to send a message—loud and clear—to Washington that we won't see programs for which many people made the ultimate sacrifice gutted and thrown into the trash like yesterday's newspaper."

"The United Mine Workers of America supports the September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration 100 percent."

Other speakers at the press conference included Alfred Jones of the Morgantown NAACP; Denise Oyler, president of PATCO Local 250; Shelby Leary, president of the Monongalia-Preston Central Labor Council; and Lowell Johnson, president of the West Virginia Education Association.

Murray Wilson, president of the Monongalia County Education Association; Charlie Morrison, secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 789; and Tim Dent, a representative from the West Virginia-Kentucky District of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, also spoke.

## Stelco strike in Canada

Most of the Canadian steel industry has been shut down since August 1 by a strike by the United Steelworkers of America.

The strike is centered in Hamilton, Ontario, the steelmaking center of Canada. Hamilton is between Buffalo, N.Y. and Toronto.

The local which has spearheaded the strike is 1005 at the Hilton Works of the Steel Company of Canada, Stelco. Eleven other steelworker locals in Ontario and Quebec are on strike also, representing 16,500 workers.

The 7,000-member steelworkers local at Algoma Steel in Sault Ste. Marie went on strike at the same time, but they accepted a company offer and have returned to work.

While the steelworkers are cooperating in negotiations, the contracts are decided local by local.

The strike by basic steelworkers in Canada's booming steel industry was very well prepared. In Local 1005 discussions went on for months. Literature explaining the issues was distributed to all the members.

When the company made its final offer, the local members discussed it and took forty-eight hours to study the proposal before voting. They rejected it by 86 percent.

Some of the demands of the union include a two-year contract, a \$3-an-hour pay hike, an improved cost-of-living formula providing a 1-cent-an-hour pay hike for every 0.2 rise in the Consumer Price Index, and other demands.

A section of the contract proposal calls for twenty-six weeks paid maternity leave and company contributions of \$100 a month per child for child care.

A strike by Canadian postal workers recently won seventeen weeks of virtually fully-paid maternity leave.

The Canadian steelworkers welcome support from steelworkers on this side of the border. Their address is USWA Local 1005, 1031 Barton Street East, Hamilton, Ontario. Ask them for copies of their local paper, Steel Shots and the two pamphlets—*Contract 1981*, with their contract demands, and *Baptism of a Union, the Stelco Strike of 1946*, a pamphlet about the history of the local.

## National Picket Line



### Hearing protection weakened

On August 20, the Labor Department issued new, watered-down guidelines on noise protection that endanger the hearing of millions of workers.

It's easy to figure out why. The changes are expected to save big business \$50 million a year.

The new rules went into effect on August 22. The Reagan administration claims that employers are still expected to meet Occupational Safety and Health Administration noise standards that were set in 1974. But it dropped many specific requirements for record keeping, noise monitoring, and hearing tests.

To big business—which is always willing to put the dollar before workers' health—the new loopholes are an open invitation to ignore the standards.

### Union bid lost at Perdue

Workers at Perdue's giant chicken-processing plant in Accomac, Virginia, voted 602 to 326 to reject a bid by the United Food and Commercial Workers to organize the plant. The vote occurred in late July.

The union has been trying to organize the company since late 1978. Chicken processing—a booming business employing thousands—is only 20 percent organized, and most of the plants are located in southern right-to-work-for-less states.

It's assembly-line work. At Accomac, chickens fly by at more than 70 per minute.

Earlier this year, a boycott of Perdue products was endorsed by the AFL-CIO after the company bought up three organized plants and reopened them non-union.

Perdue used a little carrot and a big stick to keep out the UFCW.

Once the organizing drive began, the chicken king coughed up a few wage increases. The almost all-Black workforce at Accomac now averages \$4.54 an hour—that's 25 cents an hour above the industry average.

Perdue organized meetings during work hours where management harangued against the union.

And he fired anyone who stepped out of line: 400 workers were fired during 1979 and 1980—out of a workforce of just over 1,000.

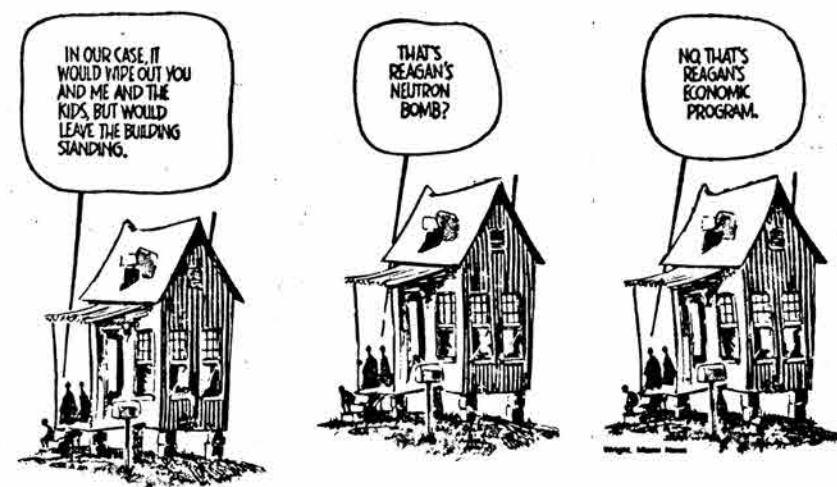
"I'm confident that in the long run Perdue will be organized—I'm talking about eight to ten years from now," UFCW official Mark Koerner told *In These Times*. "But in the short run these workers are going to suffer."

### Don't blow it all in one place

The Internal Revenue Service just released some figures on Reagan's "tax cuts." A typical family of four who makes \$300 a week will bring home a whopping \$3.10 more in each paycheck.

And that's the good news. Increases in Social Security taxes and in tax rates due to inflation mean that those of us earning less than \$20,000 actually end up paying more taxes next April, not less.

Those earning \$200,000, on the other hand, will get a 17.5 percent tax cut. That's about \$35,000 extra to stuff in their bank accounts.



### Second Safe Energy and Full Employment Conference announced

On November 20-22, the Second National Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment will be held at the Civic Auditorium in Gary, Indiana.

The conference is being sponsored by the United Food and Commercial Workers, the United Mine Workers, the International Association of Machinists, the Graphic Arts International Union, The Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the Molders and Allied Workers, the Woodworkers, and the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment.

Conference organizers encourage all interested trade unionists and safe energy activists to attend. For more information, contact the Labor Committee, 1536 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036; or phone (202) 265-7190.

—Vivian Sahner



## Illinois miners fight union-busting

# 'Coal comes up union, or it stays in the ground'

[This article was written based on reports from UMW miners in Illinois.]

"Illinois coal is union coal." This is the motto of District 12 of the United Mine Workers of America. Both Mother Jones, the heroic UMW organizer of the early twentieth century, and longtime UMW President John L. Lewis are buried in southern Illinois. The area is a UMW stronghold.

On Tuesday, August 18, Illinois miners acted to uphold their tradition.

All 14,500 UMW miners stayed off work in a protest to build nonunion coal mines. More than 2,000 miners went to Galatia in southern Illinois to protest a nonunion mine construction project there by the Kerr-McGee Coal Corporation.

Kerr-McGee is the Oklahoma nuclear company that was involved in the death of union-activist Karen Silkwood. The company was described in the *Wall Street Journal* as having a reputation in the industry for "virulent anti-unionism." It operates two nonunion coal mines in Wyoming and intends to keep the UMW out of its mine in Illinois. A Kerr-McGee spokesman said they intended to "stand by our right to hire nonunion workers."

They have been served notice that UMW miners in Illinois intend to stand by their right to keep Illinois coal, UMW coal.

All the coal mines in Illinois are organized by the UMW except one company with about 500 miners who are in the Progressive Mine Workers.

At least four large companies are moving into Illinois intending to build nonunion mines. In addition to Kerr-McGee, they are Shell Oil's Turrill Coal Company; MAPCO; and ARCO Coal, owned by Atlantic-Richfield Oil Company.

These companies are out to get higher profits from the blood of miners than they can get out of UMW mines. After ninety years, the UMW has established a measure of control over safety and working conditions that are the strongest of any union in the United States. To break the union, Kerr-McGee and the others are willing to pay higher wages and put in production bonuses. This means trading safety for speed-up.

### Like Vietnam

The scene in Galatia August 18 was festive but serious. A week earlier four UMW construction workers were arrested for picketing the nonunion crews building the Kerr-McGee mine.

After parking in and around town, the miners marched a mile east to the mine site around 10 am. More than 100 state troopers were already on the mine property. Two National Guard helicopters buzzed the crowd. In a militant and disciplined way the miners moved to shut down this construction project. The cops responded with an aerial attack. Dozens of tear gas bombs were dropped on the crowd. It reminded many veterans of Vietnam. Fires burned all over. The miners ripped down two and a half miles of chain link fence surrounding the site.

Waves of miners entered the property and a number of construction vehicles were attacked. Under gas attacks from grenade launchers and the hovering choppers, the miners retreated.

Cops and company officials shot pictures, threatening to arrest miners later. One miner was badly beaten and one was arrested.

At noon, the miners withdrew.

In Galatia, a nonunion construction company office was burned down. It was located next door to the volunteer fire department. Firefighters only hosed down adjacent buildings to keep the fire from spreading. The mayor of Galatia, a small mining town of 800 people, is himself a UMW miner. People from the town had lined the highway and cheered the miners when they marched to the mine site.

The news media has responded as if they owned the mines. They are demanding that "law and order" be enforced against the "uncontrolled mob violence" by the miners. But there are no calls in the news media to stop multi-billion dollar oil companies from building mines that will trade off lives for extra profits. The 100,000 miners killed in accidents since 1900 is not mentioned.

### Profits or public service?

Unemployment in southern Illinois is among the highest in the country. Thousands of miners are idle. Kerr-McGee is trying to play on the high unemployment to win sympathy for its antiunion drive. They denounced the August 18 action as an "irresponsible and illegal

action hindering constructive efforts to improve employment opportunities in southern Illinois."

They made no comment on the unemployment of 90 percent of Illinois UMW construction workers.

They are opening these mines for profit. Period. Everyone who lives in a coal mining area knows only too well that mines open when coal is selling, and close when the price goes down or the market contracts. The operators think nothing of signing death warrants for entire counties if they're not happy with the profits. That is why there is so much unemployment in southern Illinois in the first place.

Miners leaving the Galatia demonstration were elated. They had shut down Illinois mining for the day. Kerr-McGee was put temporarily out of commission. The tremendous power of the UMW through united action was demonstrated. Every miner felt it deeply.

"See you next time," was the parting cry.

It is clear that miners are ready to fight this battle and win it.

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* quoted an unnamed District 12 official: "We have to take a stand. This will be a major labor battleground."

Illinois miners will have to return to Galatia. And they'll have to go to Carmi and Elkhart, where the other nonunion mines are being built.

Illinois coal miners are living by their tradition: coal comes up union, or it stays in the ground.

## British help Senegal crush Gambia rebellion

By Nelson Blackstock

The Western African nation of Gambia is apparently being swallowed up by surrounding Senegal.

The move comes in the wake of a July 30 coup in Gambia that was crushed by the Senegalese army with backing from an "anti-terrorist" unit of the British army.

The rebels had announced they were establishing a "dictatorship of the proletariat." They labeled the old government "bourgeois and oligarchic," charging it with "nepotism, injustice, tribalism, and corruption."

At an August 19 news conference, President Abdou Diouf of Senegal and Gambian President Dawda Jawara announced plans to set up "Senegambia." They did not spell out details of the new arrangement, but Jawara said the coup attempt "opened our eyes to the need to go further in joining Senegal."

Jawara had earlier called for "integrated security services" after the coup was put down.

Many of Gambia's 900 member police force had joined the rebels. Gambia does not have an army. Senegalese troops continue to occupy Gambia after brutally suppressing the rebellion, leaving more than 800 dead.

Gambia, with a population of 600,000, is 200 miles long and 18 miles wide. Surrounded on three sides by Senegal, it borders the Atlantic on Africa's westernmost coast.

Gambia drew wide attention in the United States when *Roots* author Alex Haley said he had traced his ancestors to the country.

A former British colony, Gambia gained independence in 1965. Jawara had been the prime minister during the last three years of British rule.

Senegal won its independence from France in 1960. The two had been touted as examples of Western-style democracy.

In the week before the coup, demonstrators had protested food shortages in Banjul, Gambia's capital.

For two years, the country has suffered poor harvests of peanuts, its major cash crop. A drought has cut food production.

The coup was carried out by armed civilians combined with members of the field force, a group of about 300 policemen who serve a paramilitary function. It was reportedly greeted with cheers.

The rebels announced they were setting up a National Revolutionary Council, made up of eight civilians and three Field Force members.

Kukli Samba Sanyang, a 26-year-old member of the Gambian Socialist Revolutionary Party, led the coup. According to Obi Bini, writing from Ghana in the U.S. weekly *Guardian*, the group is "based on the ideas of the late Kwame Nkrumah, of Ghana."

The party was banned last fall, when Jawara previously called in Senegalese army troops. He claimed Libya was trying to destabilize his government. Jawara has alleged outside forces were behind the coup, but he has not produced any evidence.

Rumors were circulated of Soviet involvement when some rebels were seen driving Russian-made Lada cars imported by the local automobile dealer.

When Jawara learned of the coup while in London, he met with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. She quickly dispatched Special Air Service "anti-terrorist experts," the London *Economist* reported. They helped coordinate the Senegalese intervention from the beginning.

Sanyang and many field force members have so far managed to elude the Senegalese troops. They released unharmed several hostages, including one of Jawara's wives.

Jawara returned to Gambia by way of Senegal. Senegalese troops were mounting their invasion even before Jawara's formal request. The pretext was a 1965 "mutual defense" agreement. Many Gambians were surprised to find it being used to defend their ruler against his own population.

## ... new step on freedom road

Continued from back page

whether or not they wish to terminate a pregnancy) upon demand."

### Atlanta and September 19

Two special activities were discussed at the congress. A report was given by D.C. party leader Hulbert James on the tentative conclusions of a fact-finding task force sent by the party to Atlanta in July. The report called on party chapters to carry out educational activities on the child murders. This includes exposing the role of the media, FBI, and Maynard Jackson administration, in the racist cover-up of the killings.

The party's workers commission outlined a series of proposals for NBIPP to participate in and build the AFL-CIO September 19 Washington, D.C., Solidarity Day demonstration against

Reagan's budget cuts.

The ideas discussed for NBIPP's participation in the rally include distributing an educational leaflet at the march; holding a news conference beforehand; organizing a forum on the weekend of the action to attract Black workers to the party; and organizing a contingent to march behind a banner reading: "Break with Democrats and Republicans, for union democracy, build NBIPP."

### Leadership structure

The leadership structure adopted by the delegates is inclusive of the various political currents in the Black community that support independent Black politics. This includes former Democrats and Republicans, ministers, socialists and communists, and nationalists and pan-Africanists.

This policy of non-exclusion was a topic of lengthy debate at the congress. The delegates consciously decided to appeal to all Blacks who agree with the party's goals to join and help lead the party.

Seven national officers were elected. Two representatives from each of six regions, and two convenors for each special commission on women, the elderly, workers, students/youth, and prisoners were also elected. These brothers and sisters and two representatives from each local chapter will compose the party's central committee.

The new officers include the Rev. Ben Chavis, Elsa Brown (from Richmond, Virginia, a former coconvenor of NPOC), Ron Daniels (former chairperson of the National Black Political Assembly), and Barbara Arnwine (state coconvenor from North Carol-

ina).

This new leadership team includes old experienced hands from the Black struggles of the 1960s and early 1970s and activists from the new generation arising in the post-1974-75 depression era.

### Next challenge

The prospects to build a "mass-based party from the bottom up" are good, and the need is ever more urgent. With the adoption of the radical program embodied in the new charter, the NBIPP has met the challenge it faced coming out of the Philadelphia convention.

The next challenge is to take this historic program adopted in Chicago to the masses of Black people, and to use the NBIPP charter as a guide to action.



# Libya fight: why Washington went looking for it

By Suzanne Haig

On August 20, Ronald Reagan admitted that U.S. naval maneuvers in the Gulf of Sidra—where F-14 fighters shot down two Libyan planes—were more than a routine military exercise in the Mediterranean.

They were planned, Reagan stated, to show that Washington would not honor Libya's claim that the gulf is part of its internal waters.

"We decided it was time to recognize what are the international waters and behave accordingly," he said.

The U.S. maintains that by law Libya can only claim as its territorial waters an area three miles from its coastline. In a 1973 declaration before the United Nations, Libya announced that its territorial waters extended twelve miles north of a line drawn at the mouth of the Gulf of Sidra.

But is a dispute over sea boundaries the real reason for Washington's decision to openly engage in combat for the first time since 1975?

If it were, similar clashes would be occurring constantly around the world. For there are no hard-and-fast interna-

tional laws regarding sea boundaries. Most nations have done exactly what Libya did in 1973: announce what they consider to be their territorial waters, and expect that others will respect them.

The United Nations Conference on the Laws of the Sea (UNCLOS) has drafted international boundary laws that have not yet been completed.

Currently, the U.S. maintains a three-mile limit for its territorial waters, into which no foreign ship or plane can enter without permission. It also has declared a 200-mile sea boundary, which denies entry to any foreign fishing or mining vessel without permission.

But many nations have a twelve-mile boundary, a UNCLOS representative told the *Militant*; and a spokesperson from the Navy's Public Affairs Office admitted, "We have a three-mile limit, but recognize a twelve-mile limit" for other countries who make this claim.

Ecuador claims a 200-mile territorial limit, into which no vessel of any kind can enter without permission. This, an Ecuadorian embassy representative told the *Militant*, applies particularly to military vessels of any foreign country.

So why hasn't the U.S. rushed the Sixth Fleet over to Ecuador to hold exercises there and challenge its boundaries?

Disagreements over boundaries occur frequently and should be resolved by negotiations between the countries involved, not by gunboat diplomacy.

But Washington's concern about Libya's sea borders was a pretext. At issue is the attempt by the Reagan administration to reassert American military power around the world; to send a warning to nations like Libya who adopt a foreign policy independent of—and

often in direct opposition to—the wishes of the U.S. government.

Washington was also issuing a warning to all the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America who are fighting against oppressive dictatorships and foreign domination—and even to U.S. allies who might act too independently.

"Let friend and foe alike," Reagan announced aboard the U.S.S. Constitution on August 20, "know America has the muscle to back up its words, and ships like this and men like you are the muscle."

The Reagan administration chose to challenge the government of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi because of the latter's support to liberation movements, such as the Palestine Liberation Organization; and its intervention in neighboring Chad, which prevented French-dominated forces from toppling the present government.

Qaddafi has also helped block efforts by the U.S. government to strangle the Nicaraguan revolution, by loaning the Sandinista government \$100 million.

The shooting down of Libyan planes is one of a series of attacks against Libya by the Reagan administration.

The week before the downing of the planes, *Newsweek* reported, "After months of debating how to neutralize Muammar Kaddafi, the Reagan Administration this week will offer its first direct challenge to the Libyan strongman." *Newsweek* was referring to the scheduled naval maneuvers.

Earlier, in its August 3 issue, *Newsweek* revealed that a CIA operation for Qaddafi's "ultimate" removal from power, approved by CIA Director William Casey and the White House "crisis management team," had been presented to

the House Select Committee on Intelligence.

Details of the operation included a "disinformation" program to embarrass Qaddafi, creation of a "counter government" to challenge his government, and "an escalating paramilitary campaign."

The Reagan administration has asked Congress for major increases in military assistance to governments that border Libya, including Egypt, Tunisia, and the Sudan. And the Egyptian regime has massed troops on its border with Libya.

Justifying the presence of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, a Navy spokesperson explained that the fleet might be needed to "go in there to quiet down a hot spot, such as in Libya. Sadat, after all, is out to get Qaddafi."

Washington justified these actions against the Libyan government by labeling it the "center of world terrorism." All kinds of accusations and assertions about Qaddafi fill the media, with little or no hard evidence to support them.

Contrary to reports in the U.S. media, the overwhelming majority of Arab countries have denounced the U.S. attack; as have Iran, Ethiopia, the Soviet Union, and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Six of the most conservative Persian Gulf governments—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Oman, and Bahrain—called the U.S. action "a provocative trap and medieval piracy on the high seas."

The U.S. action, described by a Pentagon official as "a skeet shoot," came only days after Washington's decision to go ahead with the neutron bomb.

The Libyan government had a point when it stated that Washington's latest attack showed who the real international terrorist is.



# Pol Pot spokesman says they ran torture house

By Steve Bride

A top official in the deposed Kampuchean government of Pol Pot now admits that regime ran a torture center that slaughtered upwards of 16,000 people.

Ieng Sary, former deputy premier and now chief spokesman for the exiled Khmer Rouge forces, told the *Far Eastern Economic Review* that documents recording the horrors of the Tuol Sleng interrogation center are indeed authentic.

At the same time, Ieng Sary claimed he had no idea such things went on under the regime of Pol Pot, who is his brother-in-law.

The documents were first made public by the London *New Statesman*, which broke the Tuol Sleng story more than a year ago. Since then Khmer Rouge officials have maintained the center was set up by the Vietnamese.

The Khmer Rouge were overthrown in 1979 by Vietnamese troops and Kampuchean insurgents after four years of rule. During this time, the regime is believed to have been responsible for as many as 3 million deaths.

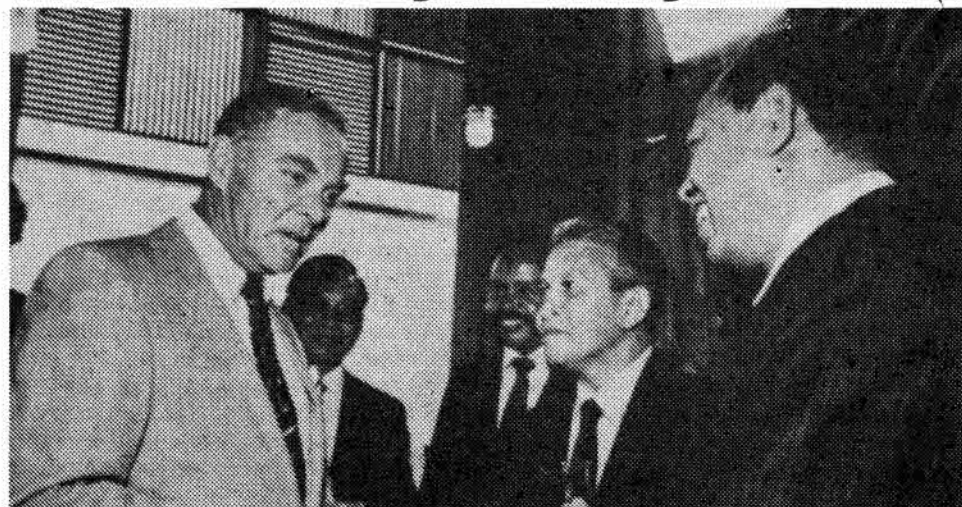
In their subsequent efforts to reclaim power in Kampuchea, the Khmer Rouge have been supported diplomatically and militarily by the U.S. and Chinese governments.

Formerly a high school in Phnompenh, Tuol Sleng under Pol Pot became a prison, torture house, and place of execution for suspected opponents of the government.

In his interview with the *Review*, Ieng Sary verified a written account by a prison official of one such extermination.

The prisoner, it read, admitted to "violating the party's secrecy policy" and "the Organization's instructions which forbid people to contact one another." He then confessed to plotting to "rule Kampuchea as a revisionist country like Vietnam."

"I have tortured him to write it [the confession] again," the document continues; then ends, "prisoner crushed to



Above: Secretary of State Alexander Haig relaxes with Khmer Rouge spokesman Ieng Sary (far right), who confirmed documents from Tuol Sleng torture center were authentic. Below: 1973 photo of, from left, Kieu Samphan, still a top leader of Khmer Rouge exiles; Koy Thoun, vice minister of economy under Pol Pot, executed in 1976; former Cambodia ruler Prince Norodom Sihanouk; and Hu Nim, Khmer Rouge information minister, executed in 1977 at Tuol Sleng.

bits: 6 July 1977."

"Yes, that is true," said Ieng Sary after reading the account. "And that is Deuch [a pseudonym for the director of Tuol Sleng], head of security."

The prisoner in question was Hu Nim, ex-minister of information in the Pol Pot government and a close friend of Ieng Sary's. As late as December 1978, said the *New Statesman* in its May 2, 1980,

story, journalists were told by the Khmer Rouge that Hu Nim was "still active in government."

The document on Hu Nim is among almost 15,000 discovered at Tuol Sleng. These routinely describe prisoners being "whipped four or five times" and taken away "to be stuffed with water."

They are accompanied by photos that, according to a report in the May 19,

1980, *Washington Post*, "show corpses with their throats slit, laid out on the checkerboard tile floors found throughout the school, identification numbers on their chests."

These, along with piles of battered corpses and parts of corpses, were found by Vietnamese upon their arrival at Tuol Sleng in January 1979.

Ieng Sary's wife, Ieng Thirith, suggested to the *Review* one reason why so much documentation had been left behind: "We left Phnom Penh on January 6. We left all our records there. As I told you, nobody thought we would leave Phnom Penh for good."

While in power, Ieng Sary denied a 1978 request by *Review* correspondent Elizabeth Becker to visit prisons in Kampuchea. "We have no prisons, no courts," he told her then. "It is people's justice."

Ieng Sary later acknowledged that some 30,000 Kampuchians may have starved or been executed, but said this was the work of provincial officials who were agents of the Vietnamese.

Now, said the *Review*, Ieng Sary probably "feels free to admit to what went on in Tuol Sleng and to other activities under the regime, because it is safe and the evidence is overwhelming."

It is also a means of distancing himself somewhat from the atrocities of the Pol Pot regime.

"They told me only that the agents [anyone suspected of opposing the Khmer Rouge] were sent out to cooperatives for re-education," Ieng Sary told the *Review*. "Personally, I wasn't aware of the deaths."

"Pol Pot . . . knew the accused were killed but not their families."

All this, by way of proving the Khmer Rouge's good intentions to a world who, in its large majority, would sooner have them put away than back in power.

"We made mistakes. We want to inform the people of these mistakes so they know we can't have the same policies as we had from 1975 through 1978."



# Irish nat'lists answer charges on hunger strike

By Will Reissner

Since 1976, nationalist prisoners in the British jails of Northern Ireland have been protesting the removal of the political prisoner status they had been accorded up to that time. They have steadfastly refused to wear prison uniforms, remaining naked and wrapping themselves in their blankets.

Because of their refusal to don uniforms, the prisoners have not been allowed any visits and they have been denied the usual time off of their sentences.

The British government has adamantly refused to consider any "special status" for the Irish prisoners, despite the fact that they have all been tried in special juryless courts, the infamous Diplock Courts, in which an accused has no right to confront the accuser and in which special rules of evidence are in effect.

After five years of blanket protests in the H-Blocks of the Maze Prison near Belfast, the prisoners—members of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA)—escalated their protests with the initiation of a hunger strike on March 1, 1981, by IRA member Bobby Sands.

The hunger strike was in support of five simple demands: that the prisoners be allowed to wear civilian clothes, that they not be required to do prison work, that they be allowed to associate with other republican prisoners in jail, that they have increased mail and visitation rights, and that they get the same time off their sentences as other prisoners.

The government of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher replied that the prisoners were common criminals.

While on his hunger strike, Bobby Sands was elected to the British Parliament by the nationalist voters of Fermanagh/South Tyrone on April 10.

The support for the hunger strikers in the formally independent southern twenty-six counties of Ireland was shown by the results of the June 11 general election there as two H-Block prisoners were elected to the Irish Dail (parliament). One of them, Kieran Doherty, was on a hunger strike at the time of his election. Doherty died on August 2.

Since the death of Bobby Sands on May 5, nine more hunger strikers have

died in the Maze Prison. The latest were Kevin Lynch, who died on August 1; Kieran Doherty, who died the following day; Tom McElwee, who died August 8; and Michael Devine, who died on August 20. Doherty and McElwee were members of the IRA, while Lynch and Devine belonged to the INLA.

Following Sands's death, the British Parliament passed a law preventing other prisoners from running in British elections.

On August 20 a special election was held in Fermanagh/South Tyrone to fill the seat left vacant by Sands's death. Because of the new law, the republican movement was represented in the race by Owen Carron, a twenty-eight year old teacher who was Bobby Sands's campaign manager in April.

Running as "the prisoners' candidate," Carron won. "I accept this victory on behalf of the prisoners of war," he said. "I consider that I was elected to put pressure on the British Government to end this strike by granting the prisoners' just demands."

The death of Dail member Kieran Doherty could lead to the fall of the coalition government of Irish Prime Minister Garret Fitzgerald, which holds power by the slimmest of margins. By-elections to replace Doherty and Paddy Agnew (the other prisoner elected, who may resign his seat) could erase that majority.

While Fitzgerald verbally attacks the British position, he has also been exerting pressure on the families of the prisoners to influence them to end their fasts.

The Irish prime minister has cynically charged that the Provisional IRA ordered the prisoners to stop eating and could order the prisoners to end their fasts, but does not do so because the deaths further its own political ends.

Fitzgerald and Thatcher both hope to break the unity of the families of the prisoners. Both politicians were clearly encouraged by the fact that on July 31 the mother and sister of hunger striker Patrick Quinn authorized British prison authorities to take steps to save Quinn's life when he fell into a coma on the forty-seventh day of his fast.

Fitzgerald's charge that the leadership of the Irish Republican Army had ordered the prisoners to fast was answered in a lengthy IRA statement.

The IRA response, signed by P. O'Neill, pointed out that "when our

comrades in the H-Blocks first decided to go on hunger-strike, three years ago, we appealed to them not to, that the street protest movement would break the intransigence of the British.

"They listened to that appeal for eighteen months, but were once again threatening to go on hunger-strike in February 1980. We again appealed to them, and shortly afterwards pointed out that the Cardinal O'Fiaich-Bishop Daly-[British Secretary for Northern Ireland Humphrey] Atkins talks might offer a solution. . . .

"When the hunger-strike announcement was made in February it was a joint statement from [the women prisoners in] Armagh and the [men prisoners in the] H-Blocks, announcing that women too would be on hunger-strike. Without a blaze of publicity we urged all the prisoners not to go on hunger-strike, that Britain would allow them to die.

"We were able to influence the women (not 'order' them off something they were not ordered onto in the first place), but the blanket men, whilst fraternally listening to our advice and respecting our opposition, flatly refused to abandon the hunger-strike."

O'Neill added that "when they undertook the hunger-strike we then supported them, and without apology to anyone, we continue to support them."

A delegation of leading republicans, including Gerry Adams, who is known to express the views of the outlawed IRA, and Seamus Ruddy of the Irish Republican Socialist Party, which shares the outlook of the outlawed INLA, visited the hunger strikers in the H-Block prison hospital on July 29. The delegation met with all the hunger strikers with the exception of Kevin Lynch.

The purpose of the visit was to insure that the fasters knew that the movement outside the prison would support them wholeheartedly if they decided, either individually or as a body, to end their fasts.

Adams and Ruddy also appealed to the hunger strikers not to feel that they must continue out of loyalty to their comrades who had already died.

In order to drive home the point, Adams wrote in the August 8 issue of the republican newspaper *An Phoblacht*, "I painted the darkest and blackest picture possible: between ten and twenty prisoners dead, nationalist Ireland demoralised, and no advance from the British government."

Adams explains that "I persisted in probing them harshly, questioning them all, outlining the Republican attitude to the hunger-strike. . . . The lads, individually and collectively, remained unmoved."

When the delegation met alone with Kieran "Doc" Doherty, who was close to death, Adams again raised the possibility of ending the fast. Pointing out that Doherty and Kevin Lynch could not last much longer, Adams said "you'll both be dead. I can go out now, Doc, and announce that it's over."

Doherty, who spent seven of the last ten years in British prisons, responded: "We haven't got our five demands and that's the only way I'm coming off. Too much suffered for too long, too many good men dead. Thatcher can't break us."

Thatcher's intransigence on the five demands has had a contradictory effect on the three major forces within the Catholic population of Ireland that help prop up British rule: the government of the South, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, and the Social Democratic and Labour Party.

On the one hand, these three forces have called on the British government to make concessions to end the protest.

But all of them fear a real break with the British government. Faced with the British inflexibility, they turn around and pressure the prisoners and their families to give in.

*An Phoblacht* soberly noted in an August 1 editorial that "the middle ground is in danger of further slipping away if those who control it have their way." Given the British hard line, "mounting pressures on the prisoners' relatives and the prisoners themselves from these three sources can therefore be expected as the hunger-strike continues. Capitulation to Britain is a hard habit to lose.

"But all three of these power points will also capitulate to the strong will of the Irish people if the supporters of the prisoners continue to be aware of the problems and face them in a sensitive, disciplined and intelligent way.

"That vital middle ground can be won over to the prisoners' side by pressure from the bottom upwards to forge a unity of Irish support for the prisoners which will finally break the arrogant stone wall of Thatcher's intransigence."

From Intercontinental Press

## Green Berets vs. Salvador refugees

By Fred Murphy

Members of the U.S. Special Forces ("Green Berets") are now in Honduras, which is ruled by a military dictatorship and borders on El Salvador.

The Green Berets are stationed in at least one of the camps along the Honduras-El Salvador border where Salvadoran refugees have been gathered.

Most of the more than 40,000 Salvadoran refugees in Honduras fled the Salvadoran junta's terror campaign, which has taken more than 20,000 lives. Many were among the victims of search-and-destroy operations carried out by the junta against villages that sympathize with the revolutionary forces in El Salvador.

In early August it became known that Washington had sent twenty-one "military instructors" to Honduras.

Raymond Bonner of the *New York Times* spoke with one of these "instructors"—U.S. Special Forces Captain Michael Sheehan—at the La Virtud, Honduras, refugee camp near the Salvadoran border:

Captain Sheehan was accompanied by two senior enlisted men with extensive experience in Vietnam. All three wore camouflage jungle uniforms and carried M-16 automatic rifles.

They said they were from a Special Forces battalion based in Panama and that they and

five other American soldiers from the same unit had been assigned to help the Honduran Army patrol the border. Their primary objective, they said, was to control the Salvadoran refugees streaming in to escape the upheaval in their country. . . .

Captain Sheehan said that the [U.S.] National Security Council had approved the use of Special Forces units in Honduras in support of the military effort against Salvadoran guerrillas. A Special Forces unit would soon be based in La Virtud, he said. [*New York Times*, August 9.]

Captain Sheehan also spoke with a reporter from the Pacifica radio network of the United States. "This border is like a sieve," Sheehan told Pacifica. "The goddamn guerrillas go in and out as they please. This has got to stop." Concerning the refugees, Sheehan declared that "the majority of them are helping the guerrillas. They should all be cordoned off."

Sheehan's ominous statements served to corroborate earlier warnings by Charles-Henry Bazoche, Honduras director of the United Nations High Commission on Refugees. In a July 21 letter to the Honduran government, Bazoche complained that Salvadoran refugees were being kept "under constant vigilance and military control. It gives the impression that they are prisoners."

From Intercontinental Press

## Polish workers strike to end censorship

Some 40,000 Polish printing workers in cities around the country went out on strike August 18, shutting down a majority of the official daily newspapers for two days.

The strike, called by the ten-million-member independent union, Solidarity, was held to protest stepped-up slanders of Solidarity in the government-controlled press and the failure of the authorities to honor earlier agreements to give Solidarity radio and television time.

In Warsaw, printing workers occupied the building of Dom Slowa Polskiego, the plant that publishes the main party daily, *Trybuna Ludu*. In Krakow, printers occupied a number of plants when members of the party-dominated, "branch" union attempted to put out a paper in defiance of the strike. Occupations also took place in Gdansk, Lodz, Bialystok, Olsztyn, and Wroclaw.

According to Solidarity, a big majority of all printing workers in the country supported the strike.

In some cases, the authorities tried to break the effectiveness of the strike by printing limited editions of newspapers on other presses.

In response, Solidarity called on train, truck, and bus operators not to deliver them and vendors not to sell them. As a

result, even copies of the scab newspapers were almost impossible to find in cities like Warsaw.

At a news conference at Solidarity's regional headquarters in Warsaw, union leader Seweryn Jaworski reiterated Solidarity's demands for a half hour of national television time each week, one hour of radio time a week, limited space in regional newspapers, and the right to publish a national daily newspaper (Solidarity already has a weekly paper).

"We will have more protests like this one if they do not guarantee us access to the mass media and do not stop the propaganda campaign against us," Jaworski declared.

Although the authorities continued to attack Solidarity during the strike, one television commentary calling it "an irresponsible act of political adventurism," the press was subsequently more restrained.

*Zycie Warszawy*, the main Warsaw daily, ran an editorial questioning the "appropriateness" of strikes as a means to pressure the government, but also criticized the authorities for not granting Solidarity leader Lech Walesa the twenty minutes of television time he had demanded before the strike was called.

From Intercontinental Press



# Air controllers leader explains: Why we had to strike

First off, I am currently served with an injunction prohibiting me from supporting illegal strikes.

I'm here representing PATCO Local 238 and the PATCO north Jersey cluster. It encompasses PATCO controllers from Newark airport, Teterboro airport, Morristown and Caldwell-Essex County airports. We call ourselves forty-three brothers hanging tough.

We're engaged here in what we feel is the greatest heavyweight fight ever staged. We've taken a tremendous beating and we're still standing and holding tough.

The first thing I'd like to cover is to explode some myths. Hopefully, you can take back some ammunition when people you encounter say, "Yeah, they should put 'em all in jail, throw away the key; they had no right to do any of the things they're doing."

Myth number one: "We are 12,000 greedy sons of whatever that struck for \$10,000 across the board. The economy being what it is, what could they possibly be thinking?" Have you heard that?

It's not true.

## Earlier retirement

There were ninety-nine items in the contract PATCO submitted to the FAA. The three that we considered most prominent, in order of importance, were: 1) a reduced number of years to retirement, 2) a shorter work week, and 3) a pay raise.

Why would we ask for reduced retirement?

Well, according to the FAA's own figures, 89 percent of the controllers that have left air traffic in the last three years have done so under medical disability. The concept of the controller going twenty-five years in a high-density vicinity is ludicrous.

The FAA has a practice of blanket-bid openings for the highest-density facilities.

I'm talking about the New York TRACON, New York approach control, the single busiest air traffic facility in the world. They handle the approaches for Newark, Kennedy, La Guardia, and other airports within a sixty-mile radius.

I'm talking about Chicago O'Hare, which is the largest city in this country in terms of the passenger load that passes through it in a given day.

I'm talking about Los Angeles TRACON, which is called the pressure cooker. The visibility never gets much better than a mile, and aircraft are landing and departing twenty-four hours a day at the rate of sixty an hour.

The FAA puts out blanket bids for these facilities. If you can survive five years at Chicago, they say, we'll give you any other job we have.

There are statistics that the average controller is good for a maximum of seven years at a high-density facility. After that, burnout—peptic ulcers, heart failure, to say nothing of wear and tear on a family structure from working a rotating shift.

Towers and centers are manned twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, 365 days a year. For some controllers, that means working three different shifts in the same week. Two nights, two days, a midnight shift, two days off.

## Shorter work week

That's another point, the second thing we ask for in our contract—a shorter work week.

Controllers in other countries seem to have recognized the stress of working a controller forty hours a week. They recognized it in France, in Canada, in Germany, in England. They work less than forty hours. Let me remind you that the controllers in the U.S. work five times

Seventy-five people packed the Newark, New Jersey, Militant Labor Forum hall Saturday evening, August 22, to hear the air controllers' side of the story.

Gregory Pardlo, president of Local 238 of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization at Newark International Airport, brought the word on behalf of the "forty-three brothers hanging tough," as he put it, at the Newark and smaller New Jersey airports; and on behalf of the 12,000 members of his embattled union.

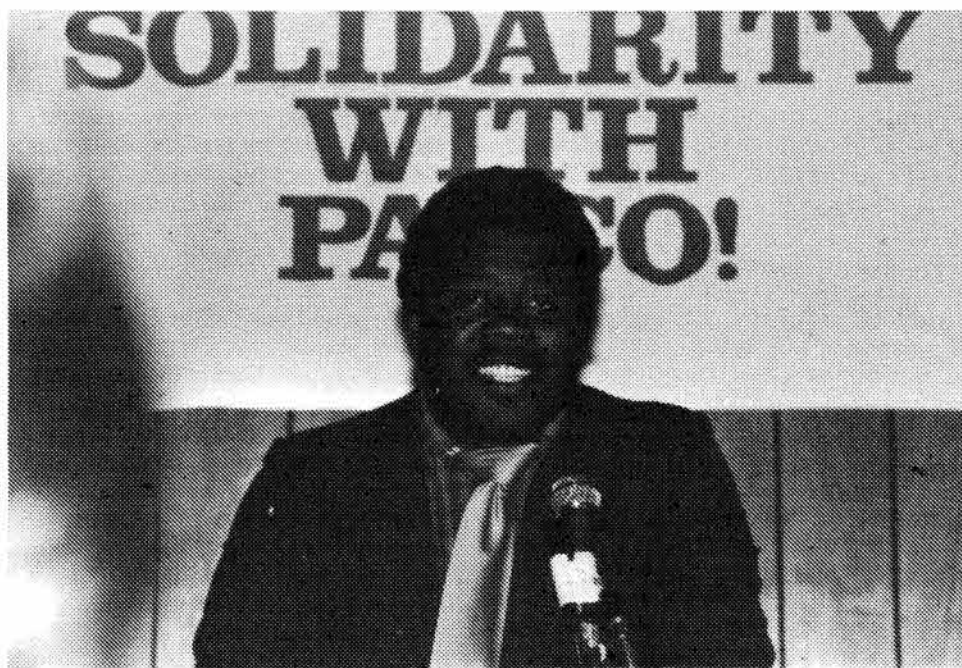
To almost all those present, Pardlo gave the clearest explanation they'd heard of the issues involved in the strike. He inspired the crowd to return to their own unions and workplaces and convince others with the message: "If the controllers lose, everyone loses."

The following pages of the 'Militant' contain extensive excerpts of Pardlo's talk.

People at the forum contributed over \$200 to the strikers, in addition to buying T-shirts and taking PATCO leaflets explaining the issues.

When the forum ended, Pardlo was surrounded for over an hour by workers from the Ford Metuchen plant, the Exxon refinery in Linden, rail workers, garment workers and others. Some began making arrangements for PATCO speakers to come to their union meetings, or just come to the parking lot where they work to talk to people about the strike. There were volunteers to help out on the picket lines and at the strike headquarters.

After Pardlo's talk, 'Militant' staff writer Stu Singer spoke. He linked the controllers' strike to the September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington against Reagan's policies.



Gregory Pardlo at New Jersey forum: 'Collective bargaining must contain the ability of workers to withhold their services. Without that, it is simply collective begging.'

the traffic of any other country. Five times.

Do you remember when the space shuttle landed and America collectively held its breath? Everyone said, well, this is the leading edge of American technology. The slightest miscalculation could result in disaster. Well, the leading edge of American technology on a day-to-day basis is air traffic control.

We struck for reduced retirement, a reduced work week, and a raise. This is called collective bargaining. I grew up in Philadelphia. At some of the open-air markets it was called haggling. The old collective bargaining. "How much is that melon? It's \$20. That's ridiculous, I'll give you \$1.50. What do you mean \$1.50? No, it's \$5 at least." You found the boundaries within which you were working and somewhere between there you struck a happy medium. That's collective bargaining.

## Working without contract

I think that you should review the facts of what has happened. Our contract expired on March 15. We worked without a contract until we went out.

In February, we presented our contract proposal to the FAA. They said we can do nothing for you. We cannot negotiate any point. Any changes in the air traffic system will have to come through Congress.

On June 22, we threatened to strike. Suddenly, \$40 million appeared from nowhere. Drew Lewis presented a pack-

age allegedly offering every controller a \$4,000 raise.

If you multiply 15,000 controllers times the \$4,000, and include in it the \$14,000 severance pay they offered in addition, it's a lot more than \$40 million.

I believe the overwhelming majority of American controllers would have accepted a \$4,000 across-the-board raise gladly, willingly, happily, and not considered striking, had they addressed the primary issues.

We asked for a reduced retirement. What they gave us was \$14,000 severance pay the day you can't make it up the steps.

We asked for a reduced work week, from forty to thirty-two hours, and what they gave us was four hours overtime pay.

We do not want overtime, we want more time off. We want time away from the facility. We want a chance to see our children grow. We want to not go two weeks without seeing our working wife or working husband.

Well myth number one, I hope, is exploded. I hope you can leave here realizing that we entered the collective bargaining arena asking for what we feel we justly deserve. The monetary portion of the contract was indeed negotiable. This was our asking price. We knew we would get less.

The problem was they did not address our two main issues or the other ninety-nine issues that I spoke of. They pertain

to safety and equipment maintenance, and job proficiency, and on-the-job training of controllers. All the other issues were tabled, never to be addressed.

The government asked for a forty-two-month contract. That would mean we would not be able to ask again during the administration that's currently in office.

## Danger in the air

Myth number two: "The skies are safe."

I don't know what each of you do. But what if 75 percent of the workforce was pulled out and everyone else was required to double, triple, and quadruple on the excess work? Would the efficiency be the same? Would the proficiency be the same?

More than that, they have put together a hodgepodge of retired, medically disqualified, military personnel and supervisors. I have no grudge against the supervisors. They have done a tremendous job—in good weather.

To become an air traffic controller, the government says you must not have reached your thirty-first birthday. To be an air traffic controller, you must qualify with a second-class airman's physical each year. To be an air traffic controller, as the government puts out on its flier, you must be able to hold a three-dimensional picture in your mind and make changes on objects moving in excess of 250 miles an hour.

Generally speaking, a supervisor is one who, after putting in years of service, realizes he can no longer perform with the same proficiency he did when he was in his prime. He then moves into management. It's a little like being a superstar football player and realizing your knees are gone. The time has come for you to become an assistant coach.

I remember when everyone thought it was so sad when Mohammed Ali decided to come out of retirement and fight again. This had been the greatest fighter that ever lived. But that was then. This is now.

We have controllers working at Newark air tower who last worked when the 727 was a brand-new aircraft.

Perhaps some of you remember about six or seven months ago, a controller had a nervous breakdown. He went home to Long Island, barricaded himself in his house, and began shooting at his neighbors. *He is working at Kennedy tower now.* His wife, by the way, is on the picket line. She recognizes what he does not.

## Cutting back safety

The skies are safe? They told the American public they would cut traffic by 50 percent. And that would insure safety because the reduced staffing could handle 50 percent of the volume. That is a lie. Those who own airplanes are still flying them. *What they have done is stop talking to 50 percent of the traffic.* Fifty percent of the traffic in American air space is now uncontrolled.

The last major air disaster in America involved a light single-engine aircraft and an air carrier over San Diego a few years ago. The air carrier was receiving radar service. The light single-engine aircraft was receiving no radar service.

After that crash, they changed procedures all over the country. They put in what is called a TCA, a terminal control area, by which every aircraft moving in an area would be controlled, would have some knowledge of what the traffic flow was around him. They would have someone there to alert him to oncoming traffic in his area. *All of the TCA procedures that went into effect after San Diego have been dropped.*

What's happened now is your joy-rid-

*Continued on next page*



Continued from preceding page

er, your private airplane owner, your corporate jet, is forced to take off from an uncontrolled airport and fly low and fast to his destination. Near misses have been reported over north Jersey and throughout the country over the last three weeks. It is always a source of amusement to me to hear Drew Lewis say, "This had no bearing whatsoever on the fact that there is an air controllers' strike."

There was a quote from a passenger on the People's Express airplane that almost had a near miss over Bergen county [New Jersey]. The passenger said, "I thought I was going to die. Seeing that airplane converging on the window and knowing what his trajectory was, I knew there was no way we could avoid an impact." The pilot said, "I saw the aircraft approaching rapidly. I took evasive action." That to me indicates that he was not warned that there was an approaching aircraft. Four weeks ago, heads would have rolled if an inbound air carrier were not alerted to oncoming traffic. Someone would be sitting out a suspension now. It is the job of an air traffic controller to point out traffic.

There is a controller, who I might add is on strike, who worked at the New York TRACON and saved the World Trade Center towers some months back. He pointed out the low altitude and the direction of flight to an aircraft heading toward those buildings and avoided a disaster. That is the job.

To say that we'll not talk to 50 percent and whatever happens to them, God help them, is to really play Russian roulette with American air space.

The skies above America are a shooting gallery. Tell your friends and your loved ones, DO NOT FLY.

### 'Who needs controllers?'

Myth number three: "We can rebuild this system in twenty-one months. We didn't need those controllers to begin with. We're four or five thousand overstaffed. We'll gear up our system and retrain."

Since 1978, the Federal Aviation Academy in Oklahoma City has trained 5,000 controllers. What they're saying is that in the next twenty-one months they'll train twice that many.

The FAA Academy in Oklahoma City trains controllers throughout the free world. They traditionally run a washout rate in excess of fifty percent. Unless suddenly everyone who shows up is passed, it will take just as much time to train the next 5,000 as it took to train the last.

The assumption is that the system can be rebuilt with supervisors, military controllers, trainees, and scabs working

ten hours a day, six days a week, sometimes seven, for the next twenty-one months. The controllers who have been working at Newark tower now have been working ten-hour shifts for the last three weeks. It amazes me that people smile when they drop their loved ones off at the terminal.

The air traffic control system could be rebuilt in forty-eight hours. All it would take would be for Drew Lewis to offer Robert Poli a fair and equitable contract.

### The real oath

Fourth myth—this is the touchy one: "But they all signed an oath. They knew what they were getting into. They swore that they would never strike against the government. They should all be locked up because they broke an oath."

Anybody that's ever had contact with the government or gone into the service or applied for a government job knows that, when hired for a government job, they stick in front of you a fat stack of papers about six inches thick. "Sign here, sign here, initial here, initial here." You sign everything because your job depends on it.

But I'm not backing off of my commitment because of that. What I'm saying to you is, on the forms I signed I find that oath was number two. The number 1 oath was, "I will faithfully support the Constitution of the United States."

I'd like to recite a little something. It's contained in the First Amendment: "Congress shall make no laws abridging the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances."

I feel it is a constitutional point. If pressed, we will hold out until the Constitution of the United States is upheld in the Supreme Court.

Up until the 1930s, it was not legal for private sector employees to strike. It took an interpretation by the Supreme Court of the First Amendment—you know, those first ten are called the Bill of Rights—to make it legal for private sector employees to strike.

But can you tell me that, in a free country, a free man does not have the right to withhold his services for what he feels is just remuneration? If that is the case, then 12,000 of us are better off now than we were three weeks ago.

### Reagan's broken oath

That oath rankles a lot of us, partly because of what you see on the podium in front of you. [A copy of the full page *New York Times* ad of August 16 bought by the Flight Attendants, with the letter from Reagan to PATCO President Robert Poli.] It is a pledge given to our president by then-candidate Ronald Reagan to look into what he character-

# 'If we lose, ev



'We're telling our side of the story—that one of our brothers was carried off in chains and leg irons; that you spent your tax dollars for federal marshals and FBI agents to watch my house. . . . If my union is busted, how strong can yours be?'

ized at that time as the deplorable state of the American air traffic control system. The fact that too few employees were forced to work too many hours, thereby jeopardizing aviation safety. The fact is, that pledge was reneged upon.

But even on a more personal note, one must realize that situations change. There comes a time in the process of the development of a labor union, or even just a human being, when one must stand up for what one believes in. One must take a stand.

I am not new to this. Seems to me that a little less than twenty years ago I attacked what I considered to be some unjust laws. And I marched as I march now. And I petitioned the government as I am petitioning the government now. And I feel just as strongly now as I felt then.

On a lighter note, you might mention to some of your friends that Ronald Reagan also once swore to love, honor and cherish someone until death do them part. That was his first wife. He divorced her and married Nancy. That was an oath to a much higher authority.

I'd like to apprise you of some of the problems as I see them. The first and most important is that without the right to strike any labor union is relegated to a position of collective begging. We have been collectively begging the United States government for eleven years. The overwhelming majority of American air traffic controllers were against the contract that was agreed upon in 1978, that we worked under until we went out on strike. We ratified that contract because we realized that if we were indeed going to challenge a law, we had best be organized to do it.

The next time you see a newspaper photograph of Drew Lewis, imagine yourself locked in a room with this man for twenty-four hours poised on the edge of eternity with 12,000 lives hanging in the balance. On the night of June 22 Bob Poli was apprised, twenty minutes after Drew Lewis was, that we had 75 percent of the workforce ready to walk. The actions he took were the only actions he could have taken, given the circumstances.



'The solution, as I see it, is unionism. . . . union people will do . . . whether or not knuckle under and accept it quietly. If that

Why did he say it [the agreement reached with Lewis at that time] was a good package? His exact quote was, "Given the circumstances we were confronted with this morning, this was the best package we could hope to get." The message that I and 11,999 of my brothers and sisters took from that is, this is the best you can expect to get if you're not willing to stand and be counted.

On August 3, when the vote was taken, 81 percent of the American air traffic controllers walked.

Anyone ever approaching a strike realizes that unless you have the numbers you are committing suicide. We knew this and we knew that without 80 percent we would have to accept whatever the government offered. When 81 percent of us showed up ready to walk, the time had come.

More than half of the air traffic controllers now working, that we call scabs, voted no to the contract that was offered by the FAA. That contract could only be accepted and ratified by the membership. It was rejected by over 95 percent of the membership. [PATCO had decided to get a vote of at least 80 percent of the total number of air controllers, including those not in the union, before striking. When the vote was taken, 95 percent of the PATCO members rejected the contract. This equalled 81 percent of all the controllers.] Less than 700 controllers voted to ratify that contract.

The controllers working now are working with no contract. They may not even mention the term union, or bargaining, or contract in their place of employment—they're not allowed to speak of it. Even they know that what they were offered was garbage.

### Power of government

The biggest problem I guess we all faced was the strength of the government. The strength of the government is insidious when you realize television and radio stations have to apply to the Federal Communications Commission for renewal of their licenses. When you realize the Justice Department, the FBI,

## News of controllers' strike

Since Reagan's firing of the air controllers, picket lines, rallies, and demonstrations in their defense have been taking place in almost every city and town in the country.

- **New York City**—The Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO has called a demonstration to support the controllers for Tuesday, September 1. A noon rally will be held near the Federal Building in lower Manhattan. An all-day picket line there is also planned.

- **Houston**—On August 22, 1,000 people turned out from more than twenty unions for a solidarity picket line at International Airport called by the Harris County AFL-CIO.

- **Minneapolis/St. Paul**—More than 500 unionists rallied at the FAA Center in Farmington, Minnesota, on August 26.

- **\$100,000** was donated to PATCO by the Communications Workers of America on August 24. The CWA Executive Board also authorized \$1 million for a special fund to be used "in defense of unionism and the process of collective bargaining."

- **St. Louis**—Two hundred people packed Kiener Plaza in downtown St. Louis on August 22 to show their support for the air controllers.

- **Boston**—On August 23, a rally of 1,000 was held at City Hall Plaza. Representatives from fourteen unions, the Boston Labor Council, and the New Hampshire AFL-CIO attended the event.

- **San Francisco Bay Area**—Members of dozens of unions walked on solidarity picket lines held at three airports here on August 21. Morning and evening picket lines at the San Jose airport drew 300 each. 250 picketed in both San Francisco and Oakland.

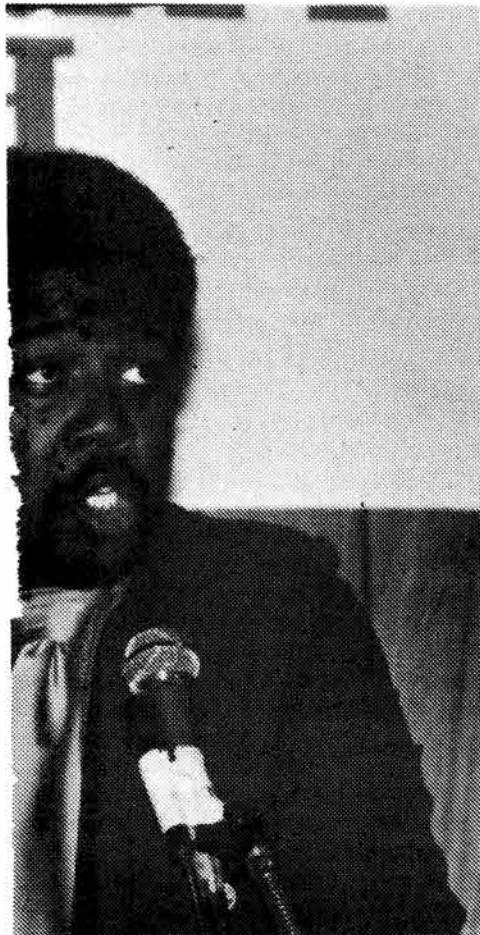
- **Denver**—200 people rallied at the Federal Center in downtown Denver on August 20.

- **Lincoln, Nebraska**—At the Federal Building here, 150 people picketed on August 22. Many rail workers were involved in addition to other unionists.



'CO leader:

# 'everyone loses'



believe they're waiting to see what other the American union movement will just the case, then their mandate is clear.'

the federal marshals, even the postal service, can be rallied and mustered behind this government. If 12,000 skilled workers, with nothing else in common but their employment, collectively decide to challenge a law, does that not prove that something is drastically wrong?

Controllers from Anchorage to Jacksonville, from Maine to Honolulu, walked off their job. We've been in contact with places I didn't even know existed.

I guess the biggest tool the government has is the press. And the press has been used to no small length against us. We've begun asking ourselves, whatever happened to investigative reporting? Where are Woodward and Bernstein when you need them? The challenge is that there are only 12,000 of us and over 200 million of you.

## Getting out the truth

So mostly what we're doing now is meeting in groups like this wherever possible. Making ourselves available to tell our side of the story, in the hope that somewhere, some time, the part of humanity in you deplores the fact that one of our brothers was carried off in chains and leg irons; that you spent your tax dollars to have two federal marshals watch my house for twenty-four hours; that you spent your tax dollars to have FBI agents come to my house every six hours for the first forty-eight hours; that you spent your tax dollars for anonymous phone calls received in the middle of the night, harassing my wife and children.

To touch you in some way, to let you know that this is indeed your fight too.

If my union is busted, how strong can yours be? If you allow them to do this to me, what will they eventually do to you?

## Danger to all labor

The precedents that are being established in the conflict that we're engaged in now will be used as labor-management principle for a very long time.

What does this say to private indus-



'The man elected president of the United States—when confronted with militancy in any form—will drop the big bomb. Think about that. Crushing a labor union, shooting down two jets over Libya. What this means for you is you must take a stand. Time for silence is ended.'

try? What does this say to local municipalities? What does this say to school boards? What does this say to town councils that are dealing with policemen and firemen who feel that they should have better-negotiated contracts?

It means a death knell for organized labor. If we lose, everyone loses. Organized labor as a whole will have suffered a crushing blow. The ripple effect from what's being done to us is starting to be felt throughout aviation.

It's very easy to say, "Well, Eastern is laying off 3,000 employees." But these are people. These are people with families. These are people who are gainfully employed. And the airlines who have been saying for years that they would like to cut off some of what they consider to be excess employees, seize the opportunity now to cut down. Small rumblings have come out in the media that perhaps the major air carriers will profit from what's being done now.

## Reaganism

What's happened is that Ronald Reagan came into office and sweepingly deregulated everything, eliminated whole departments based on what he said was a mandate from the people. He was elected by less than 35 percent of the electorate. He forced his proposals on the American public.

The government is coming down on us. When we applied for our unemployment and food stamps, we were denied. They knew our names before we arrived. They won't extend our federal mortgages.

If there is a spark of belief in human rights in you, you must support PATCO. If there is the slightest bit of unionism in you, you must support PATCO. If you believe that an injustice this large should not be allowed to take place in this time and in this country, you must support PATCO.

The solution, as I see it, is unionism. Every union member, everyone who believes in unionism, must come to the

forefront now; must begin to show themselves and be counted; must begin to say to the powers that be, "We are not going to let you do this. This can't happen. If you break their union I know mine has been weakened."

Pressure must be brought to bear through the political arena on all of those who have some stake in what we're doing.

I believe they're waiting to see what other union people will do. They're waiting to see just how this blow will be taken, whether or not the American union movement will just knuckle under and accept it quietly. If that is the case, then their mandate is clear. Whenever a confrontation arises, fire all the workers and hire new ones.

## Bargaining vs. begging

Collective bargaining, to have any meaning, must contain the ability of the workers to withhold their services. Without that, it is simply collective begging.

The contract we've asked for would cost about ten times less than the expense the government is willing to bear to replace us. So far, the estimates are that the airlines are losing \$30 million a day. It will cost \$12 billion in lost jobs, lost revenues, in layoffs, in furloughs, in retraining, in retooling, in overtime. That is, assuming that none of the supervisors working now plans to retire for at least twenty-one months. Or plans to be sick. And, of course, hoping that at no time during the next twenty-one months we have rain.

What does this all mean to you? Well, I like to call it your chance to quietly put a bet on the side of David in this David and Goliath story. To bet on a long shot because you love a long shot. To support forty-three brothers hanging tough, 12,000 people who put it all on the line for a principle. To put a few pennies into your own future. Our success will be a sweeping success for labor. And we still wholeheartedly believe that we will be successful.

We have endured a lot, with the jailings, and the ridiculous fines and the restraining orders. About a week into this, I had received a telegram that every air controller in the country received. The telegram had listed on it authorization for up to \$20 delivery charge. If you multiply 15,000 times \$20 that's another \$300,000 they had to offer us. If they

would just pay me what they're spending to make me go back to work, I'd go back to work.

But you see, cost is no object to the government. Once the point is made, then it becomes law, then it is etched in stone.

There is possibly a more dangerous side note to this: that being what we now know about the man elected as president of the United States.

When confronted with militancy in any form, he will drop the big bomb. Think about that. Crushing a labor union, shooting down two jets over Libya—maybe these are just separate acts, unrelated. Maybe they don't point to a psychological meaning, maybe they don't point to a proclivity toward violence. But then again, maybe they do.

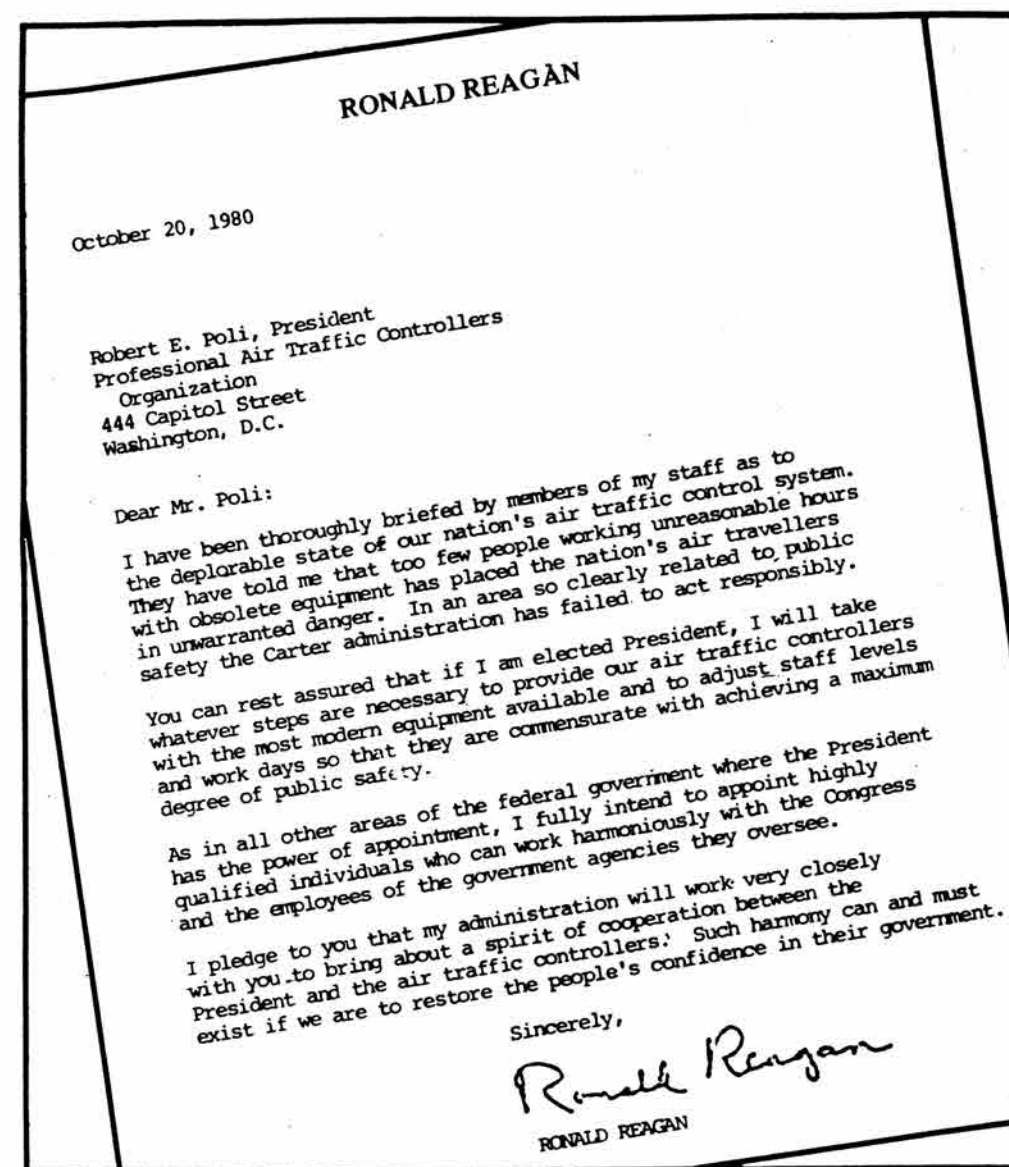
What this means to you is you must take a stand. Time for silence is ended. You must stand up as Americans. I stand before you an accused felon. This country was founded by accused felons.

## Franklin's warning

One of those, a man quite wise, Benjamin Franklin, said something that I think is especially applicable now. "We must all hang together or, most assuredly we will all hang separately." I am here embodying the hopes, the dreams, the aspirations of forty-three of my brothers locally and over 12,000 of my brothers nationally.

In our cluster, we have controllers with as little as three years on the job, and one who has twenty-nine years on the job. We like to call him Lou Gehrig; he's the iron man of air traffic control. It's unheard of—twenty-nine years. Twenty-nine years of working the high, hard ones; twenty-nine years of playing three-dimensional chess at 250 miles per hour. Twenty-nine years and, just for the record, last year before taxes—that is federal, state and local—before FICA, before retirement, before health insurance, before life insurance, before anything was deducted, he made \$35,000 and worked part time to put his two kids through college.

No, we are not all rich. No, we are not all simply greedy money-grubbers who seize the opportunity to hold a country hostage. We are people who are being held hostage by our government. Who are told take what we are offered or get out. I believe that the American people cannot stand silently by while this happens. And I hope you believe that too.



October 20, 1980 letter from candidate Ronald Reagan to PATCO President Robert Poli:



# 'A political statement of the true majority'

The following is a slightly abridged version of the talk given by Tom Pontolillo to the August 7 rally for political rights held in Cleveland, Ohio.

Pontolillo is the chairman of Local 501 of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in New York.

The rally, attended by more than 1,000 people, was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund to mobilize support for the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party against the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Central Intelligence Agency, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other government police agencies.

Recently completed trial testimony in the suit has demonstrated that for decades the government has followed a consistent policy of illegal spying and disruption against the Socialist Workers Party and others.

Starting off tonight, I too would like to salute the striking air traffic controllers. The many rail workers in New York to whom I have spoken unanimously support your action and hope that PATCO comes out of this strike victorious and stronger than ever. I think all of you have a great deal to be proud of. And although Ronald Reagan would like the American people to believe that this strike is an aberration, I think it is clear that this is just another demonstration that the American working class will do whatever is necessary to secure what is rightfully theirs.

This determination has been a feature of our society all the way back to the 1780s, when revolutionary war heroes like Daniel Shays and other small farmers rebelled against the replacement of British governmental autocracy with American governmental autocracy. Shays rebellion directly resulted in the passage of the Bill of Rights along with the Constitution in the State of Massachusetts. It is the same Bill of Rights which is the focus here tonight.

And recent events indicate that no group has a bigger stake in the outcome of this trial than labor. It is indisputable that the progress of the American labor movement in the last 6 months has been greater than at any time since the 1930s rise of industrial unionism. Mine workers have fought successfully to beat back attempts to break their union. Rail unions broke with their staid traditions when they called the April 29th demonstrations and their response was bigger than anyone would have dared to imagine. And the most significant outgrowth of April 29th continues to be the establishment of local coalitions to educate the workers and coordinate and focus the desires of the overwhelming majority to fight the cutbacks.

But the two block-buster developments are Solidarity Day and the PATCO strike. And here's where our support for the SWP suit is vitally important. But first I'd like to highlight some key aspects of the trial.

I have followed the trial closely and have attended a number of sessions. And what an eye opener it has been. We all know that the exposés of infiltration, misinformation and outright disruption of all political movements considered to be from the left were claimed by the government to be actions of overzealous bureaucrats. But the trial forced out the truth and it is astounding.

Herbert Brownell, attorney general under Eisenhower, smugly admitted what the SWP had charged all along: That these police state tactics are part of an organized plan approved and instituted by every president since Franklin Roosevelt. The government also took the position that the president holds the power to keep tabs on just about anyone he damn well pleases and seemingly can harass them at will. This should sound familiar to the PATCO strikers, especially the Virginia local president who was taken from a courtroom in handcuffs and leg irons.

Which leads us to the question, just who does this government represent? In theory, the U.S. government is supposed to represent the majority of Americans. But our present so-called representa-

endangered species. Which brings us to Solidarity Day.

When Solidarity Day was first announced, I felt that the demonstration would end up being just a larger version of April 29th. But it is now clear that this event could very well parallel the founding of the CIO in its impact on American workers. The up front, active support of the NAACP, CLUW [Coalition of Labor Union Women], Operation PUSH, and literally scores of other activist groups, will make September 19 a political statement of the true majority in America. But there are two crucial challenges that labor must face on Solidarity Day, if the demonstration is to be more than just an empty angry gesture.

Number one, all groups sponsoring and supporting Solidarity Day must

Translate that solidarity into raw political power because these new alliances can be molded into the one thing which can sweep away the tide of reaction: A labor party with the unions as its base.

Without a vigorous determined response from us, Reagan will prove that the suffering of our brother and sister air traffic controllers is just a tip of the iceberg. These are realistic goals, but without a firm commitment by labor to the SWP lawsuit, irreparable and perhaps fatal damage will result to the labor movement and the progress it continues to make.

Remember what I said before about gaining new rights and building them on top of the present structure. Because the government is constantly trying to



Lou Howort/Militant

**'I challenge the AFL-CIO to take our common demands and forge them into a platform of action. Translate that solidarity into raw political power: a labor party, with the unions as its base.'**

tives, led by the jellybean king himself, represent only a small group of manipulators and financial Houdinis who rival the robber barons themselves.

"Getting the government off our backs," their slogan, means letting Timothy Mellon play Monopoly with northeast railroads while stealing the jobs of a group of whom only 10% make it to full pension. "Getting the government off our backs" means sending more kids to bed hungry while building up a so-called defense system which is deemed inadequate because it can only wipe out every living creature on earth 14 times over. Old Dan Shays must be turning in his grave.

But a fightback movement is building. One cornerstone of a progressive society is the discovery of new rights for the people. Upon the successful base of the Bill of Rights has been built further rights, such as the abolition of slavery, direct election of Senators, voting rights for women and minorities, and hopefully in the near future, the equal rights amendment.

But none of these steps have been easy, as all have required deep commitment on the part of an active citizenry, and many lives have been given for these causes. Along with expansion of rights has come legislation which has been played up to be the savior of the poor and the elderly. While social programs have not been what they could and should be, they have been somewhat beneficial.

And now Ronald Reagan has made each and every one of these programs an

adopt as their response to Reaganomics, the position that the rights of Americans from this day forward, cannot and will not be bastardized no matter how hard Reagan tries.

We must state that all Americans must be able to exercise their rights. Rights to a safe, well-paying job; decent and reasonably priced food, clothing, housing, education, and transportation; and full equality including the right to strike for all. And the necessity for the second step should become painfully clear to all watching the PATCO strike. After having the government fire 12,000 dedicated workers and jail their leaders and after listening to elected representatives threaten those who elected them, it is clear that we can do only one thing to change this.

All Solidarity Day participants must work as hard as they can to firmly cement the bonds which are developing. Our common goals must be brought together and we must fight fire with fire.

And I challenge the AFL-CIO to take the one step which would assure us of this fire power. Take our common demands and forge them into a platform of action.

chip away at the foundation of that structure, and the SWP suit intends to stop them.

We must show that the same government who parades around an elected union official, who fulfilled his responsibility, in chains as if he was a dangerous criminal, in an attempt to intimidate each and every union official in this country, is the same government which has for nearly fifty years, had a presidential policy subverting the very constitution it is charged to uphold by denying any or possibly all of its citizens their rights without one shred of evidence of illegal conduct. United resistance is the finest display of solidarity.

As long as one is chained, none are free. And if we actively defend the rights of all, when we've progressed as a society and expand our rights, we need never fear looking down the base and finding our fundamental rights eroded. Reagan wants to turn the clock back 75 years. I say, let's dig in for the battle together and keep pushing forward.

Supporting the suit is a giant step in that direction. Thank you.

## Political Rights Defense Fund



The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance have sued the government for an end to spying and disruption. This lawsuit has exposed FBI and CIA attacks against democratic rights.

More than 400 notable supporters of civil liberties are sponsoring the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the lawsuit.

If you would like to be a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund, return this coupon to PRDF, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

☐ Please add my name as a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund.  
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**'Reagan wants to turn the clock back seventy-five years. I say, let's dig in for the battle together and keep pushing forward. Supporting this suit is a giant step in that direction.'**



# How can labor answer the Reagan offensive?

Socialist Workers meet, discuss challenges for American workers and revolutionary party



SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes presents report to convention on world situation.

Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

## By Cindy Jaquith

Where is the Socialist Workers Party at today in its goal of building a mass revolutionary working-class party?

This was the debate at the Thirty-first National Convention of the SWP, held in Ohio in early August. More than 1,300 SWP members, Young Socialist Alliance members, supporters, and international guests attended.

The week-long debate and discussion centered on three questions:

1) What is the character of the offensive by the Reagan administration against working people here and abroad? Does it represent a fundamental rightward shift by the ruling class, in response to economic and political realities? Or only a temporary attack that will be followed relatively soon by concessions and expansions of rights?

Are the U.S. imperialists compelled to prepare for new wars, to reinstitute the draft, and to use military power abroad? Will they continue to push in this direction despite the mass sentiment against war among American workers?

### Crisis of leadership

2) What is the nature of the leadership crisis in the labor, Black, and women's movements? Is there any motion toward a class-struggle orientation among the traditional leaders of these movements? Can the crisis be resolved solely through more audacious use of demonstrations and strikes?

3) Who will resolve the crisis of leadership, and what does that mean for socialist workers? Is the SWP's decision to place the majority of its members in industry correct?

What orientation should the SWP have toward the YSA and young workers?

What stance should the party take toward revolutionary leaderships in other countries, especially in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada?

These questions were debated for more than three months prior to the convention in branches of the SWP and through a written discussion bulletin open to all members.

The preconvention discussion was opened with the submission of a Draft Political Resolution approved by majority vote of the party's National Committee. For the first time, the resolution was printed in Spanish as well as English.

At the close of the preconvention discussion, delegates were elected by the branches for the convention. Of these, 67 percent were currently working in industry and another 24 percent had previously held industrial jobs.

### World political situation

At the convention, the framework for the discussion was laid out in a report on the world political situation, presented by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes.

"There is a sharp, sustained, relentless shift to the right in bourgeois politics in this country," said Barnes. The capitalist rulers are determined to *take back* what American workers conquered in the 1930s, to take back what Blacks, women, and others among the oppressed and exploited conquered in the 1960s. The plans the ruling class has set in motion are devastating."

He explained the sweeping scope of the attacks:

- On the economic plane, the cutting of unemployment benefits for strikers, food stamps, education, and health care, while taxes on workers will rise;

- A challenge to Social Security for the first time in its nearly fifty-year history, beginning with new restrictions on who receives benefits and delays on when payments begin;

- The stripping away of protection against black and brown lung, hazards on the job, toxic chemicals, and environmental dangers;

- On the social plane, a war against busing for desegregation, undocumented workers, affirmative action, voting rights, bilingual education, abortion rights, and the Equal Rights Amendment;

- The restructuring of government agencies to appoint avowed opponents of human rights in charge of all social programs;

- A foreign policy where "authoritarian" regimes are praised, where food is used as a weapon against oppressed peoples;

- An open attack on all aspects of democratic rights and civil liberties;

- An ideological offensive against Blacks, women and Jews; a media campaign about "rising crime" and the need for "law and order"; attacks on scientific thought, through the promotion of creationism; the spread of censorship and book banning.

This drive did not start with Reagan's election, Barnes explained. The groundwork began being laid a decade ago when the decline of the world capitalist economy set in. With the 1974-75 recession, the offensive exploded with real force.

Most of the current cutbacks were begun piecemeal under the Carter administration, but with Reagan's election, the ruling class decided to drive them through.

"The goal," said Barnes, "is to trans-

form the relations between capital and labor in this country. To transform the relations on the job. To drive down both workers' direct wages and the socialized wages workers have won for the American people—like social programs, schools, welfare benefits, and so on.

"To drive up the rate of exploitation. To drive down the conditions of the working class. To divide that class. And to weaken, and eventually break, the potentially powerful trade unions that stand in the way of the rulers accomplishing these reactionary goals."

A graphic example of this—the government union-busting assault on air controllers—unfolded as the convention was going on.

The rulers can no longer take the piecemeal approach, Barnes explained. The factors that led to massive economic expansion in the twenty-five years after World War II have now run out.

"The capitalists must now radically transform the relationship with the working class that grew up on the basis of that prolonged expansion, on the basis of a certain type of accumulation of capital.

"This is what is involved—not only chipping away at the New Deal. Not only being stingy to 5 or 10 percent of the most oppressed."

### Raise level of misery

"Instead, the rulers are driven to raise the general level of human misery, to traumatize the working class, to divide and atomize it, to demoralize it and crush its confidence and fighting capacities.

"This is what the capitalists must achieve in order to restructure and reorganize industry to compete profitably on

*Continued on next page*



# Socialist Workers Party convention

Continued from preceding page  
a world scale.

"There is nothing that can change, stop, or reverse this antilabor drive—whatever the conjunctural ups and downs—short of a showdown with the U.S. working class."

There's another important aspect of the offensive, Barnes emphasized—its bipartisan character. "The Democrats control the House of Representatives," he said. The massive majorities in the House for the cutbacks and tax frauds are *Democratic* majorities."

As this bipartisan onslaught against the working class proceeds, he explained, the Democrats are being "stripped naked" in the eyes of the American public, and the "two-party system" exposed as really one party, a party for the rich.

## Foreign policy

"The relations between classes here at home are an integral part of class relations on a world scale," Barnes said, "just as foreign policy fundamentally reflects ruling-class domestic policy."

"What the rulers do abroad is an extension of what they're trying to do at home."

The U.S. imperialists "need to be able to use *their own military power*—first and foremost in Central America, but also in the Middle East, and throughout the semicolonial world.

"But their problem is *how* to accomplish this.

"The question of war is fundamentally a political question, a class question," Barnes explained. It's inextricably tied up with all other political questions, with the class struggle—domestically as well as internationally.

The U.S. rulers' offensive abroad is waged from weakness, not strength, he explained. Their biggest problem is capitalism's lack of economic flexibility today—the inability to make much in the way of concessions to American workers, and the need to impose austerity around the world. This, combined with the deep antiwar sentiment in the United States and the rise of revolutionary struggles around the world, poses big obstacles to the war drive.

## Must press toward war

Nevertheless, the imperialists must press toward war to protect the private profit system. Their decision to go ahead with the neutron bomb and to begin prosecution of nonregistrants for the draft shows the direction they are moving in.

The calculated U.S. move on August 18 to down two Libyan jets—a clear warning to Libya and other OPEC countries not to back anti-imperialist struggles—confirmed the danger of the war drive. This was the first aerial combat by the U.S. since the Vietnam war.

As the imperialists drive toward war and against the living standards of the American people, their effort to divide working people by nation, race, sex, and age begins to turn into its opposite, Barnes explained. They begin driving sectors of the exploited back together again. Solidarity deepens within the class as the real enemy becomes clearer and clearer. New allies and new political answers are sought in an effort to fight back.

This political process escalated throughout the spring of 1981, with Blacks, miners, textile workers, rail workers, and others demonstrating in Washington against the new administration and its policies.

## September 19

As those policies more and more brazenly attacked working people, pressure built up to the point that the AFL-CIO decided to call its Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington for September 19. This is a political demonstration against the government, uniting unions, civil rights and women's groups, antiwar organizations, and all other victims of the Reagan administration's policies.

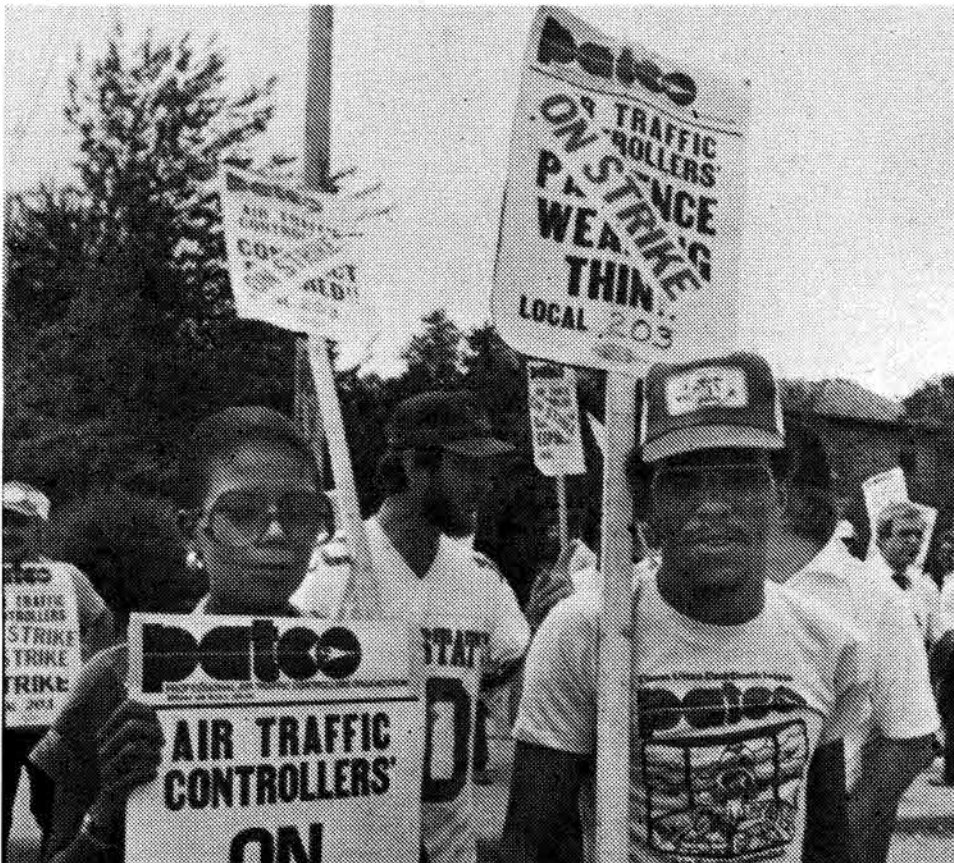
September 19, Barnes explained, points in the direction of the next, obvious step for labor—breaking from its subordination to the Democrats and Republicans, forming its own party, and running independent candidates.

While no section of the labor movement has yet moved to do this, an important example of independent political action is developing in the Black movement. The convention devoted a session to a report and discussion on the National Black Independent Political Party, which held its founding convention a week later.

Reporter Mac Warren, a member of the SWP Political Committee and Black work director for the SWP, outlined the evolution, of this vanguard formation and why socialist workers are loyal builders of it.

## Black party's example

Activists in the Black party start from the premise, outlined in the preamble to the party's draft charter, that: "Both major parties (the Democratic and Republican parties) have betrayed us because their interests essentially conflict with ours. They have consistently used power and government to create policies for Black economic underdevelopment, political exploitation and cultural destruction. Their policies reveal contempt for the interests of Black people, and have existed solely for the maintenance of the existing political and social-economic system."



Striking air controllers have been hit with firings, jailings, and FBI attacks—a taste of tactics employers plan to use against whole union movement.

nance of the existing political and social-economic system."

On the goals of the Black party, the preamble states: "The National Black Independent Political Party aims to obtain power to radically transform the present social-economic order, that is, to achieve self-determination and social and political freedom for the masses of Black people. Therefore, our party will actively oppose racism, imperialism, sexual oppression and capitalist exploitation."

This program points the way forward not only for Blacks, but for all working people.

The Black party, Warren explained, also sets an example for labor in its internationalist support to revolutionary struggle abroad, its support to women's liberation (50 percent of elected leadership positions in the party must go to women), and its stand in support of the September 19 AFL-CIO march on Washington.

Independent working-class political action was also the theme of a report on "American Labor and the Party's Trade Union Policy," presented by National Committee member Ken Shilman.

Shilman explained that the September 19 action "confirms one of the

central points of the Political Resolution—that the massive opposition of American workers to the attack on them is forcing the unions to center stage and forcing them in the direction of fighting back politically.

"September 19 represents the broadest forces ever called together for a march on Washington. What a picture for American workers! The labor movement, Black and women's organizations, youth, all with their demands, demonstrating against the government in a day of solidarity in the face of a common enemy."

"We will throw all our forces into building this demonstration. In the process we will meet, work with, and talk politics with a big layer of activists who come forward to build it."

"What an opportunity to educate fellow workers on the need for independent labor political action! We need a political party representing all the forces that are coming to Washington September 19, to take on the Democratic and Republican parties."

## What kind of labor party

"That is the kind of labor party we are talking about—one that begins by reaching out to Blacks and women, that unites in struggle all those who are targets of the capitalists' attack."

Where does the labor bureaucracy stand in the face of this attack? Shilman

towns and trailers dominate.

"And just this one task will run up against the power of the administration, Congress, and the Supreme Court. For miners to take on the bipartisan attack of the Democrats and Republicans, to defend themselves against black lung and food stamp cuts, and to move forward to organize the West, independent political action is absolutely necessary."

## Railworkers & profit system

The same problem confronts those fighting the cutbacks in Conrail, Shilman explained. "The rail workers are trapped in the framework of the private-profit system."

"This Chrysler-type attack has only one answer: put human needs before profit. The railroad has to be nationalized, run publicly with its operations in the open, and with workers' control on the job and over the general operations of the nationalized system."

"That's the only option rail workers have, to demand that Conrail be nationalized and run in the interest of society. Millions of Americans, from commuters who need decent transportation to farmers who need to move their produce, are the natural allies in the fight to nationalize the railroads."

Only political solutions that point in this direction make sense today, and these are the kinds of ideas American workers and the oppressed are seeking.

As Jack Barnes explained, "All questions are becoming *political* questions." The role of socialist workers is to help explain these questions of the class struggle week after week—on the job, through the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, in socialist election campaigns, and public forums.

## 'Tribune of people'

Barnes quoted from Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*, where the Russian revolutionary leader contrasted what socialists tell the population to what a "trade union secretary" does:

"... the ideal should not be the trade union secretary but *the tribune of the people*," said Lenin, "who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; who is able to generalize all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth *before all* his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat."

The idea is to advance the working class toward thinking socially and acting politically—toward workers taking the lead in defending Blacks, Latinos, women, the unemployed, and other victims of the capitalist offensive; toward a working-class foreign policy that solidarizes with workers from Japan to Poland to the semicolonial world against U.S. imperialism.

Only by raising this solidarity to the political plane, by challenging the monopoly of the Democrats and Republicans through the formation of a labor party—a party whose goal is a government of the working masses—can labor achieve its goals.

In floor discussion and at meetings of socialists from various industries, the impact of the rulers' offensive on the thinking of workers was reported.

## Discussion among miners

Mary Zins, a Pennsylvania miner in UNWA Local 2874, described the shift in miners' thinking since the 1978 coal strike. After that strike, discussion in the mines focused on then-UMW President Arnold Miller and his misleadership of the strike. "Many miners saw him as our main enemy," she said.

Out of the experience of the strike this spring, however, "Miners saw the U.S. government and the employers as a far more direct threat," she reported. "They



are talking about black lung, the danger of nuclear power, the youth rebellion in Britain, and the election of Mitterrand in France.

"And they are beginning to discuss out what kind of leadership is necessary to stop the attacks on us."

A steelworker who was a delegate from Baltimore described discussions over how to stop job elimination in the industry there. "So far, the union officials have proposed no steps except filing grievances, appealing to OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Agency), and conducting modest slowdowns on the job. This approach is not sufficient.

"The union has to start discussing the fight for a shorter workweek, nationalization, and the labor party."

## Internationalism

Many delegates spoke of co-workers' concern with international events and especially their identification with the victories won by Polish workers. Several delegates commented on the heightened interest in life in Cuba, as life in the United States continues to deteriorate.

Rich Stuart, a member of Steelworkers Local 1938 on Minnesota's Iron Range, reported that when he returned from a recent trip to Cuba, a great many workers were eager to hear what he saw. One older worker approached him after Reagan announced his Social Security cuts to ask, "How do they do pensions in Cuba?"

A minority tendency in the party, which received 4 percent of the vote in branches, presented counterdocuments to the Draft Political Resolution and counterreports at the convention to the party's line for work in industry and the unions, and on the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenadian leaderships.

Delegates representing this tendency disputed the analysis that the capitalists have made a fundamental shift to the right. They argued that a new round of substantial social and economic concessions is still a viable policy option for the U.S. ruling class. They opposed making the labor party proposal the axis of socialist propaganda in the labor movement, counterposing immediate tactical prescriptions for action around issues that arise on the job.

## YSA turn to industry

This tendency also criticized the decision of the Young Socialist Alliance in 1979 to place the majority of its members in industry. Since that decision, the YSA has succeeded in getting 65 percent of its members into industri-



Capitalist offensive is no longer just chipping away at rights, but actually raising general level of human misery. Militant/Jon Hillson

al jobs. The minority tendency proposed that the youth group redirect its primary political attention and forces to the college campuses.

A second minority tendency, which received 5 percent of the vote in the SWP branches, also presented a counterreport on the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenadian leaderships.

The majority report on this question was presented by Political Committee member Steve Clark. He described the twenty-year record of the Cuban leadership in pushing forward the world struggle of the workers and farmers for socialism. Out of the revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada, he explained, new leaderships have come forward that have deepened this process.

Clark emphasized that the emergence of these leaderships helps advance the possibilities in the United States and around the world to build revolutionary parties and a mass Leninist international. This has been the goal of the SWP and of its sister parties in the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist movement, since their founding nearly half a century ago.

The two minority tendencies received less than 10 percent of the vote at the convention.

## Two approaches

Summing up the different perspec-

tives in the debate, Ken Shilman said, "Two approaches have been put before the party. One approach looks backward to the past, to the trade-union tactics, partially recalled, of the 1940s and 1950s, a period of capitalist reaction when the working class was in retreat.

"This approach looks to the 1960s when the youth in motion were centered on the college campuses. It looks away from Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. And it argues that talking socialism and the labor party on the job is 'exotic.'

"Our approach is the opposite. We look to the young workers in industry. We look to the experiences they are gaining in today's class struggle.

"It is our Marxist miners, steelworkers, and auto workers, who are part of the labor movement, who know its direction and sense its mood.

"It is our machinists, garment workers, and electrical workers who are best equipped to link up with the vanguard youth who are coming forward to take destiny in their hands in Britain, Ireland, Poland, Vietnam, South Africa, Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and El Salvador.

"It is our active worker cadres who are leading the party today. We propose to point this party to the future. We propose to deepen our orientation to industry. We propose to find all roads to the young worker, the Black worker, the woman worker."

It's this perspective, he concluded, that is transforming the SWP "into an internationalist party of industrial workers."

## Major YSA step

The most important single step in this direction at the convention was the decision that all party members aged twenty-nine and under should become active members of the YSA. "The YSA is the very best avenue for recruitment of young workers to our ideas," SWP National Co-chairperson Mary-Alice Waters explained in making the proposal.

The job of party members in the YSA will be to "help organize, build, and lead the YSA," to strengthen the organization so that it can take maximum advantage of the opportunities to win revolutionary youth to its ranks and to the SWP.

Part and parcel of this turn to the YSA and its work in industry was the decision to begin consolidating new national industrial fractions in garment and textile, oil and chemical, and the electrical industries. National fractions already exist in rail, coal mining, steel, auto, and machinists.

## Garment industry

The step taken toward building a national garment and textile fraction was

*Continued on next page*

# Getting out the word on the labor party

Building the September 19 AFL-CIO march on Washington and getting out the truth about the air controllers' strike were major tasks adopted by the thirty-first Socialist Workers Party convention.

In his report on party tasks and perspectives, SWP cochairperson Barry Sheppard explained that party members are working with others to build the September 19 demonstration on the job and in their unions. He said that they are reaching out to all the social protest movements, from the National Organization for Women to Black groups to antiwar and solidarity groups, to bring them to Washington.

The axis of socialists' participation in building the action will be explaining the need for a labor party. "We also want to raise the importance of the war issue," Sheppard explained. Banners along the lines of "Money for jobs, not war," and "Cut the war budget, not education" will help get this message across.

"We'll also want to promote solidarity with the air controllers' strike," he continued. "The strike will tie in to

September 19. The government's open and direct role as strikebreaker underscores the need for labor to break with the two capitalist parties and form an independent labor party."

Immediately after the convention, a special four-page issue of the *Militant* was printed explaining the stakes in the strike. A campaign to get this issue out far and wide set the stage for a big subscription drive of the socialist press this fall.

The convention voted to go on a drive to sell 7,500-8,000 subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language biweekly, this fall. In addition, it set a goal of selling 3,000 issues per month of the *Young Socialist*, the paper of the Young Socialist Alliance.

"This is going to be one of our biggest tasks this fall," said Sheppard. "Our press plays a central role in getting out the truth about what's happening in this country and the world and explaining, from the standpoint of the working class, what can be done to counter the ruling-class attack on

our living standard and rights."

One of the most important things the *Militant* will be doing is continuing its coverage of the news on political issues in the SWP/YSA lawsuit against government spying. The subscription drive will tie right in with expanding support for the lawsuit this fall, especially in the labor and Black movements. Rallies organized by the Political Rights Defense Fund will also be held later in the fall to win new support and raise funds for the case.

Other key aspects of the party's fight for democratic rights will be a stepped-up campaign in defense of fifteen unionists fired from the Lockheed plant in Marietta, Georgia, because of their socialist views, and the campaign to prevent the deportation of Iran-born Baltimore SWP and YSA member Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, whose deportation hearing comes up on October 15.

Sheppard urged all branches to begin planning out 1982 socialist election campaigns. Major races will be open in every state. "The central axis of these campaigns should be the need

for a labor party with an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist program, fighting for a government that will represent all working people."

These election campaigns can be the primary way of attracting workers interested in joining the socialist movement. As part of this recruitment work, branches should hold regular forums. The party will also help organize the basics of Marxism educational series to be sponsored this fall by the YSA.

The party will continue its efforts to help build broad coalitions against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, and its work with groups like the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

Additional reports and workshops outlined socialist workers' perspectives in fighting for the Equal Rights Amendment and defending abortion rights; participation in the National Organization for Women and Coalition of Labor Union Women, both of which will hold national conventions this fall; and the party's efforts to help build the National Black Independent Political Party.



# Socialist Workers Party convention



Convention took major steps to help build Young Socialist Alliance and win young people to its ranks.

Militant/Jon Hillson

## Continued from preceding page

especially important because it enables socialist workers to deepen their orientation to an important industry, two major unions, and to a highly exploited section of the working class, with many young, female, and immigrant workers. The garment industry has big centers in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and other cities.

The convention also decided to expand the party to new areas of the country where opportunities have arisen in the class struggle: to Seaside, California, where an SWP leader in the Black community has been elected to the city council; to Lincoln, Nebraska, a rail center; to Price, Utah, a center of western coal mining; and to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

## Struggle against war

Socialist workers, especially those in the YSA, have been deeply involved in the struggle against the draft and in solidarity with the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean.

The YSA National Executive Committee, in a report to the convention given by Kathryn Crowder, noted the changed objective situation brought about by the recent Supreme Court decision legalizing draft registration for men. This was a victory for the imperialists, and they demonstrated their intention to drive further toward conscription with the subsequent announcement that those who have not registered would be selectively prosecuted.

"The YSA is unconditionally opposed to the imperialist draft," Crowder explained. "The question before us is how best to politically mobilize mass opposition to the draft and war based on the present relationship of class forces."

The YSA has always opposed individual resistance as a tactic to fight war and the draft, while defending those who do resist from prosecution.

Over the last year, when hundreds of thousands of youth refused to register, at a time when the legality of registration was in doubt, YSA members did not register either.

Now, with the Supreme Court decision, Crowder said, YSA members and all draft-age youth will be reexamining whether or not to register. "There is no question that if our class is faced with the choice of registering or going to jail, we will register and build the antidraft and antiwar movement within that framework."

## Debate on draft

This perspective was debated out at a meeting of the YSA National Committee, in a workshop on solidarity with the

Central American revolutions, and on the convention floor.

Those disagreeing with the YSA NEC questioned whether the imperialists could press ahead on the draft and war given the depth of public opinion against this. Some people predicted mass resistance by young workers to the draft even on pain of imprisonment.

As one delegate who took the floor of the convention said, "The rulers cannot go through with draft registration . . . sentiment is too high."

SWP National Co-Chairperson Barry Sheppard, in a report on party tasks and perspectives, explained that popular sentiment alone, even when expressed in large antiwar demonstrations, cannot block the draft and a new war.

"If we thought that antiwar sentiment would be enough to stop them forever, we would be saying that we don't think this ruling class would be able to go to war again before the socialist revolution. No, we will see future wars before we are able to take the war-making power out of their hands.

"There's very deep opposition in the working class to wage cuts, too. But our wages are being cut. Opposition and sentiment alone—no matter how widespread—are not enough to prevent ruling-class attacks in this area," he pointed out.

"At the same time," Sheppard continued, "we don't concede any single step by the rulers. There will be a battle over reinstituting the draft. And the fight against the rulers each step of the way, and the movement this engenders, will be decisive in ending war by ending capitalist rule."

## Fight for ERA

There was also a debate in the written pre-convention discussion, on the convention floor, and in workshops over perspectives in the women's movement.

This debate focused on what role the SWP can play in the struggle for the Equal Rights Amendment. With the deadline for ratification of the amendment set at June 30, 1982—and three more states still needed for ratification—it is clear that the ruling class plans to let it die.

Is there some tactical proposal that socialists should advocate that could turn this situation around?

In a major talk before the convention, SWP Women's Liberation Work Director Margaret Jayko placed the ERA crisis in the context of the Reagan offensive against all women's rights and against the working class.

The approaching defeat of the ERA reflects the crisis of leadership not only in the women's movement, but in the labor and Black movements as well. The

perspective of all these leaderships is to try to rescue the rights of working people within the framework of agreeing with the capitalists that "the pie is shrinking."

This has led the leadership of the National Organization for Women to retreat on fundamental demands of the feminist movement—to remain virtually silent on the attacks on abortion rights; to disregard the effects of the offensive on Black, Latino, and working-class women; and to offer only a meek protest on the ERA.

The most serious error of the NOW leadership has been to give a progressive veneer to the capitalist propaganda on militarization and the draft. When Carter proposed that women be drafted, the NOW leaders supported this position, arguing that if women were drafted this would be a step toward more equality.

The debate over drafting women allowed the imperialists to disguise their real moves toward reinstituting the draft and help set the stage for the Supreme Court ruling legalizing the conscription of men—a big defeat for women and the working class.

The "draft women" debate also helped the rulers to introduce new confusion over the ERA. Does supporting the ERA mean you're in favor of the draft and new wars? Does opposing the drafting of women mean you're against equal rights?

NOW's position on the draft poses a fundamental question for women's rights supporters. Can we get the ERA by strengthening the hand of the capitalists against the working class? By being for capitalism's army—if it includes women—and preparing to support its future wars and nuclear annihilation?

## Who are women's allies?

"The general orientation of the women's movement, if it is to succeed, has got to be toward the working class and its allies," Barry Sheppard said in the tasks and perspectives report. "The NOW leadership's position on the draft orients women toward the ruling class, and it cuts across reaching the allies of the women's movement."

"We want to see more protest demonstrations on the ERA and abortion rights. We are advocates of them. But as our central contribution we have to put forward an overall orientation for the women's movement."

"We must explain why women must link up with the working class and the oppressed. There is no other way forward. Protest demonstrations outside this context cannot win. Within such an orientation, they can be decisive tools for advancing it," he said.

"Women as well as the working class are going to suffer some defeats, probably some big ones, in the coming period," Margaret Jayko said in the conclusion of her talk. "It will take time and experience for a large number of women to see there is something fundamentally false with the perspectives advanced by the national leadership of NOW, and begin to chart a different course."

"That is why developments like September 19 are so important. Why the founding of the National Black Independent Political Party is a step forward for women. Why the discussions taking place in various union circles about the need to break from the Democratic Party and organize a labor party, based on the trade unions, are part of the solution to the crisis of perspectives in the women's movement."

"And why strikes like that for equal pay in San Jose, California; conferences of women coal miners; and strong women's committees in unions such as the auto workers, steelworkers, and machinists show us where the forces will be coming from to forge a leadership of the women's movement that does have a working-class perspective."

## Internationalist party

It was looking at politics from this working-class perspective that tied together the entire convention. It was a perspective that placed American workers at the heart of the class struggle worldwide, at the center of charting a course for the emancipation of humanity from capitalism.

"Only the workers right here can do that job," said Jack Barnes.

"Ultimately, the deepest questions of internationalism in this country and in this party are the ones that have to do with organizing and preparing the American workers to wrest the power out of the hands of the U.S. ruling class and make the world safe for human life and social progress."

"Deepening the turn into industry. Winning young workers to our movement. Learning and growing through struggle. Challenging the political monopoly of the bosses. These are the biggest international questions for us. They are the decisive ones."

"And the greatest thing we can do to aid our comrades in the Fourth International, our comrades in Cuba, in Nicaragua, in Grenada, in Vietnam, in Africa, Poland, and Ireland—the best thing we can say to them is what a founding leader of the SWP, James P. Cannon, said:

"Our part is to build up this party which believes in the unlimited power and resources of the American workers, and believes no less in its own capacity to organize and lead them to storm and victory."

Coming  
next week

**The Reagan  
attack:  
why we  
need a  
labor party**

The September 'International Socialist Review' will feature the full text of Jack Barnes's report to the Socialist Workers Party convention. Don't miss it.



## Unveils immigration plan

# Reagan takes aim at Latino workers

By Raúl Gonzalez

On July 30, the Reagan administration announced the basics of what its proposals to Congress will be for a new immigration policy.

The proposal separates Cuban, Haitian, and Mexican immigrants from all others. These workers will have special policies applied to their entry into the U.S.

The key provisions of the proposal are as follows:

The Coast Guard will in the future intercept and turn back all Haitians trying to reach Florida by boat. The White House left open the status of Haitians currently seeking asylum in the U.S., saying only that it would seek "expedited procedures" for deciding their fate.

All undocumented workers who arrived in the U.S. before January 1, 1980, would become legal temporary residents. They would have to live in the U.S. ten years before being eligible to become permanent residents. For Cubans and Haitians, the time would be five years.

During this period, they would not be able to send for their spouses or families. They would pay income and Social Security taxes, but would be ineligible for food stamps, welfare, unemployment insurance, or subsidized housing.



Mexican workers being held near California border.

In an accompanying statement, Reagan said one aim of his proposal was to "integrate" immigrants into U.S. society "without nurturing their dependence on welfare."

At the same time, the White House proposed that fines be levied against employers (except for the smallest, like restaurants, garages, and sweatshops) of from \$500 to \$1,000 for each "illegal" worker knowingly hired.

The issuing of either a national "identity card" or of Social Security cards that could be validated by a central computer was specifically ruled out by Reagan. Both these measures are widely opposed by the American people.

Instead, the White House recommended that employers require all prospective workers to show two pieces of I.D. before they could be hired.

Noting that forged I.D.s could be easily purchased in Mexico, the *London Economist* suggested this requirement was probably a loophole for employers. The administration, it said, was "anxious not to deny its business allies, especially in California and Texas, the advantages of cheap Mexican labor."

"The attorney-general, Mr. William French Smith, for example," the *Economist* continued, "has close ties with California business; he was originally opposed to the policy of penalizing employers who knowingly take on illegal immigrants."

Smith's "close ties" are known to include substantial agricultural holdings of his own.

The White House also called for the

creation of a two-year "experimental program," whereby 50,000 Mexicans would be admitted to the U.S. as "guest workers" on a tightly-controlled basis. They would work only in certain industries in the southwest, like agriculture.

The proposal thus ensures that:

- Reagan's "business allies" will have a steady flow of Mexican workers to exploit at dirt cheap wages, without fear of prosecution;

- While in this country, those workers can expect few rights and no social services.

To reinforce the policy of fear and intimidation of Mexican workers, Reagan also proposed that the budget for the hated *migra* be increased by \$40 million. Much of this will go into hiring more Border Patrol agents.

In addition, another \$35 million will be allocated for the construction of Immigration Detention Centers along the Mexican border. These centers are concentration-camp-like outposts for holding undocumented workers caught trying to cross the border.

So the roundups of Latino workers and the raids in the Latino communities will go on—as will the beatings, rape, and murder that are standard practice for the border cops.

As soon as the Reagan proposals were announced, they came under harsh criticism.

Jorge Bustamante, director of the border studies program at El Colegio de México in Mexico City, told the *New York Times* that the proposals would serve only the interests of U.S. employers and would institutionalize the inferior status of *mexicano* workers in the U.S.

Tony Bonilla, president of the League of United Latin American Citizens, said the plan, with its ten-year provision, amounted to "government-sanctioned serfdom."

Vilma Martinez of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund likewise denounced the plan.

## Budget means more jobless for Puerto Rico

By Nelson González

The Reagan budget cuts are having a disastrous effect on the already difficult economic situation faced by Puerto Rico.

The unemployment rate has recently gone up from 18 percent of the workforce to 20.4 percent.

Most of the increase in unemployment can be attributed to the recent loss of over 24,000 jobs as a result of cuts in the CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) program.

For some cities the cuts represent a loss of half of the municipal workforce.

Dorado, a city in the north of the island, has lost its ambulance service, road maintenance crews and garbage collectors.

In Lares, the unemployment figure has climbed as high as 80 percent.

"I've has people crying in here from desperation" said the mayor of Patillas. "Of every 100 people who come here, ninety are looking for work." As a result of the cuts, island politicians are predicting a massive migration of Puerto Ricans to the U.S. mainland.

The governor of Puerto Rico, Carlos Romero Barcelo, was a firm supporter of President Reagan's election bid.

Now that the effects of the budget axe have begun to be felt, the governor is worried.

A wave of resignations has inundated the Barcelo administration.

In recent months Barcelo has been engaged in a desperate shuttle diplomacy between San Juan and Washington, pleading with the Reagan administration to bring the budget axe down more gently lest "Puerto Rico become another Cuba."

The Reagan administration has turned a deaf ear.

## Protest rally in San Juan

Nearly 18,000 Puerto Ricans marched August 10 from Muñoz Rivera Park to La Fortaleza in the capital of San Juan. They were protesting a 60 percent hike in electricity bills.

Forty-two religious, civic, and labor organizations participated. Among these were the Federation of Teachers, Union of Electrical Workers, Congress of Puerto Rican Workers and Consumers, and the United Center of Retailers.

The leaderships of the Partido Popular Democrático (the capitalist party that favors autonomy for Puerto Rico), Puerto Rican Independence Party, and Puerto Rican Socialist Party also joined the march.

## March for voting rights

By Sonja Franeta

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—More than 3,000 people gathered here on Sunday, August 9, to march for the extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Moves are underway in Congress, encouraged by the Reagan administration, to amend the act or permit it to lapse.

The Voting Rights Act, which made it possible for millions of Blacks to register and vote for the first time, was one of the major accomplishments of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

"The voting rights Act is the life blood of political progress for Blacks," said John Lewis, a civil rights activist from Atlanta, as he addressed the predominantly Black crowd at the Old Ship Church here. The church had been an organizing center for the Montgomery bus boycott of 1956, the first big struggle

of the modern civil rights movement.

The prominent civil rights leaders who joined the ten-block march to the state capitol included Coretta King, Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH, Dr. Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Georgia State Senator Julian Bond, and Vernon Jordan of the Urban League.

The marchers were eager to do something to fight the barrage of assaults on civil rights. One placard read, "Reagan says cut back, we say fight back."

The march was called by the Alabama Democratic conference along with Operation PUSH, SCLC, and other groups. It was the latest of a series of demonstrations called to rally support for the Voting Rights Act. In the spring, 5,000 marched in Selma, Alabama, and 8,000 in Mobile.

## CWP leader demands justice in Klan killings

Nelson Johnson left the county jail in Greensboro, North Carolina, August 17, after serving twenty days for contempt of court.

The jailing of Johnson, a leader of the Communist Workers Party, is the latest step in a campaign of government harassment. This campaign is directed at those who demand an end to the coverup around the murder of five CWP members at an anti-Klan rally November 3, 1979.

Johnson, who was injured in the shootings, was arrested at the rally site. Although television film showed Klansmen and Nazis firing, without provoca-

tion, at the demonstrators, the Klansmen and Nazis charged with the killings were acquitted.

The role of the police and the federal government agents who had infiltrated the local Klan and Nazi groups, even helping to plan the attack, was never investigated.

Johnson continues the effort to expose the racist coverup. He and other antiracists demand that federal charges be brought against the Klan and Nazis.

U.S. Attorney H. M. Michaux has recommended to the Washington office of the Justice Department that federal

charges, including conspiracy to violate civil rights, be brought against the Klan-Nazi killers. No action has been taken on his recommendation.

Johnson's twenty-day term stemmed from his arrest on August 1, 1980, while speaking against the coverup on the courthouse lawn.

During a hearing on bail, Johnson attempted to speak in his own defense and was ruled in contempt of court. The judge sentenced him to twenty days in jail. Although the charges against Johnson were dismissed, the contempt citation was upheld on appeal.

In jail, Johnson carried out a twenty day hunger strike in protest against North Carolina "justice."

"The reason for the criminal charges by the government has been to repress me, to slander and discredit me," Johnson declared. "Such tactics lay the basis for further attacks. . . . But no amount of lies and distortions will be able to cover up the truth about November 3."

. . . The mountain of information already gathered and continuing to accumulate shows the conspiracy between the government and the Klan-Nazis."



# In Review

## Leon Trotsky: 'The Balkan Wars, 1912-13'

The War Correspondence of Leon Trotsky—The Balkan Wars 1912-1913. Edited by George Weissman and Duncan Williams. Monad Press, N.Y.; Pathfinder Press, Australia, 1980. 524 pages. \$8.95 paper, \$30 cloth.

The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 are little-known today. But they left 500,000 casualties, redrew the map of southeastern Europe, and provided a bloody prelude to World War I.

By 1912, the centuries-long Turkish domination of what is now Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, Greece, and Romania was coming to an end. The Ottoman

### Books

Empire, decaying from within, was challenged by the imperialist powers of Europe and the young Balkan nations.

In the First Balkan War, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece banded together to drive Turkish forces out of the Balkan Peninsula. However, the war quickly turned into mutual looting and pillage by the oligarchies of the different Balkan states.

Egged on by Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, the ruling classes of each state sought to increase their holdings and territory at the expense of the others.

The young Balkan capitalist classes were too weak and dependent on the great powers to undertake the land reform, industrialization, and other reforms needed to modernize the backward, agrarian Balkans. Instead, they contented themselves with ripping each other off at the cost of the lives of thousands of workers and peasants.

The big European powers eventually imposed a settlement on the Balkans that perpetuated landlordism, agrarian backwardness, and oppression of many different nationality groups, as well as instability.

Within less than eighteen months, the great powers themselves went to war, dragging the Balkans and all of Europe into the biggest bloodbath of history up to that time.

Leon Trotsky, still in his early thirties but already well known in the European socialist movement, arrived in the Balkans in October 1912 as the corre-



Above: map of the Balkan Peninsula after the wars of 1912-13. Right: Leon Trotsky in 1915.



spondent of the liberal Kiev daily newspaper *Kievskaya Mysl*.

The central leader of the 1905 uprising of Russian workers in Petrograd, Trotsky had escaped from Russia in 1906. He settled in Vienna, where he supported his family and his own socialist newspaper by writing for other newspapers.

*The War Correspondence of Leon Trotsky: The Balkan Wars, 1912-13*, is a collection of the dispatches he wrote from the Balkans, mostly for *Kievskaya Mysl*.

Most Russian newspapers cheered on the Balkan countries in their war against the Turks, sensationalizing Turkish atrocities while suppressing similar atrocities against Turks and other Muslims living in the Balkans. This reflected the designs of the Tsar who, having been defeated in Asia in the Russo-Japanese war of 1905, was looking to Turkey and the Balkans as a possible arena for expansion.

Trotsky, along with the young Balkan socialist parties with whom he was in contact, took a different view. While opposing Russian intervention into the affairs of the Balkans, he argued that the underlying social problems of the region could be solved only by a united Balkan federation. Each nationality group would run its own affairs while uniting in a federation large enough to allow the development of modern

industry and strong enough to withstand imperialist penetration.

Unlike many contemporary war correspondents who take their articles from government press releases, Trotsky battled with the Bulgarian censor to get out his accounts of the massacres of Muslim villages in the First Balkan War. And he sharply attacked Russian liberals who, in their zeal to justify the war against Turkey, condoned the censorship.

In describing these events, Trotsky demonstrates the writing style which helped gain him fame in the Russian socialist movement.

He brings to life heroic fighters, profiteering politicians, prisoners of war, combat veterans, and socialist leaders such as his friend Christian Rakovsky.

The book is not a comprehensive history, but a collection of many short articles. Instead of reading it cover-to-cover, the reader can pick out articles of special interest, like those on the Turkish Revolution of 1908-09 or the Persian (Iranian) Revolution of 1905-06.

Nearly 100 pages of notes, maps, a glossary, and an index help make the events understandable. And the combination of Trotsky's vivid writing and Marxist analysis make the collection readable and enlightening.

—Don Davis

### Union Talk

## A word from our sponsor

This week's column is by Eileen Thournir. She is a member of United Auto Workers Local 766 at the Martin Marietta plant in Denver.

A 6.30 a.m. coffee and doughnuts "rap" session is about to start. "Here we go again, more company propaganda," one worker says. Most of us are expecting the usual song and dance about how hard the company is trying to do right by us but we're not giving in return. Instead we're to see a film. "What kind of military preparedness, or How to Make America Great film are we to see this time?"

"Productivity: The Key to America's Future." Groans are heard in the audience. All of us chosen for this honor are in the Maintenance/Service Department. We feel a direct attack coming on.

The film is worse than you might imagine. It proceeds to tell us that lagging American productivity is the result of workers from the baby boom generation (i.e. young people) being forced on them by the high rate of retirements, and also by social legislation forcing businesses to hire more women (also hinting at minorities). All of this is detailed in elaborate and overly technical charts and graphs which make sense to no one. Being one of the two women in the Maintenance/Services Department and also part of that baby boom, I feel singled out as do many of the young guys.

The film also tells us the primary reasons for lower productivity is all the "unnecessary" safety and health legislation forced on companies. "Tell that to the families of the coal miners who were killed in Redstone," one worker whispers. Behind me another says, "There goes OSHA."

Their film has answers, as one might expect. These are even more incredible than their chosen culprits. "Unions should not have the right to defend lazy and non-productive workers." Anger is rising in the audience. With our contract up for negotiations in November we see this film as the first attempt to weaken the union by dividing young from old; women from men.

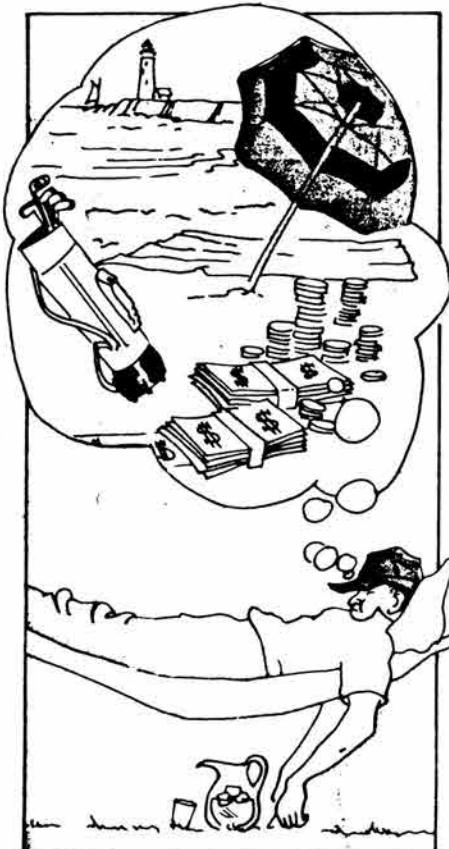
The film also claims that increasing use of nuclear power and removing "unjust and unnecessary" regulation of nuclear power plants will enable businesses to benefit from less costly energy and less dependence on foreign oil "which will help America as a whole." A carpenter says, "Yeah, like Three Mile Island."

This film also says that high taxes imposed on businesses should be eliminated. Laughter bursts out in the audience. Everyone knows that working people pay the vast amount of taxes with no relief in sight.

Finally the film proclaims, "What America needs is a 'New Worker.'" This worker would be more highly educated, skilled, and motivated—sacrificing for the good of America's economy. Everybody in the audience knows how absurd this is. "I have to work, I can't afford to go to school," one says. They know how hard it will be trying to send their own kids to colleges, even more so after Reagan's cuts in federal aid to students.

The film ends, letting us know that it was sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of America. "Sounds like politicians to me," a welder says. A lot of angry buzzing is going around the room which the managers pick up on and announce we should all go back to work and produce.

But the film has only strengthened our resolve to stick together behind the union. "If they think that film will make us 'company' they got another think coming," says a pipefitter.



How employers view American worker: cartoon in recent issue of 'Iron Age,' an industry publication.





**Strike strategy**—A letter to the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* argued that the air traffic controllers had made a serious geographical error. If they had struck in Poland instead of here, the letter-writer explained, Reagan would have supported them.

**More fun than a barrel of monkeys**—Charles Wick, who's tight with Reagan, says the public loves the high life style of well-heeled administration members. . . . "During the depression," he explained, "when people were selling apples . . . people would go to

the movies. They loved those glamorous pictures showing people driving beautiful cars and women in beautiful gowns, showing that people were living the glamorous good life."

**He likes those eternal hours?**—Shortly after the air controllers walked out, the United Church of Christ in New Glanis, Wisconsin, announced that the Sunday sermon would be, "God never goes on strike."

**Try the local house of ill repute**—Duke University faculty members are

protesting plans to locate the Nixon presidential library there. One prof said it would have "a lasting negative effect on teaching, research and morale and general respect for Duke University." The president of the university assured the library would be "adjacent" to the campus, not on it.

**Gallows game**—Muse Software is offering "Three Mile Island," a program to add to your computer for coffee-break time. It puts you in the control room of a nuclear power plant that keeps breaking down. Your job is to prevent a melt-

down of the reactor core. A reviewer for *Popular Mechanics* never succeeded in averting final disaster.

**And that's without a union**—A while back, *Esquire* reported that an unusual number of radicals are cat partisans and suggested they're attracted by cats' self-possessed, independent personalities. More recently, *Town & Country* reported that a study of the nation's 100 top executives found that not one of them owned a cat. "A cat is anathema," the magazine reported. "You cannot control a cat."

## El Salvador: de Borchgrave is disinformed

A couple of months ago, the *Militant* published a review of the novel *The Spike*. We also talked a little about one of its authors, Arnaud de Borchgrave.

To refresh your memory:

*The Spike* is a work of fiction that expresses Mr. de Borchgrave's very real belief that all revelations of illegal activity by the FBI and CIA are really "disinformation" planted in the media by

### As I see it

Russian agents. The Russians do this, Mr. de Borchgrave says, because they want to take over the world.

At the time, we wondered if Mr. de Borchgrave hadn't lost his marbles. Apparently, though, the people who run the *New York Times* don't think so (or don't mind). They published a column by him on their August 12 op-ed page.

It's about, among other things, the State Department white paper on El Salvador. You may remember this was the thing that was supposed to prove the opposition to that country's ruling military junta is being orchestrated by the Russians and Cubans.

You may also remember that the white paper was around for about four months before some reporters at the *Washington Post* and *Wall Street Journal* decided to give it a closer look, whereupon it fell apart like a wet shopping bag. The facts on which it was based, the reporters discovered, were mostly made up.

Badly discredited, the white paper was filed away somewhere and it is now considered tasteless to refer to it at the State Department.

Well, says Mr. de Borchgrave, that's one you can chalk up for the Cubans. It seems they were behind

the campaign to sink the white paper all along. Their intelligence agents passed the word to ex-CIA agent Philip Agee, and the resulting disinformation became "a primary source for recent articles in *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post*" that showed the white paper was a fraud.

While noting that nowhere in his column does Mr. de Borchgrave contend the white paper *wasn't* a fraud, I was nonetheless curious about this. So I went back and looked at the *Wall Street Journal* article, which ran June 8.

The *Journal* based its entire piece on interviews with two sources. One was a man named Jon Glassman. It was Glassman who told the *Journal* there were "mistakes" and "guessing" in the white paper.

"Captured" documents on which the white paper was based, allegedly written by guerrilla leaders, could not have been written by them, Glassman said. In fact, nobody knew who wrote them.

Quotes in the documents attributed to guerrilla leaders, he added, were of equally dubious origin. Statements crediting Cuban leader Fidel Castro with "the idea of involving everyone in the area" in the armed opposition were "misleading."

White paper figures on arms shipments to the Salvadoran opposition, said to be from the documents, were actually extrapolated from air traffic between Cuba and Nicaragua that was presumed to be arms shipments for El Salvador.

And white paper projections on future arms shipments, according to Glassman, came from multiplying figures in one document by six.

So who is this guy Glassman? Some mouthpiece for Philip Agee? A Cuban, maybe? No, he's the State Department official who put together the white paper.

"We completely screwed it up," he confessed to the *Journal*.

Indeed, Glassman may have screwed up even more than he cares to admit. Because the *Journal* also interviewed a second source, who commented on Glassman's tale of how the Salvadoran national

police turned over the supposedly captured documents to him.

"All this is news to me," this source told the *Journal*. "It strikes me as unlikely that I would not have heard this story before."

It was "unthinkable," he added, that such documents "would have been sort of lying around the national police station for several weeks."

And who is this shady character? Robert White, U.S. ambassador to El Salvador during the time Glassman says he got the documents.

His opinion of the white paper: "bizarre, tendentious, tries to prove more than the evidence warrants."

All of which was enough for me. The Cubans may well have told Agee the white paper was a fake. If so, it shows they have better information than the State Department.

But as for discrediting the white paper, Glassman and White seem to have done rather well on their own.

There are all sorts of crackpot theories that the rest of the world is out to get the American people, and de Borchgrave's theory about Soviet-Cuban disinformation is one of them. The publicity these theories get is one measure of how desperate the rulers of this country are to send us off to war with some part of the world. Until the white paper situation became hopeless, Secretary of State Haig used to talk all the time about Russian and Cuban disinformation in El Salvador.

But theories aren't worth much unless they prove something; and de Borchgrave still hasn't. In fact, in the case of the white paper, he has been proven wrong.

Of course, these government white papers are also so shoddy that, if he wants my advice, de Borchgrave will quit trying to pin disinformation on whoever discredits the next one. It'll probably be the editor of some high school paper.

Next white paper that comes along, Arnaud, tell 'em the Cubans wrote the thing.

—Steve Bride

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

**CALIFORNIA:** Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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## Black party meeting: new step on freedom road



Protest against shutdown of Sydenham hospital in Harlem. Black Party's program makes a powerful contribution to fight against racist, antiworker policies.

By Malik Miah

CHICAGO—"We must build a mass-based party from the bottom up in the interests of Black liberation," the Rev. Ben Chavis told delegates and guests to the August 21-23 founding Congress of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

Chavis explained, "Ronald Reagan is not the first president of the United States to say to us he doesn't care about the suffering of our people. . . . We must be prepared to fight. We must be prepared to struggle against all forms of oppression we face today coming from Washington, right here in Chicago, or wherever our people are."

"If we do not organize Black people, if Black people don't organize Black people, nobody will."

In that spirit 700 delegates and guests participated in this historic conference of the Black liberation struggle. Delegates came from thirty-three chapters and sixteen local organizing committees. This included representatives from California, Alabama, Maryland, North Carolina, Virginia, Minnesota, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Arkansas, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and Washington, D.C.

Delegates were industrial workers, teachers, professionals, students, and community organizers—a cross-section of the Black community. A majority were in their twenties and thirties.

### Party charter adopted

The main purpose of the congress was to discuss and ratify the founding program and structure of the National Black Independent Political Party. This process began one year ago in New Orleans at the fourth national political convention of the now-defunct National Black Political Assembly. On a motion by the Rev. Ben Chavis, that convention voted to launch a movement to build an independent mass-based party.

Three months later in Philadelphia 1,500 people attended a convention that issued the call to build NBIPP. It also ratified a tentative charter to be finalized in Chicago.

Since the Philadelphia convention, the new party has organized chapters

and local organizing committees that include a membership totaling over 1,600. Over the last year, the party also began to engage in political activities on a local and national level and held political discussions on the proposed charter.

This process culminated in Chicago with four days of lengthy discussions and debate on the proposed charter and the election of a leadership for the party.

The day before the congress opened, the National Party Organizing Committee (NPOC) and Charter Review Commission (CRC)—two interim leadership bodies set up by the Philadelphia convention—hammered out rules for the congress and guidelines to discuss the charter at the congress.

On Thursday evening, August 20, a symposium on "Strategies for African-American Liberation and Self-Determination" was held. Two leaders of the party spoke, Barbara Sizemore from the Pittsburgh chapter and Rev. Chavis.

Friday and Saturday, discussions on the charter were held at sub-committee hearings.

### Democratic process

Special commissions on women, youth/students, prisoners, labor, and the elderly were held to discuss the program of the party. The party members who attended these meetings took their decisions to CRC hearings to make sure their concerns were incorporated into the charter.

State and local caucuses were also held during the congress. This allowed delegates to discuss the charter and other proposals for the party's platform.

This lengthy, democratic process culminated with the vote on the charter, section-by-section, Saturday night and Sunday morning.

Through this lively scenario—that went from 9 a.m. to as late as 2 or 3 a.m. in the morning on each day—the program and structure of the party were forged.

The decision of the delegates by an overwhelming majority to adopt the

charter is historic. The new charter is the most advanced program ever adopted by any organization in the history of Black people. The charter represents what is objectively needed to advance the fight, not only of our people, but of all working people. It is an anti-capitalist, pro-Black, pro-labor program.

### Principles of Unity

What does the charter say?

The major objectives and goals of the party can be summarized best by quoting from it.

Future issues of the *Militant* will reprint major sections.

One point in the preamble states: "The National Black Independent Political Party aims to attain power to radically transform the present social-economic order, that is, to achieve self-determination and social and political freedom for the masses of Black people. Therefore, our party will actively oppose racism, imperialism, sexual oppression, and capitalist exploitation."

Point ten of the "Principles of Unity" states: "The party must define our attitude towards the Democratic and Republican parties. We should observe both the Democrats and Republicans as serving only the interests of the ruling class; therefore, they are diametrically opposed to the interests of African and poor people."

In the party platform subsection on "Electoral politics," the charter says: "The electoral strategy of NBIPP is independent of the Democratic, Republican, and all other parties."

### Party's program

No other Black organization on the scene projects such a radical view of electoral politics. The traditional civil rights organizations—NAACP, SCLC, Urban League, PUSH—all view politics within the framework of reforming the capitalist parties.

NBIPP's charter correctly explains that this hasn't worked and can't, because these parties—the Democrats and Republicans—are here to uphold capitalism.

The main planks of the program

include: demands for full employment; jobs for all; an end to racist job practices; for massive public works programs; affirmative action programs; free education; job training programs; health care programs; an end to plant closings; the repeal of "right-to-work" laws.

It includes sections on the elderly and children; support for the voting rights act; programs to fight racist violence and the Klan; and a call for the abolition of the FBI and CIA.

### War drive

The party's program rejects the government's policy of preparing new Vietnams. The section on "Military conscription" says, for example, "We believe that Black people have the right to refuse induction into the U.S. armed services."

Further, "we believe that no Black person should be forced to fight in 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."

The demands raised include: "an end to draft registration and the draft. The right of Black people in the services to organize and fight racial discrimination and repression."

The section on "International relations" and "Solidarity with oppressed peoples" adds that the party supports, "the heroic and just struggle of the people of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean against colonialism and neo-colonialism and for freedom, national liberation, self-determination, sovereignty and independence."

### Nationalize energy trusts

The program also contains a strong position against the energy trusts. Four of the demands are: "Nationalization of the energy industry at all levels and in all sectors with full participation of Black and poor people in the management, control, and decision-making policies of the industry; an end to all propaganda which blames the so-called energy crisis on the energy producing third world nations and OPEC; full disclosure of the corporate records of the energy monopolies; immediate halt to the use of nuclear power."

### Women's rights

The most striking section of the party's program concerns women's rights. There is no Black organization—or labor union—that has such a strong policy in support of the rights of women.

The party congress, for instance, mandated all chapter delegations (except where it wasn't possible) to be 50 percent female. All party leadership bodies must also be 50 percent women.

The party's program on women includes the following demands: "Conduct a massive educational campaign within the party and the Black community about the need to struggle against sexism and to fight for the complete equality of Black women; work to support the Equal Rights Amendment, but while doing so speak to the special needs of Black women, the need to struggle against racism and sexism simultaneously; fight against all constitutional or legal barriers to abortion (denying the right to make a personal decision to chose

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