

THE MILITANT

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

European marchers: 'Stop U.S. missiles'

By Cindy Jaquith

LONDON — "One, two, three, four, we don't want a nuclear war! Five, six, seven, eight, we don't want to radiate!" The chants echoed throughout this city October 24 as demonstrators poured in from all over Britain to protest the placement of U.S. nuclear weapons in their country.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), which sponsored the march, estimated its size at 250,000. This is larger than any of the peace marches here during the Vietnam War, and one of the biggest protests here ever. In 1971 a labor-led march against antiunion laws drew 140,000 in London.

The huge outpouring in London on October 24 followed the protest of 300,000 on October 10 in Bonn, West Germany, against nuclear weapons and NATO, spearheaded by the U.S. government's plans to install 572 Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe in 1983. Of these, 162 Cruise missiles would be placed in Britain.

The same day as the British march, more than 200,000 people demonstrated against the missile-deployment plan in Rome. Protests of 50,000 in Paris and 100,000 in Brussels — the largest demonstration there since World War II — took place on October 25. Anti-NATO actions were also scheduled on that day in Madrid, Oslo, and Helsinki.

The young people who made up the majority of the marchers here in London set the tone and spirit. They chanted until they were hoarse: "No Cruise, No Trident. Britain out of NATO!" "Jobs,



250,000 demonstrated in London, above; tens of thousands more in other European cities.

Not Bombs." "Maggie, Maggie, Maggie, out, out, out." "I won't die for Thatcher."

The latter slogans referred to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who in addition to backing the Cruise

missiles, has decided to spend £6-8 billion on Trident II missiles (£1 = \$1.90), at a time when unemployment here is nearly 3 million and is expected to reach

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Nicaragua: revolution under siege

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FBI, cops on rampage



Sekou Odinga (Nathaniel Burns), one of many Black victims of cop terror following armored car holdup.

By Larry Seigle

The FBI and cops across the country have seized on the October 20 armored-car robbery and shoot-out in Rockland County, New York, to justify a wave of police raids, arrests, and assaults against Black activists.

At the same time, the robbery and killings are being used as new ammunition for the ideological offensive against the twin targets of "crime" and "terrorism." The real objectives, however, are to strengthen the powers of the cops and the secret police and to smear the workers movement,

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Nicaragua: U.S. labor's duty

The U.S. government is tightening the economic squeeze on the Nicaraguan revolution and stepping up military provocations against it (see article page 10).

Washington has blocked badly needed foreign credits. In a calculated campaign to terrorize the Nicaraguan people, Washington has stepped up military aid to the Honduran dictatorship and delivered arms to ex-Somoza National Guardsmen along the Nicaraguan border.

The Nicaraguan masses are responding courageously. Stretching their already severely limited resources, they have created a formidable popular militia. A campaign of national reconstruction is under way to provide a decent livelihood for all.

Facing this determined resistance, U.S. imperialism and the capitalists in Nicaragua have upped the ante. They have launched a carefully coordinated campaign of provocations calculated to pave the way for new and more powerful blows at the revolution.

The Reagan administration is seeking to provoke the kind of crisis in Nicaragua that can offer a pretext for a direct or indirect U.S.-backed military assault against the revolution.

Working people around the world, and especially in the U.S., have a responsibility to counter Washington's economic sabotage and military threats against the Nicaraguan revolution. We must show the Nicaraguan workers and farmers that they are not alone, that they have allies.

The Nicaraguan people need material aid to help them cope with the severe economic problems that are the legacy of the Somoza era and the civil war. Instead of economic destabilization, Washington should provide loans, food, medicines, and other aid with no strings attached to Nicaragua.

The labor movement in this country should organize a campaign to send aid to Nicaragua. The kind of campaign that the United Steelworkers began, to send eyeglasses to Nicaragua, should be greatly increased.

To the degree that workers in this country learn the truth about the economic needs of our Nicaraguan brothers and sisters, and see their

cause as our cause, it will strengthen the forces ready to oppose U.S. military intervention in Central America.

Washington's most recent moves especially underline the importance of two conferences on Central America. During the weekend of October 23-25, a conference in New York City sponsored by the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People brought together nearly forty delegates from Nicaragua and Central America solidarity committees across the U.S.

These delegates met and decided to carry out an anti-intervention campaign, exposing Washington's attacks against Nicaragua and educating as many Americans as possible about the nature of these attacks.

On October 31, another conference in New York will bring together representatives from Central America solidarity committees to discuss solidarity with El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala.

The stakes for U.S. working people in defending the Nicaraguan revolution are high. The principal enemy of Nicaragua's working people — the employing class in the U.S. — is the same enemy carrying out attacks on us.

So every lie that is exposed, and every bit of aid that is sent to Nicaragua, not only strengthens the cause of the Nicaraguan people, but bolsters our struggle as well.

Jobs, prices: What can be done?

President Reagan and the U.S. big business media now admit that the U.S. economy is again in a recession. Actually the economy never really emerged from the 1980 downturn, so it's not so much a new recession, but rather the deepening of the existing one. At the same time that workers are being victimized by renewed recession, prices continue their upward climb. Prices rose 1.2 percent in September alone according to the government's consumer price index.

These problems facing working people reflect the increasingly erratic swings of the business cycle. And they come in the context of a major effort by employers to "reorganize" whole industries, close down old plants in regions where unions are strong, and open up highly automated plants in areas where unions are weak or nonexistent.

As plant shutdowns, inflation, and rising unemployment undermine the unions, the bosses are increasingly demanding — and getting — actual wage cuts.

Moreover, many of the social programs, which in the past cushioned the impact of recessions and inflation on working people, are under attack. Unemployment insurance, social security, public works, Comprehensive Education and Training Act (CETA), cost of living increases, are all being cut back.

In a new attack, the government has just announced that it is revising the way the consumer price index is calculated so that it will show a lower rate of inflation.

Unemployment hits some groups of workers much harder than others.

Among adult men the official unemployment rate was "only" 6.2 percent, but among adult women it was 6.8 percent. Youth unemployment is well into the double digit range, even by government calculations.

Officially, over 16 percent of all Black workers were unemployed in September. Among Black teenagers the unemployment rate was 37.5 percent, according to government figures.

These statistics indicate why the affirmative action gains that were won in the 1960s must be defended by all working people. The proportion of oppressed nationalities and women in any given industry, must be preserved regardless of layoffs.

What is the solution to inflation and rising unemployment? The government should mount a program of massive public works. Instead of pouring trillions of dollars into the war budget, the money should instead be used to build schools, hospitals, decent low-cost housing, and mass transit. In addition the work week should be reduced with no cut in pay. The amount of work done should then be divided among the workforce in order to guarantee every person capable of working a job.

To protect the income of working people from the effects of continuing inflation; all wages, unemployment, social security and welfare benefits must be raised in step with the rise in the cost of living. Instead of relying on distorted government statistics the unions should develop their own cost of living index and demand that wages, and other working class incomes, be tied to it.

A struggle for these reasonable measures, however, will bring the labor movement into head-on confrontation with the government and the Democratic and Republican parties. Thus, a political struggle is required and the necessity of the labor movement establishing its own political party is clearly posed. Only when a workers government replaces the bosses government will it be possible to fully win the above demands.

About this newspaper . . .

The newspaper you're reading reflects the views of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

Our members include steelworkers, auto workers, garment workers, coal miners, rail workers, and machinists.

We are active in our unions. We are members of groups fighting for Black rights. Latino organizations. Women's rights groups. Antiwar committees.

We support the massive movement in Western Europe against U.S. nuclear missiles, the neutron bomb, and NATO. We hail the struggle of the Polish workers.

We are active in helping to build solidarity with the revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada and against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

At the root of the problems, we believe, is the economic system we live under. Capitalism is based on producing profits for a tiny few—rather than on the human needs of the great majority.

In place of a government by the two parties of big business, socialists favor a government run by working people.

We support the idea of a labor party based on our

unions that could represent all the victims of Reagan's attacks.

To find out more about the party, read *Socialism on Trial*, a book that presents clearly the basic views of the SWP in the form of questions and answers in a courtroom.

To join—or to get more information—fill out the coupon below.

- ☐ I want to join the SWP.
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Sounding alike on arms

By Steve Bride

When France's Socialist Party was elected to power last May, it was not on the strength of any promise to pitch in and help Ronald Reagan militarize capitalist Europe.

In fact, it was generally believed the SP and its candidate, François Mitterrand, opposed, for example, the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in western Europe. That, at least, is what their platform said.

So it is perhaps understandable that Reagan expresses "a little bit" of surprise when, today, the government of François Mitterrand leads the cheering for his militarization policy. Particularly as this comes in the face of a massive antiwar movement that is sweeping western Europe.

In the six months it has held office, the Mitterrand government has:

- Reversed itself on the question of U.S. Pershing II and Cruise missiles, which it now favors deploying in Europe.
- Proposed an 18 percent increase in military spending in France, including a 21 percent boost in allocations to its nuclear force.
- Gone ahead with plans to build its own neutron bomb.
- Backed off a campaign pledge to lower the period of compulsory military service in France from one year to six months.

Mitterrand has also become an enthusiastic backer of Reagan's campaign to arm the U.S. and western Europe to the teeth, and a stern lecturer to other European nations on "the dangers of galloping neutralism."

Prior to Mitterrand's election, imperialist journals openly worried over the prospect of an SP victory in France.

The London *Economist* hoped France's voters would "give their present president [Valéry Giscard d'Esta-



ing] the edge on May 10th. They will cause problems for the rest of the west if they do not."

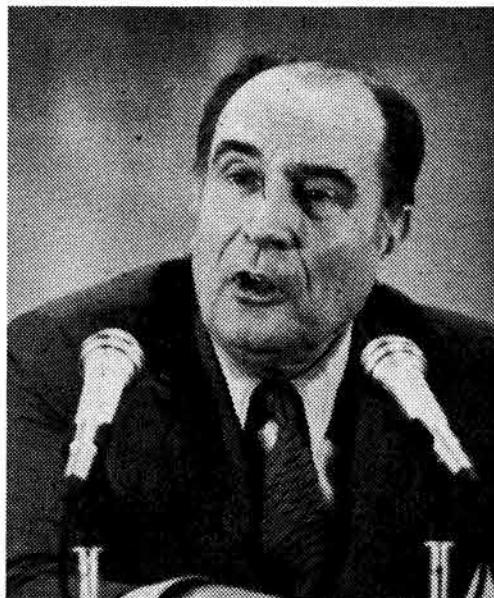
"The Reagan administration and other NATO countries... have reason for concern," added the *New York Times* in an editorial urging a Giscard victory.

When Mitterrand won, these journals braced themselves for the worst — what the *Economist* called "the semi-neutrality of semi-paralysis" on the part of France.

The concern, it turned out, was misplaced.

In July, Mitterrand and Reagan met for the first time at a summit of leaders of seven imperialist nations in Ottawa, Canada. Afterward, Reagan declared himself pleasantly surprised by the French leader's "resoluteness with regard to the Soviet threat."

This, after a strongly worded anti-Soviet speech by Mitterrand at the summit. To Reagan, "The statement of his country's position and what it's going to



be would have sounded like me or anyone else."

The Mitterrand government has since gone to great lengths to reassure Washington on its views. On September 14, for example, Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy stated "France's policy is not at all neutralist... France intends to remain faithful to its allies, with the United States in the forefront."

Such posturing is made especially remarkable — and, to Reagan, welcome — by the fact that many European governments have indeed been left in a state of "semi-paralysis" by a growing antiwar movement.

Differences over deployment of U.S. missiles have led to the collapse of the Dutch government. In Germany, where there was an antiwar demonstration of some 300,000 on October 10, the Social Democratic government of Helmut Schmidt risks a similar fate.

Massive sentiment to pull out of NATO was behind the defeat of a right-

wing Greek regime by Andreas Papan-dreou's Pan Hellenic Socialist Movement.

And Britain's Labour Party recently reaffirmed its policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament, and came close to adopting a motion to withdraw from NATO.

Three factors have so far allowed Mitterrand to escape this deluge.

First, France is not part of NATO's integrated command structure; it has its own nuclear arsenal, called the *force de frappe*. This means that, whatever Mitterrand favors for the rest of Europe, no U.S. missiles will be positioned in France. He can thus pretend the issue does not affect France.

Second, the SP officials are joined in their support of the *force de frappe* policy by the leadership of France's other mass workers party, the Communist Party.

Third, public attention in France has been focused on a series of economic and social reforms the SP government has proposed, including the nationalization of some sectors of industry and banking. This has given Mitterrand something of a honeymoon period with regard to the militarization question.

There are signs, though, that all this is ending. Demonstrations held in Paris on October 25 indicate that anti-missile opposition is increasing in France too. The response of the top SP leadership was to publicly attack the demonstrators.

Concerned about this movement, Mitterrand has lately begun stressing the importance of arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union.

During an October 18 summit with Reagan, the *Washington Post* reported Mitterrand "spoke particularly forcefully on the growing antiwar movement in Europe, saying that recent developments have heightened Europeans' concerns that their nations are being marked out as a future nuclear battlefield by the superpowers."

"It is now essential," Mitterrand said in an interview that same day, "that as quickly as possible the United States should take the initiative or at least take the ball on the rebound. In other words, get going in negotiations."

... Europeans march against missiles

Continued from front page

4 million by 1984.

Some marchers added to the "Maggie Out" slogan "Reagan Out, Caspar Weinberger Out." The size of the protest was fueled by Reagan's recent statement that limited nuclear war could occur on European soil. Caspar Weinberger, who has been on a public-relations tour in Europe to promote the NATO militarization drive, was in London two days before the demonstration insisting that Britain accept the U.S. nuclear weapons.

Many handmade signs bitterly blasted the U.S. government as a threat to world peace. "U.S.A. — Traitors of the human race"; "For a crisper Edinburgh, fry with Caspar Weinberger"; "Uncle Sam wants you for nuclear waste"; "Europe is not Reagan's to sacrifice."

'No more Hiroshimas'

One group of demonstrators, dressed up as skeletons, carried a giant U.S. bomber made out of cardboard. Another contingent had a banner depicting a city destroyed by an atomic bomb. The slogan read "Urban renewal the American way."

Thousands bore a simple three-word demand on picket signs: "No more Hiroshimas." Two men carried a mock Statue of Liberty clenching a nuclear missile in her fist. Many signs also condemned the neutron bomb.

Hundreds of banners identified CND affiliates from every part of the country

Militant coeditor Cindy Jaquith is in Britain to report on the antimissiles demonstration, the growing left-wing in the Labour Party, and the national convention of the International Marxist Group, sister organization of the Socialist Workers Party.

— from major cities like Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Liverpool to rural areas and small towns. Tens of thousands marched in the Scottish and Welsh contingents.

The demonstrators from Wales carried colorful handpainted banners with slogans in Gaelic. There was also a CND contingent from Northern Ireland, where some of the missiles are scheduled for deployment.

Numerous student, environmentalist, pacifist, women's rights, and religious groups participated. A big red, black, and white Labour Party banner was near the head of the march. It said "Nuclear bombs, no. Peace, yes."

Dozens of Labour Party branches carried their own banners, as did the party's youth group, the Labour Party Young Socialists (LPYS). The Labour Party is based on the trade-union movement in Britain. The recent national conference of Labour reaffirmed a stand against the Cruise and Trident missiles, for closing all nuclear bases in the country, and for unilateral nuclear disarmament. One-third of the delegates voted for Britain to withdraw from NATO.

Yorkshire miners

While most of the trade unionists in the demonstration did not march in labor contingents, there was a contingent of miners from Yorkshire with their own marching band. There were also banners from the National Union of Mineworkers in Cardowan, Scotland, and from Kent.

Other banners were carried by the Transport and General Workers Union, post office workers, fire brigades, electrical trades, public employees, teachers, health workers, and journalists.

At the rally in Hyde Park, organizers

from the CND pointed to the rapid growth of the movement in the one year since up to 100,000 marched in London against Cruise missiles in October 1980. The CND itself has grown from about thirty affiliates to hundreds.

Mary Kaldor told the crowd that the antimissiles struggle has become international. She pointed to the Bonn demonstration and the other marches planned throughout Europe. It was announced that greetings had come from Japan, East and West Germany, and the United States.

Anna Davis of the Youth CND emphasized the effect of the escalating British military budget on young people, who suffer the worst unemployment. "Our goal must be insuring employment for young people — education, not cuts."

'Close U.S. bases'

Historian E. P. Thompson pointed to the massive anti-NATO sentiment in Greece that led to the recent election of Andreas Papan-dreou.

Alan Sapper spoke for the Trades Union Congress (TUC), Britain's union federation. He noted that the TUC has passed a resolution for unilateral disarmament and called the march "the beginning of a mass movement."

Labour Party leader Michael Foot also spoke. "This is one of the greatest and most historic meetings ever to take place in Hyde Park," Foot declared. "We say it is madness to stockpile more nuclear weapons. When we get a new Labour government, as we will, we will translate these measures of nuclear disarmament into practical action."

Tony Benn, leader of the Labour Party's left wing, received an even warmer response. He urged continued mass meetings and demonstrations. "It is

time we stood up to the Pentagon and closed the U.S. bases in Britain," he said.

While sentiment was also voiced for the Soviet Union to remove its nuclear weapons from Europe, the clear thrust of the action was that the United States government is responsible for the arms race and the threat to annihilate the world.

It showed that American workers have powerful allies in Britain and the rest of Europe in the fight against the escalating U.S. war budget, militarization, and the threatened resumption of the draft.

Unionists meet to oppose nukes

The Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment will hold its second national conference at the Sheraton Hotel in Gary, Indiana, November 20-22.

The weekend will begin with a Friday night rally featuring PATCO President Robert Poli.

Nine international unions are supporting the conference, including the United Mine Workers, International Association of Machinists, and United Food and Commercial Workers.

Workshops will be held on the dangers of nuclear power and weapons, coal as an alternative energy source, and on the jobs and energy policy of the Reagan administration.

Upcoming issues of the *Militant* will carry more details on the conference. For more information contact the Labor Committee for Safe Energy (202) 265-7190.



Why labor needs its own party

By Vivian Sahner

Many important issues were raised by the half-million people who marched on Solidarity Day. From stopping the budget cuts and the attacks on civil rights, to defending the air traffic controllers and winning the Equal Rights Amendment.

How can those of us who marched in Washington on September 19, and the millions who supported us, win these demands?

It won't be easy. Look at what we are up against. Big business in this country is in a deep economic crisis. The wealthy owners of these corporations will stop at nothing to protect their profits. If that means shutting down plants, wringing wage concessions from workers, violating health and safety regulations, or ripping up contracts, so be it.

That's what's behind today's all out attack against the air controllers and the Philadelphia teachers. That's why they continue to fight tooth and nail

The reason is simple. The union officials who organized Solidarity Day are the same ones who are making the wage-cutting agreements with the employers. They believe that a "partnership" with big business is the only option available to labor. They continue to defend this strategy even today, when every gain working people have fought for and won over the last fifty years is under attack.

'Partners' with big business

This is why the AFL-CIO reorganized the Management-Labor Group last March.

This body is headed by Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, and Clifton Garvin, Jr., the chairman of Exxon. The list of companies on the committee reads like Fortune's 500: General Motors, DuPont, General Electric, Bechtel, Union Pacific, and Citicorp, one of the world's largest banks.

The Management-Labor Group meets behind

closed doors to discuss "mutual interests" between unions and big business.

Can you imagine the discussions? Does DuPont talk about how they spied on the Steelworkers in their attempt to keep their plants non-union? Does Exxon explain how they keep unions out of almost every one of their operations?

You can be sure that GM, which made \$515 million in profits in April-June of this year, gets a sympathetic ear at these meetings when they argue for wage and benefit cuts like those at Chrysler.

This approach to big business also explains the long-standing policy of the AFL-CIO chiefs to support the Democratic and Republican Party candidates.

Lane Kirkland scoffs at any suggestion of a labor party. "Such a program," he recently told the *New Yorker* magazine, "would simply be a formula for wandering in the wilderness for the rest of my natural life, and I wouldn't look forward to that."

Instead, the AFL-CIO leadership claims that the solution is getting into the Democratic Party primaries earlier, and helping to choose the "right" candidate for office.

As John Brown, an official of the Operating Engineers told the *Washington Post*, on Solidarity Day, "We're going to come in with both feet."

They're also coming in with a lot of the unions' money. Labor unions are expected to provide the Democratic National Committee with at least \$1 million this year. That's just under 20 percent of the committee's annual budget.

Close to a half-million has already been forked over, with the United Auto Workers and the Communications Workers the largest contributors to date. Each has given \$50,000 and the UAW has promised another \$50,000.

Several unions, including the UAW, are discussing the idea of voluntary check off provisions so that money can be deducted directly from members paychecks for political contributions.

And last February, fifteen of the twenty-five at-large Democratic National Committee seats were filled by labor officials. This includes Machinist president Winpisinger.

Five of these labor officials are seated on the Democratic National Committee executive board.

Solidarity Day, the first national protest demonstration ever organized by the AFL-CIO, did not signal a change in this political approach. A front page article in the October 17 *AFL-CIO News* begins, "The AFL-CIO called for a 'new partnership' with business and government to revitalize the nation's economy through a program of reindustrialization of the country's ailing industries and decaying communities."

Kirkland explained why the labor federation had to call Solidarity Day at a meeting of the AFL-CIO General Board last August.

"Mr. Reagan has thrown down the gauntlet," Kirkland told the top officials of the 102 unions at the meeting.

In February, he explained, Reagan was quoted as saying about the AFL-CIO leaders, "I happen to think that sometimes they're out of step with their own rank and file. They certainly were in the last election."

"I do not believe," Kirkland told the board, "that we can quietly turn our backs and walk away from this challenge. . . ."

The AFL-CIO leadership had a second, equally important, reason to call Solidarity Day. Union members were growing impatient waiting for them to do something about these attacks.

There had to be some show of opposition by these officials to the cuts in Social Security, Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and other benefits won by the unions over decades. They were even obligated to speak out against the attacks on civil rights and women's rights, gains that were won by the working people in this country with little help from, and in some cases, over the objections of these same union officials.

It is time to call up the ranks," Kirkland told the board.

And that's what they did.

This is a new ball game for these union officials. For decades they have played labor statesmen, dined in the White House, and traded jokes over the bargaining tables. Today they get a cold shoulder at best.

But mass protests, battles on picket lines, and independent political action are not the direction the labor officials are looking to.

Kirkland and the other union officials' goal is a Democratic majority back in both houses of Congress and a Democrat back in the White House.

They hope for a return to the days of getting some crumbs to prove to their members that "they can deliver." If they can't get Reagan's ear, they hope that demonstrations like Solidarity Day will convince the Democratic Party that labor officials still wield power and are worth making deals with.

But the attacks being carried out against us today are being driven through by both parties. The labor officials' approach will only lead to more defeats and setbacks.

'Working people marched 500,000 strong on Solidarity Day. But right now we don't have a single voice in Congress, let alone a government that represents our needs. . . .'

against equal pay for women, Blacks, and other oppressed nationalities.

The two parties in Congress, the Democrats and Republicans, are helping them every step of the way.

No "New Deal" or "War on Poverty" is on the agenda today. All of their moves — pushing through tax breaks for the wealthy, slashing social services, gutting affirmative action programs, and pouring money into the Pentagon — are designed to help the rich stay rich.

No one speaks for us

And right now, working people — the overwhelming majority of us in this country — don't have a single voice in Congress to stop them. Let alone a government organized to meet our needs.

But this can be changed.

Solidarity Day offers an inkling of how.

The resources used to build that massive demonstration and the organizations that marched show that we have the basis for a political party of our own. A labor party, based on the unions, that could fight for all of the demands raised on September 19.

A party like this could fight for a government that represents working people instead of the wealthy few. A government that would put jobs, decent education, quality health care, and affordable housing ahead of more bombs, missiles, tanks, and warships. A government that would tax the rich bankers and employers, not wage workers and working farmers.

This idea is beginning to be discussed inside the labor movement. The need for a labor party is so obvious that it has become a topic of discussion at a number of recent union conventions.

Last year the 2,000 delegates at the International Association of Machinists convention mandated the leadership to "join with other progressive and liberal groups in our society to determine the extent to which grass roots support might be developed for an independent pro-labor party."

Unfortunately, IAM president William Winpisinger has used the resolution only to pressure Democrats. While he refused to endorse Carter's 1980 campaign, early this year Winpisinger took an at-large seat on the Democratic National Committee.

A resolution calling for a labor party was narrowly defeated at the Carpenters convention on September 2.

Why wasn't this proposal raised by the speakers on September 19?

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Millions for Democrats

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Who was behind 'terrorism' smear of SWP?

Indications mounted this week that the FBI was behind the libelous Associated Press (AP) report linking the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to the Rockland County holdup and shootings.

Late October 21, an AP story on the holdup stated that "FBI spokesman Joe Valiquette said in New York that the Bureau had determined that Miss Clark [one of those arrested] was the same Judith Clark who once was in the Weather Underground and is now a figure in the Socialist Workers Party."

The next morning the story was carried prominently in hundreds of newspapers across the country and broadcast on radio and television. The SWP responded immediately. In a statement released to the press October 22, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes accused the FBI of "a deliber-

ate lie in the charge that Clark is connected to the SWP."

Barnes accused the FBI of a "new Cointelpro-style operation aimed at discrediting the SWP."

SWP branches and election campaign committees across the country protested the smear with news conferences, press releases, and calls to the media.

In New York, the AP was handed a copy of Barnes' statement around 5:00 p.m.

Then things got interesting. Two hours later, an AP official called the SWP to say that "a corrective" was being sent out. The "corrective," timed at 7:19 p.m., stated:

"The Associated Press erroneously reported Wednesday that FBI spokesman Joe Valiquette said Judith Clark is a figure in the Socialist Workers Party. . . .

"The statement about Miss Clark's connection with the party came from New York City Police Commissioner Robert McGuire, who said Wednesday at a news conference that Miss Clark was believed to be a figure in the Socialist Workers Party. But on Thursday, Alice McGillion, a spokeswoman for the police department, said Miss Clark was not a party member."

AP offered the SWP no explanation — other than "somebody made a mistake" — for the quote from the FBI.

When SWP attorneys contacted the New York police to verify the AP "corrective," the cops denied that they ever made the statement about Clark in the first place.

When the SWP then told the AP that the cops disputed the "correc-

tive," AP officials said they were not at liberty to discuss the matter.

The next day, October 23, Margaret Winter, attorney for the SWP in its suit against the FBI, demanded sworn statements from FBI officials explaining their role, if any, in the matter.

As of October 28, the FBI had not produced the requested affidavits.

"If the FBI circulated this story, either by giving it to the press directly, releasing it to the New York cops, or through some other device, it would be further evidence that they are continuing their efforts to defame and disrupt the SWP," said John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund. "If necessary, we will move in court to reopen the record in the SWP case so that we can pursue this to the end," he added. — L.S.

... FBI and cops on rampage

Continued from front page

especially Black and Puerto Rican organizations.

Alleged figures in the Weather Underground were arrested near the scene of the holdup.

To hear the cops tell it, however, the conspiracy goes far beyond the Weather Underground. In the days following the killings, those reported to be linked, in one way or another, to the plot included: the Black Liberation Army, the Black Panther Party, the Republic of New Africa, the Irish Republican Army, the Puerto Rican FALN, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Cuban government.

It is undoubtedly the most far-reaching bank-robbing conspiracy ever concocted by the police imagination. And it is getting bigger still.

"While no evidence has been put forward for some of the purported connections," reported the *New York Times* October 26, "the Federal officials say the groups [linked to the Weather Underground] share common purposes, including what one called 'the creation of a socialist state' and 'an end to the United States Government as we know it.'"

Thus, as far as the police are concerned, everyone who believes in socialism and would rejoice at witnessing the end of the United States government "as we know it" may be linked to the conspiracy. This includes the majority of the people on this planet.

Sweeping 'investigation'

On October 27, John Martin, the United States Attorney in Manhattan, said a grand jury will be convened to hear evidence gathered in a federal investigation carried out under "racketeering" statutes. Under these laws, people "associated" with those involved in the holdup and killings can be charged with participating in a criminal enterprise.

In Washington, the FBI announced there will be a "major coordinated effort" to investigate political groups in the United States and internationally.

FBI men across the country expressed their delight at the smear campaign against radical groups. The former head of the FBI office in San Francisco said he now felt "justified" for what the FBI has done to left-wing groups. "They weren't just a bunch of innocent kids," he said.

Cops everywhere sensed in the days after the Brinks robbery that now might be a good time to "get" some people they would like to settle scores with. As always, the first victims of the cops have been Black.

• In Mississippi, October 27, more than 150 cops and Air Force SWAT teams descended on a farmhouse



Cynthia Boston, Republic of New Africa leader, after cop raid in Mississippi.

owned by members of the Republic of New Africa (RNA). The heavily armed raiders were accompanied by three tanks, two helicopters — and network television crews.

They arrested Cynthia Boston, who was unarmed. Also in the house were twelve Black youths who, claimed the *New York Daily News*, were "being schooled in terror tactics." Cops claimed that Boston, who they identified as the minister of information for the RNA, was connected to the Rockland County robbery.

A decade ago, cops and FBI agents raided a Jackson, Mississippi house and provoked a gun battle with RNA members. Fortunately, the even more extreme provocation this time failed.

• On Long Island, New York, a SWAT team converged without warning on a cleaning company crew, all Black. The cops said they had an anonymous tip that Assasta Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) was seen in the cleaning van. Shakur escaped from prison in 1979, after being convicted of killing a New Jersey cop. She is said to be a leader of the Black Liberation Army.

Karen Smith, the young worker who was "identified," resembled Shakur only in being Black and female. Nonetheless, she is now facing charges of resisting arrest. Her father, also a

member of the work crew, is also being held by the cops on gambling charges because a numbers slip was allegedly found in his possession.

• In Queens, New York, October 23, cops started chasing a car occupied by two Black men. The car's license, they claimed, had been seen near one of the many apartments cops have raided in recent days. The chase ended when the cops gunned down one of the occupants, Sam Smith.

Naturally, the cops claimed self-defense. Witnesses, however, said Smith was shot as he tried to go over a fence to flee the cops.

The second man in the car, Sekou Odinga (Nathaniel Burns) was arrested and severely beaten by the cops. Odinga said at his arraignment that cops hit him on the head, burned his wrists, put his head in a toilet, and repeatedly pulled the trigger on a gun held to his head.

The police and the press have identified Odinga as a "fugitive Black Panther." What they have neglected to explain is that the charges against him were part of a long since discredited frame-up against 21 Black Panthers in 1969.

The 21 were accused of bombing four police stations and conspiring to blow up department stores and the Bronx Botanical Gardens. The evidence came from "stool-pigeons" of the New York City cops' Red Squad.

The frame-up was one of the most ambitious ever undertaken by the Red Squad. The trial took eight months. But when it was over, it took the jury less than two hours to acquit each of the 13 defendants who appeared at the trial on every count.

It was a terrible blow to the Red Squad, one the New York cops haven't forgotten.

Frame-up of Cuba

For the supposed foreign links, the FBI is pointing at Havana.

Revolutionary Cuba, which is telling the truth to the whole world about the crimes of American imperialism, is a natural and inevitable target for Washington's lies. Kenneth Walton, director of the "Federal-New York City Terrorism Task Force," says the FBI knows that Havana "has been supportive in the past of the Weather Underground."

On nationwide TV, ABC News showed excerpts from a "documentary" film that claims to prove the link between the Cuban intelligence service and the Weatherpeople. The *Wall Street Journal* relied on the same film to back up its call for a "thorough investigation" into the "deep involvement in American terrorism by Cuban intelligence, the DGI."

As the *Journal* reports, "In particular

the documentary features an interview with Larry Grathwohl, a former member of the Weather Underground. He describes how members found one another on occasions when they got cut off from the main body of the group in hiding. . . . They telephoned the Cuban embassy in either Canada or Mexico and identified themselves by a special code name. An intelligence officer with the Cuban embassy would then arrange for them to be put in touch with the members of the Weather Underground they were seeking; these persons were also identified by code names."

What the *Wall Street Journal* and ABC News didn't bother to mention is that Grathwohl, the "former member of the Weather Underground," is an FBI stool-pigeon. Working for the FBI, he joined the Weather Underground in December 1969, and remained a member until he was exposed four months later.

Thus, we are asked to believe that the FBI has had this inside dope, including the "codes," for nearly a dozen years but has never been able to capture any of the leaders of the Weather Underground.

Middle-class radicalism

The Weather Underground, a group of middle-class student radicals, took up terrorism in 1970. Their goal was not socialism, or revolution of any kind. Rather, their perspective was to end such evils as racial oppression and the war in Vietnam through terrorizing the ruling class until it changed its policies. Their idea was to reform society with bombs.

Their actions and ideas were anti-working class in every sense. They opposed Marxism, and rejected every mass movement. They looked upon working people in general with contempt and on the labor movement as the enemy of all they stood for.

In their first "manifesto" from the underground, in May, 1970, they explained themselves this way:

"... our job is to lead white kids to armed revolution. . . . we fight in many ways. Dope is one of our weapons. . . . Guns and grass are united in the youth underground."

"Freaks are revolutionaries and revolutionaries are freaks. If you want to find us, this is where we are. . . . where kids are making love, smoking dope and loading guns. . . ."

Unfortunately, the Weather Underground's rejection of the class struggle won't prevent the government and the cops from using the Rockland County killings to try to victimize and smear the workers movement, including, especially, Black and Puerto Rican activists, and socialist and communist organizations.

Subscription scoreboard

As of October 24, 1981

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	SUBS REC'D	PM GOAL	SUBS REC'D	TOTAL GOAL	TOTAL REC'D	%
**Cleveland	55	57	5	3	60	60	100
*Portland	75	67	0	0	75	67	89
Boston	175	162	25	4	200	166	83
New Orleans	110	87	0	1	110	88	80
San Diego	90	83	30	9	120	92	77
Detroit	200	154	15	4	215	158	73
*Washington D.C.	235	190	40	12	275	202	73
*San Antonio	130	94	35	21	165	115	70
Atlanta	165	121	10	0	175	121	69
Lincoln	30	18	0	2	30	20	67
Louisville	125	82	0	0	125	82	66
Salt Lake City	140	99	20	5	160	104	65
Newark	275	208	75	8	350	216	62
Philadelphia	110	84	40	9	150	93	62
*Brooklyn	475	318	75	16	550	334	61
Capital District	90	57	5	1	95	58	61
*Piedmont	180	108	0	1	180	109	61
Denver	95	60	5	0	100	60	60
Oakland	170	113	30	2	200	115	58
St. Louis	115	68	5	0	120	68	57
Tucson	20	18	15	2	35	20	57
*Pittsburgh	290	162	10	3	300	165	55
*Harrisburg	130	70	0	0	130	70	54
*Birmingham	200	103	0	3	200	106	53
Chicago	215	114	35	7	250	121	48
Los Angeles	325	173	75	17	400	190	48
Phoenix	75	38	25	9	100	47	47
**Cincinnati	70	32	0	0	70	32	46
*Iron Range	110	51	0	0	110	51	46
Gary	115	54	10	0	125	54	43
**Toledo	50	21	0	0	50	21	42
Seattle	140	51	10	7	150	58	39
San Francisco	150	70	50	6	200	76	38
Baltimore	130	48	5	1	135	49	36
*Manhattan	705	297	245	33	950	330	35
Morgantown	120	41	0	0	120	41	34
Milwaukee	150	55	25	3	175	58	33
Albuquerque	60	24	25	2	85	26	31
Indianapolis	125	38	0	0	125	38	30
Kansas City	125	36	25	8	150	44	29
Twin Cities	180	53	0	0	180	53	29
Dallas	110	32	50	6	160	38	24
Miami	90	21	10	3	100	24	24
Tidewater	120	27	0	0	120	27	23
San Jose	90	18	40	4	130	22	17
Charleston	125	17	0	0	125	17	14
Houston	135	10	40	0	175	10	6
Miscellaneous		205		27		232	
TOTAL	7195	4109	1110	239	8305	4348	52
SHOULD BE		2772		428		3200	40

*indicates area that has raised goal
**indicates area petitioning to put SWP on ballot

Young Socialist team gets good response

By Rick Reaves and Mark Emanatian

STATE COLLEGE, PA. — In early October, a Pennsylvania statewide Young Socialist Alliance team hit the road to help publicize the upcoming Dec. 31-Jan. 3 Young Socialist Alliance national convention in Philadelphia and to get the *Young Socialist*, the *Militant*, and *Perspectiva Mundial* into the hands of hundreds of young workers and students across the state.

In the first two weeks, a team of three talked to hundreds of working people, unemployed youth, and high school and college students in the industrial cities of Erie, Johnstown, and Altoona. More than 500 copies of the socialist press, including thirty-five *Militant* subscriptions, 221 single copies of the *Militant*, and 233 single copies of the *Young Socialist* were sold. Forty-eight *Young Socialists* were sold at Erie and Johnstown high schools. Most of the *Militants* were sold door-to-door, where the team found an openness and willingness to discuss the socialist alternative to the bipartisan cutbacks in social services and the step up in military expenditures approved by both the Democratic and Republican parties.

From coal miners, rail workers, and steelworkers — some laid off for as long as two to three years — to students and elderly people on public assistance, the team was struck with the overwhelmingly deep hatred of Reagan and his policies. We talked to a twenty-four-year-

old Johnstown Black youth who has not had a job since high school and does not see a possibility of finding a job in Johnstown. He has no money to get out of town to look for one. None of his friends have been able to find jobs either.

Team members found the best response to the *Militant* and the *Young Socialist* by presenting them as antiwar, anti-Reagan papers that support women's rights, Black rights, and also offered solutions for working people to start fighting back.

The team ran into a militant couple, one an electrical worker and the other a coal miner in the town of Lucerne Mines. They bought a copy of the *Militant* at the Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington and thought that the labor party idea was so good that they bought a subscription from the team.

Over the two weeks, the majority of *Militant* subscriptions were sold to trade-unionists.

The team found close to twenty young people who are extremely interested in attending the Young Socialist Alliance national convention. Most looked at it as a way to start fighting back against Reagan. Of those, three are now thinking of joining the Young Socialist Alliance.

The team plans to be out four more weeks, starting with State College and hitting such cities as Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, and Lancaster.

Political rights rally defends aircraft workers

By Matthew Herreshoff

A November 14 rally in St. Louis will kick off a nationwide effort to build support for the fight to halt spying, harassment, and disruption by the political police.

Speaking will be Vincent Micciche, vice president of Local 352 of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO); Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party city council member from Seaside, California; and Young Socialist Alliance leader Andreé Kahlmorgan.

The rally is sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is organizing support for the suit by the SWP and YSA against the government.

The St. Louis rally will highlight the case of three members of the International Association of Machinists at the McDonnell-Douglas aircraft plant in that city. The three, who are members of the SWP, are targets of a company-government conspiracy to fire them from their jobs.

The government is demanding that they fill out special security clearance applications, even though the three already have security clearances and have been working at the plant for more than a year.

The IAM has filed a grievance on behalf of the socialist workers, charging "political harassment and intimidation."

Andreé Kahlmorgan, one of those speaking at the rally, was fired by Lockheed in Atlanta, Georgia, in a similar victimization. She and fourteen fired co-workers are waging a campaign to regain their jobs.

Kahlmorgan is one of a number of

leaders of the SWP and YSA who will be touring the country to win support for the socialist suit and the fight for political rights.

The tours will hit fifty cities. They will aid ongoing battles for workers' rights, like the one in St. Louis, and help get the word out on the current stage of the socialists' suit, which is now being considered by a federal judge in New York City.

Winning financial support for these battles is an important focus of the tours. They will boost the \$125,000 fund drive being conducted by PRDF. So far, supporters have contributed \$35,500 toward the goal. The pace must be picked up if PRDF is going to be able to pay its bills and continue its work.

Rallies like the one planned for St. Louis will be held in every city on the tour. Other events are also slated in many cities. In Tucson, for example, where iron ore miner and United Steelworkers member Rich Stuart will be speaking, a cocktail party is being planned. Already, twenty-five people are sponsors of this fundraising event.

In many areas, meetings are being arranged with Black and Latino groups, on campuses, in union halls, and in churches. News conferences will also be held to show the broad support existing for civil liberties, and to publicize the latest developments in the SWP and YSA suit.

If you would like to help, send in the coupon below.

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Controllers union loses certification

By Stu Singer

The Federal Labor Relations Authority ruled October 22 that the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization should be decertified for the crime of going on strike.

Decertification means PATCO is not recognized as a union. The union is appealing the decertification.

PATCO is a member of the AFL-CIO. The decertification of the union and firing of 12,000 strikers is the biggest defeat in the twenty-six year history of the labor federation.

The air controllers union executive board announced October 28: "PATCO members have been locked out by their former employer and could not return to work even if so ordered. [When the Federal Aviation Administration ends the lockout] PATCO would immediately order all of its members to return to work."

A union spokesperson explained that the decision was reached as "a show of good faith before the appeals court" to win back the union's certification.

Reagan's Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis applauded the FLRA ruling: "It reaffirms . . . that citizens of this country cannot be allowed to pick and choose the laws they obey."

But it was the government that refused to negotiate, that forced the strike, that fired 12,000 workers, that dragged a union leader off to jail in chains, that is holding felony indictments over 71 PATCO activists around the country, that has joined the airlines in suing the union and its members for millions of dollars.

Premeditated

Plans for the attack on PATCO began at least two years ago under the Carter administration. The controllers, knowing Carter's hostility, backed Ronald Reagan for president after written assurance that he supported their basic contract demands. He repaid them by carrying out Carter's plan to break PATCO.

The air controllers proved to be tough fighters, but the strength of the two sides was uneven: a relatively small union against the federal government.

The government had all the employers, the capitalist news media, and the Democratic and Republican parties with it.

No other strike in recent years inspired more support from other union members. But no other strike was hurt more by the absence of solidarity from the leadership of the labor movement.

Antistrike activities carried out by union leaders ranged from organizing scabs to taking money out of the wages of union members to help the airlines bear the cost of the strike.

Labor leaders from the AFL-CIO Executive Council on down decided the strike was lost from the day it began. To win it would have required a massive struggle by the entire labor movement. This would have led to a sharp confrontation with the employers and the Democratic and Republican politicians — a conflict the labor officials recoiled from.

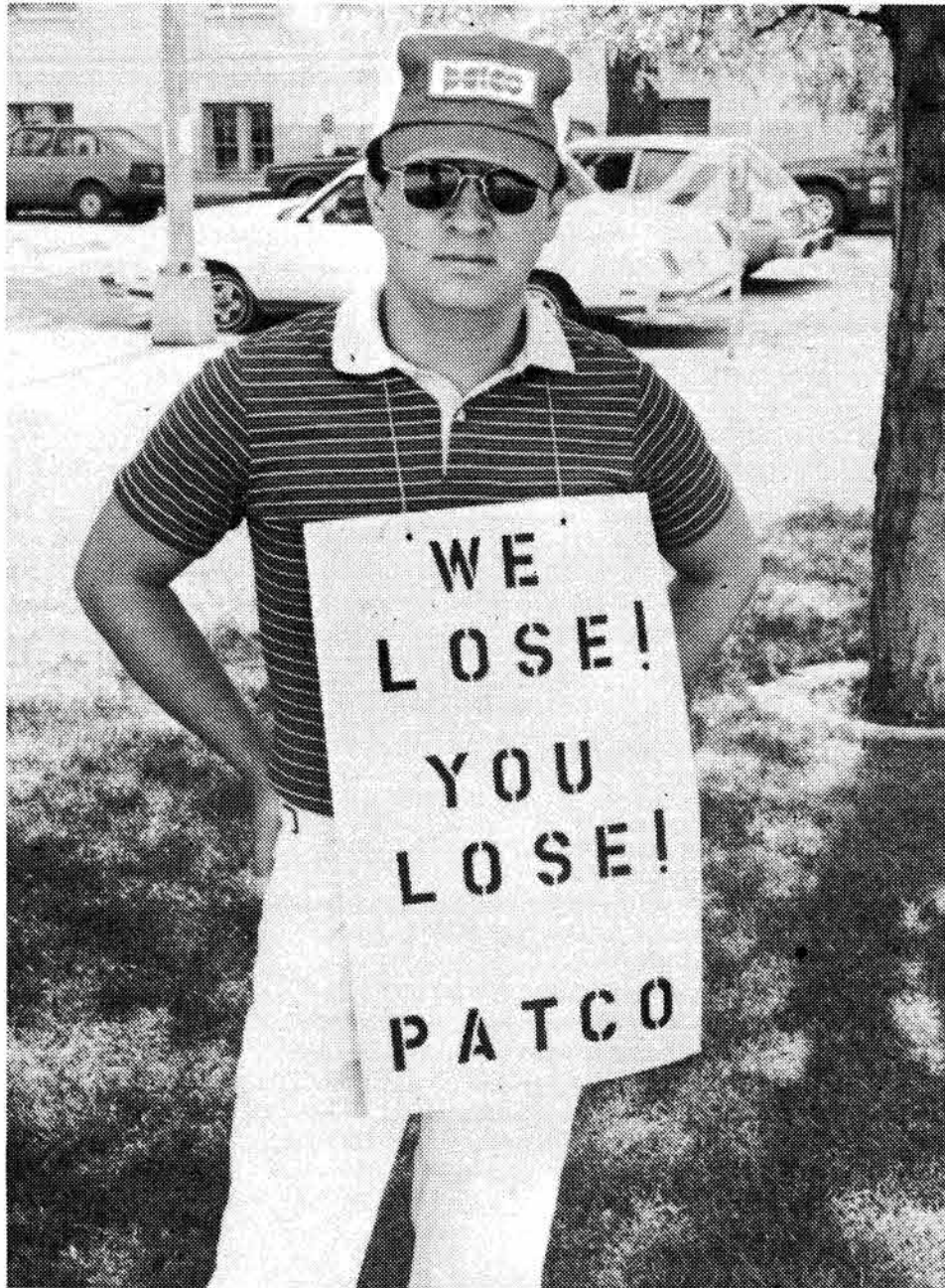
They decided not to call unionized airline workers out on strike in support of PATCO. They never asked for a boycott of airline travel. They did not organize a big campaign to get out the truth about the strike, or attempt to organize massive rallies to support it.

They saved their energies for convincing union members to take pay cuts, give up safety protection, accept thousands of layoffs without protest, all to help company profits.

The financial contributions to the fund for PATCO families amount to very little compared to the union leaders' help to the companies and the government.

The AFL-CIO leadership never criticized the Air Line Pilots Association for organizing laid-off pilots to work as scab controllers. The head of the pilots union is a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

Some top labor officials pretended to



PATCO striker in Denver. Biggest defeat in 26 years of AFL-CIO.

Militant/Bernie Senter

support PATCO by not flying. That contribution plus 10 cents would pay for a phone call.

Holier than thou

In Oakland, California, a group of labor officials showed their support for PATCO by standing at the gate of the airport and yelling "scab" at everyone who went by one day. The "scabs" included all the unionized airport workers. The bureaucrats, yelling "scab" at the workers, never got around to organizing a strike.

Under cover of supporting PATCO, the Steelworkers canceled a health and safety conference, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women canceled its convention.

All that accomplished was losing two opportunities for unionists to discuss and organize support for PATCO and other urgent issues. Canceling the meetings did nothing to help PATCO.

Union leaders have tried to use their refusal to fly as evidence they are better unionists than the ranks. This is a lie.

It's not the ranks who are becoming more conservative. It's the union officials. They are retreating as fast as their legs will carry them, as the government and the bosses attack working people.

Sign of strength?

A week before the decertification ruling, Machinists Union Vice-President John Peterpaul testified about the controllers' strike before a congressional committee: "The Administration has waged an all-out war and has won the war. It should now win the peace with reason and tolerance."

AFL-CIO Public Employee Department head John Leyden told the committee, "A mid-course correction by the Administration will not be perceived as weakness but as a sign of strength and compassion."

After the decertification was announced, Lane Kirkland acted as if he welcomed the decision. "[It] does, at least, remove the last semblance of an excuse" for the government not to rehire a sizable block of controllers, he told the *New York Times*.

Of course, given a defeat, it is better for some of the controllers to get their jobs back. But the government is not even making this "compassionate" gesture.

Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis repeated after the announcement of the decertification that none of the striking controllers will be rehired.

The Reagan administration is sending out a brutal message to the entire labor movement: they are going to make an example out of the PATCO strikers. They are saying that crushing this strike and these strikers is worth whatever the cost in more-dangerous air travel.

Impact of strike

In a *New York Times* interview, teachers head Albert Shanker said the blows dealt against the controllers have no impact on other public employee contracts.

Shanker's opinion was expressed in the second month of the strike by the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers. That strike was forced by the city tearing up the teachers' contract.

Phila. teachers' strike ends

By Vivian Sahner

On October 27, union officials ended the fifty-day strike by the 23,000 members of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers.

The union's executive board acted hours after the Commonwealth Court ordered the union to return to work and upheld the city's right to tear up the PFT's 1980-1982 contract.

The three-judge panel said the second year of the contract was unenforceable because funds to finance it were unavailable. Union members, they said, should work while a new contract is negotiated.

The court ruling temporarily reinstates 3,500 school employees who were laid off by the city at the beginning of the school year.

Striking teachers in Philadelphia don't agree with Shanker.

The air controllers were the most active supporters of their strike, and the teachers supported PATCO. Teachers wore PATCO buttons; hundreds participated in a rally for the controllers at the airport October 16.

10.2 percent loss

The latest federal employee pay raise is another example of the impact of the air controllers' strike. Reagan set the pay raise for 1.4 million workers at 4.8 percent. With inflation running at 15 percent a year, this means a 10.2 percent drop in purchasing power.

But there have been no protests from federal employee union leaders.

Reagan's message to the controllers seems to be getting through to union officials: take what you're offered and shut up.

It is not just government workers under attack. The same situation exists in private industry.

The usual round of secret negotiations, months past the contract expirations, are now going on for railroad workers.

Gus Welty, who writes the "Lines on Labor" column in the employer magazine *Railway Age*, sees encouragement in the Reagan attack on the controllers. In the September 26 issue, he remarked: "Rail unions, of course, are not PATCO. . . . But rail unions may be sobered by the realization that any arbitration board, any emergency board coming up now will have the Reagan touch. . . . To put it another way, rail labor could decide to cool it — despite its outlandish demands."

Drawing the lessons

In 1894, a nationwide strike by the American Railway Union was crushed by federal troops. The defeat of the Pullman strike destroyed the industrial rail union. Strike activists were never rehired. Strike leaders served long prison sentences.

Union leader Eugene Debs did a lot of reading and thinking while behind bars.

He became a revolutionary and a socialist. For over twenty years, he was one of the most respected workers' leaders in the country.

The Pullman strike was a defeat, but also a lesson, part of the heritage of the working class.

We're relearning some of those lessons through the blows dealt to the air controllers.

Thousands of controllers have done a lot of thinking, changing many ideas they had about how this society works, which class the government represents, and the utter bankruptcy of the labor bureaucracy.

Many workers will carry the experience of the PATCO strike into the coming rise of workers struggles.

Whether or not they ever get their jobs back, the example of 12,000 air controllers standing up to the full weight of the federal government is an inspiration to everyone willing to fight for what they believe in.

Interview with Mario Dones

Puerto Rican union leader discusses strike

By Nelson Blackstock

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — Mario Dones is president of UTIER (Electrical Industry and Irrigation Workers Union.)

UTIER is now on strike in what is one of the strongest answers to Reagan's cutback drive.

On October 14 I talked with Dones in his office at UTIER headquarters here.

UTIER is the largest union on the island, after the teachers federation. It has a reputation as a militant union with a left-wing leadership.

The electrical utility is government owned, and the strikers find themselves in a head-on confrontation with the administration.

The governor, Carlos Romero Barceló, is a staunch advocate of statehood. As part of his strategy to get Washington to go along with imposing statehood on this colony, Romero is out to show Reagan that he can put through his cuts here.

But it's not easy on an island where the standard of living is already much lower than in the United States. Official figures — always low — put unemployment at 21 percent. Wages are so low that 60 percent of the population is on food stamps.

The UTIER strike — along with the strike of students at the University of Puerto Rico — is front-page news here. Everybody is talking about it.

As we spoke, Dones was busy preparing for the reopening of negotiations the next day. It would be the first bargaining session in three weeks.

"We're now in the fifty-seventh day of the strike," Dones said.

"We have two contracts. One is for salary. The other is for working conditions."

The current strike is over wages. The contract expired June 30. The contract on working conditions runs until June 1983.

"The authority's first offer was three cents an hour.

"We called a general assembly of the union. The strike vote was unanimous.

"In response, they increased their offer to \$12 a month. Then they went up to \$40, which they said was their 'final,' Dones continued.

"Two days after we struck, they went up to \$50 the first year and \$55 the next."

The Autoridad de Energía Eléctrica (AEE) hasn't budged from that position. They're now pressing for a four-year contract — with \$50 the first and \$55 the last three years.

The government claims the workers aren't behind the strike. I asked Dones about this.

"On September 17 we called together a convention of all members of the union. We asked them if they



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Mario Dones, president of UTIER, electrical workers union.

wanted to sustain the strike. They said yes. We also had a big march.

"Last week we marched again. It was another demonstration to the governor that they want to stay out until they win."

On October 8 more than 4,000 UTIER members and their supporters had marched through the streets of San Juan to a rally at the capitol.

"The AEE says we get the biggest salary in Puerto Rico. But we say the executives of AEE have the biggest pay in Puerto Rico. We found the head of AEE makes more than the governor."

Dones says that, even with Reagan's cuts, there's no reason the electrical workers can't get what they're asking.

"We produce a lot of money. The AEE will take in one billion, 800 million this year; and 3.2 billion in 1983.

"We produce the money. We're asking for our share."

During public employees' strikes in the United States, the government presents it as a battle of the workers against the "public." But here they seem to have little success with that ploy.

One reason may be that UTIER has championed the fight against a proposed increase in electric bills.

"We said the increase was not necessary," Dones stated. "They were trying to increase the fees to build a coal plant. They needed more income to get loans

from banks in the states. They needed \$1.6 billion.

"But we said, no. They don't need it. There's enough capability already."

As the people who do the work, they are in a position to know. Also, the proposal sparked protests from residents concerned about environmental hazards posed by the plant. Under pressure, the government dropped the plan.

UTIER is getting support from twenty or thirty unions.

Among them are the air traffic controllers, members of PATCO (Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization). They had been out in force at the march last week.

"We passed a resolution giving the controllers support," Dones said.

I asked about the impact of the cuts in food stamps on strikers.

"As of October they don't get them. But they didn't get them before 1975. And workers had a lot of strikes then, and they fed themselves."

Workers had carried signs in the march saying, "With food stamps or without."

This U.S. colony sits amidst a chain of islands that are witnessing revolutions today. I asked about the relation between the struggle of Puerto Rican workers and other workers in the Caribbean.

"Our struggle is the same as that in other countries of the Caribbean," Dones said. The workers and citizens in the Caribbean islands are being exploited in the same manner as us.

"UTIER has been a vanguard union in our country," Dones said.

"After the revolution in Nicaragua we sent money in support." Dones also pointed to UTIER's backing of two of the best-known struggles in Puerto Rico.

"At its last convention UTIER passed a resolution in support of the settlers fighting for land from the government.

"We also gave our support to the fishermen of Vieques." They are trying to stop the U.S. Navy from using their small island home, off the coast of Puerto Rico, as an artillery target range.

Dones mentioned the fraternal relations between UTIER and the electrical workers in Mexico. On his office wall was the banner of the Mexican union. It, too, is known as a militant union.

"I would like to have some talks and collaboration with advanced unions in the U.S.," Dones told me.

Dones concluded by saying that he believes an end to Puerto Rico's "colonial status" is needed.

"Independence will not come soon," he said, "but it will come."

'Our fight is part of fight against Reagan's cuts'

By Nelson Blackstock

RIO PIEDRAS, Puerto Rico — Since August, students at the University of Puerto Rico here have been fighting a decree boosting tuition 200 percent.

Roberto Alejandro Rivera, president of the General Student Council, has emerged as the central leader of the fight.

On October 13 I talked to Alejandro near the gates of the closed university.

Nearby, some 200 chanting students marched along the sidewalk. The picket line had been called to protest a new administration move to smash the strike by expelling 4,000 students who had refused to pay tuition.

That same day, in court, a new scheme to break the strike was being unveiled. The administration was seeking an injunction barring from campus key student leaders, including Alejandro.

"The fight against the fee increase is part of the fight against Reagan's cuts," Alejandro told me. "It's a rejection of the politics of the Reagan administration."

"Reagan has tried to put the weight of the cuts on students.

"We are rejecting the increase because it will limit the opportunity of poor and working-class students to get an education.

"The university will become a sanctuary for privileged sectors of society."

Government officials have sought to portray the strike as the work of a handful of students. Governor Carlos Romero Barceló of the pro-statehood New Progressive Party charged that a "small mi-



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Roberto Alejandro, student leader.

nority group" using "force and violence and with motives alien to the university system" was behind the strike.

The governor rebuffed Alejandro as a "coordinator of socialist groups."

Alejandro says the student movement is very broad, broader than in past years.

"We've had Catholics, evangelicals, members of the Popular Democratic Party (one of the two major capitalist parties), members of the New Progressive Party, and independentistas," he said.

"We have been able to sustain the movement because of its broadness.

"In reality, the administration knows it's lying."

As a student I met near the university asked, "How can the administration claim only a handful of students support the struggle, then turn around and expel 4,000?"

"The allegation that only communists are involved is government demagoguery," Alejandro said. "To cover their own incompetence they try to put responsibility for the crisis on some 'communist conspiracy funded in Havana.'"

"Essentially, Romero wants to get rid of the student and workers movements," Alejandro said.

"In face of the crisis, they want to give the impression that things are alright in Puerto Rico.

But the social crisis will not be solved within the framework of the current colonial status of Puerto Rico.

"As a socialist, which I don't deny, I think the solution lies in independence."

I also spoke with Arturo Melendez, president of the Puerto Rican Association of University Professors.

The association voted unanimously to support the strike.

"Romero is bringing economic destruction to the island in putting through Reagan's cuts in federal funds," Melendez said.

"Romero believes Reagan backs statehood," Melendez continued. "But Puerto Rico suffers from the same social unrest as other parts of the Caribbean." To have any chance of making statehood acceptable in Washington, Romero knows he must show he can tame the workers and students, Melendez said.

Cops called in to break strike

Despite the presence of a special strike force of more than seventy-five heavily armed Puerto Rican police, the university administration was unsuccessful in an attempt to break the student strike with the reopening of the University of Puerto Rico campus at Rio Piedras October 23.

The cops broke up a gathering of a thousand students who were trying to meet on campus.

The students reassembled at the entrance to the campus, where they set up a picket line that was joined by a thousand more students.

Student leader Roberto Alejandro said October 25 that the dispute will not be settled by "the police strike force nor by turning the campus into a concentration camp," but through negotiations between the administration and students. Administration officials have refused to hold such talks.

Alejandro announced October 26 that students will meet on campus to discuss the strike, despite an administration ban. According to *El Nueva Dia*, Alejandro also said that eleven student leaders barred from campus by court order will take part in the meeting.

'Peoples congress' points in wrong direction



Workers want to fight back against bosses' attacks and are looking for answers.

By Nelson González

DETROIT — On October 16-18, well over 2,000 people, including many Blacks and Latinos, attended the All-Peoples Congress (APC).

Participants included welfare mothers, members of several unions, organizations of the handicapped, gay and lesbian groups, and others.

The conference was called by the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM), which played a major role in building the massive May 3 demonstration in Washington against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

The gathering took place in the context of an open declaration of war against working people by big business and its two political parties, the Democrats and the Republicans. Many of the activists who attended were expecting that it would provide a forum for serious discussion of these attacks, and offer a perspective to fight back.

Conference organizers provided no such perspective. Moreover, they arranged the proceedings to prevent the kind of discussion participants were hoping would take place.

In three plenary sessions, less than a dozen people altogether were permitted to speak. Limited time was allocated to the twenty-six workshops, many of which were jammed with so many panelists that discussion from the floor was severely limited.

The organizers' refusal to allow a serious and open discussion was a necessary consequence of the political perspective they had decided should be adopted by the conference. This perspective, in a nutshell, is that more militant street demonstrations and other direct action by groups affiliated

to the All-Peoples Congress will be sufficient to halt the rulers' offensive and win new concessions.

This was laid out by Larry Holmes in his speech to the opening session of the conference. Holmes is a PAM national coordinator and a leader of the Workers World Party. He was the major spokesperson for the organizers of the conference.

Holmes told the audience that proposed actions against Reagan in many cities would involve "... a march downtown, there'll be a sit-down here and a sit-down there ... there will be no way for traffic to move, bridges will be closed down, there will be work stoppages." There would be "a central march on Washington to stay awhile until we win something."

Holmes invented a fantasy world where the Reagan administration is on the run, cowering before the "people's movement," and making concessions.

According to Holmes, total victory would be achieved by organizing a people's movement that would "surround the White House" and force the Democrats and Republicans in congress to "call a special session." This session would "reverse all the cuts."

"... the people are with us," Holmes explained. "Think of being in Ronald Reagan's shoes, he's panicked, he's afraid."

To convince his audience that Reagan's fear was real, Holmes claimed that Reagan was already retreating in response to the September 19 Solidarity Day march on Washington.

"If it wasn't for the powerful flexing of the muscle of the labor movement in this country I doubt that he [Reagan] would have come on TV just a few days later and said that he had to back up on

his cuts in Social Security ... and that ketchup wasn't a substitute for meat," Holmes explained.

Holmes neglected to point out that, rather than reversing himself, the purpose of Reagan's TV appearance was to ram through new cuts totaling \$13 billion.

Holmes said that "just as they reversed themselves on this small but very important thing, they can reverse themselves on everything. Just one vote, just one vote. ... They can reverse all the antipeople, antiworker, racist, sexist legislation ... in the last ten months. They can call a special session of congress."

To pressure congress to take this step, the conference organizers proposed "National Days of Resistance" from April 24 to May 2.

None of the proposals for direct action were aimed in any way at advancing toward a solution to the fundamental question before the American labor movement today — breaking from the Democratic and Republican parties.

In fact, conference organizers steered things in the opposite direction.

Outlining his "blueprint" to build a people's movement, Holmes explained, "We may have Democrats among us, that's all right. There are maybe even a few disgruntled Republicans among us ... but we shouldn't be concerned about that."

"What we want to do is organize everyone ... find a role for everyone, every group that is opposed to Reagan's program. ... We cross party lines, political lines, religious lines. ..."

Any question that what was meant is to simply unite these diverse forces in common action was dispelled in an editorial in the October 23 issue of *Workers World*, published by the Workers World Party.

It states, "the All-Peoples Congress offers a real working-class alternative to the old electoral politics of the past. It raises an independent program. ... It is the best alternative to demagoguery from the Democratic politicians."

Holmes believes that a movement composed of anti-Reagan Democrats and "disgruntled Republicans," united on a common program with working people, represents an independent program and is the "best alternative to demagoguery from the Democratic politicians."

A movement of such forces could have a procapitalist "people's" program, not an independent working-class program.

The people in attendance at the conference are fed up with "direct action" schemes and dead-end electoral strategies.

Most of the conference participants have a more serious and realistic view of the depth of the crisis facing working people in this country than the APC spokespeople presented. While supporting demonstrations and other actions

against the cutbacks, these activists hold no illusions that the rulers' offensive is going to be turned around just by demonstrating at the White House next April.

As the conference wore on, many participants felt that they were simply not being presented with the truth about what we face, and that the necessary discussion of strategy and perspectives was being pushed under the table.

They knew that Reagan is far from being "panicked." Rather, he is systematically carrying out the policies that American capitalism must follow if it is to protect its top-dog status as the world's chief exploiter of working people.

The blows the Reagan administration has dealt against the striking air controllers are part of this offensive. And, far from revealing panic, they show Reagan's relentless determination, and will encourage employers throughout the country to redouble their attacks on labor.

Reaganism is nothing more than the domestic and foreign policy that big business must carry out through the Democratic and Republican parties. It must be countered with a movement that advances toward the goal of unleashing the organized power of the labor movement, together with its allies, in a political struggle.

Although activists from the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) were on hand (see box), no mention of the meaning of this positive development was made by Holmes or any other APC leader. As an organization that seeks to present a political alternative to the dead-end strategy of relying on Democrats to solve the problems of the Black community, the NBIPP offers a positive example for all working people.

In addition, although the idea of a labor party based on the trade unions has been raised by several important unions and other organizations, this development was also ignored by conference organizers.

Many individuals at the conference had participated in the historic Solidarity Day march on Washington on September 19. They witnessed first hand the potential power of the trade-union movement. They understand the need for even bigger and better Solidarity Days.

But Solidarity Days that would take on the Democrats and Republicans, exposing their role as the twin parties of big business while advancing the fight for the formation of a Solidarity Day party — a labor party that would not just "overturn the Reagan program," but replace it with a labor program geared to the needs of working people.

The APC offered an opportunity to put this perspective forward.

Unfortunately, this was not the perspective of conference organizers.

Interest in many ideas

At the All People's Congress, campaign and literature teams fielded by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance were well received by conference participants.

In addition to discussions ranging from the labor party to women's rights, salespeople reported selling a combined total of 150 issues of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Young Socialist* as well as a number of subscriptions to these publications.

At the literature table inside the conference, salespeople reported that the biggest sellers were pamphlets on Poland, the Black struggle, Grenada, and women's liberation.

Many other groups were also on hand at the conference carrying out discussions, passing out literature and seeking support.

Throughout the two-day conference, members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) sold buttons, and distribut-

ed literature on their strike.

A copy of the October 16 *Militant* article by Stu Singer assessing the state of the PATCO strike and emphasizing the need for labor solidarity, was prominently displayed at the table.

Approximately twenty-five activists from the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) also attended the conference.

They were able to pass out a significant amount of literature to a steady stream of activists that approached their table. Many conference participants signed up to become members of NBIPP.

Activists from the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Coalition Against Registration and the Draft, and members of the Vieques Committee also set up tables at the conference.

— N.G.

Black school children attacked by racists in Indianapolis

INDIANAPOLIS — October 16, a bus carrying Black students enrolled in the court-ordered desegregation plan here was attacked by a racist mob in the Perry Meridian school district. The windows were smashed and one student was injured by flying glass.

In a statement issued by Socialist Workers Party candidates Beth Julien and Dave Ellis, they said, "Mayor Hudnut has publicly said he thought this racist assault was blown out of proportion by 'media over-kill.' This is ridiculous and outrageous."

A campaign leaflet points to other attacks on Black students who are bused into the suburban schools, including racist slogans written on the walls and physical attacks on Black students both inside and outside the schools.

The socialists say the government has, as usual, turned the victims into the criminals, "Instead of arresting the hoodlums responsible for the racist violence, several Black students have been suspended from school."

The candidates charge that the Reagan administration's open opposition to busing and desegregation gives aid and comfort to racist attacks like this one.

Julien, who is running for U.S. Senate, and Ellis, who is running for U.S. Congress, are calling for:

- Arrest and prosecution of all those responsible for the racist violence;
- Full protection for Black students;
- An end to the cover-up of the violence by the media/city administration/school board;
- Defense of Black rights and the busing plan.

By Fred Murphy and Matilde Zimmermann

Four of Nicaragua's top capitalists were jailed by the revolutionary government on October 21. Enrique Dreyfus, president of the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), and three other big-business leaders were charged with violating the economic emergency decrees adopted September 9 as well as several other Nicaraguan laws.

Three other COSEP officials were being sought. One was reportedly in hiding from the police, and two others had just left for Venezuela (where they were to accept a posthumous award to the late COSEP leader Jorge Salazar, killed in a shootout with Nicaraguan security forces one year ago).

The immediate cause of the arrests was an inflammatory statement issued by the COSEP on October 19, which among other things accused the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of carrying out "Marxist-Leninist" policies "behind the backs of the Nicaraguan people" and "preparing a new genocide."

The statement, though issued in the form of a letter to Commander Daniel Ortega of the Junta of National Reconstruction, was sent directly to the foreign news media and to the Organization of American States. It was even sent to a U.S. Senate committee holding hearings on a request by the Reagan administration for \$33 million in aid to the "private sector" in Nicaragua.

One of the charges against the COSEP leaders is violation of a provision of the September 9 decrees that makes it illegal to "incite foreign governments and international lending institutions to carry out actions or make decisions that cause damage to the national economy."

In announcing the arrests on October 22, Commander Daniel Ortega declared, "This revolution is not going to be turned around."

The COSEP's declaration, along with the Sandinistas' decisive response, is a dramatic indication of the degree to which class tensions are rising in Nicaragua.

Financial squeeze

The provocation by the COSEP was only the latest element in a series of threats, pressures, and attacks on the revolution by U.S. imperialism and its capitalist allies inside Nicaragua and throughout Central America.

These attacks are not only economic and political, but military as well.

On the economic front, Nicaragua faces a drying up of credit from international banks and the imposition of a de facto blockade by the U.S. government. Under the Reagan administration, more than \$80 million in scheduled aid to Nicaragua has been cut off. As a result, the U.S. Export-Import Bank has refused to finance the sale of goods to the country by private U.S. suppliers.

Washington's vote of financial no-confidence signaled most big private banks in the United States, Western Europe, and Japan that they should not lend to Nicaragua either (despite the Sandinistas' commitment to honor the \$1.6 billion foreign debt inherited from Somoza, and despite the successful renegotiation of the bulk of that debt).

Lack of short-term credit has had immediate adverse effects on the country's economy — difficulty in obtaining spare parts for agricultural machinery and industrial plants, shortages of vital raw materials for factories, lack of pesticides and fertilizers needed for the production of agricultural exports such as cotton and coffee.

Even simple consumer goods such as toothpaste are becoming scarce. This in turn opens the door wider for hoarders and speculators.

In recent days Washington has also begun pressing the Inter-American Development Bank to cut off its loans to Nicaragua. The IDB has been one of the revolution's main sources of financial aid.

The U.S. economic moves recall the strategy followed against Chile ten years ago. "Not a nut or bolt will be allowed to reach Chile," Ambassador Ed-

ward Korry said in a secret cable to Henry Kissinger in September 1970. "Once Allende comes to power in Chile, we will do all in our power to condemn Chile and Chileans to the utmost deprivation and poverty; a policy designed for a long time to come to accelerate the hard features of a communist society in Chile."

Hand-in-hand with the economic squeeze from abroad has been the role of the remaining capitalists inside Nicaragua. Despite repeated appeals to their patriotism by the revolutionary government, and assurances that so long as they produce and respect trade-union rights they can continue to operate, businessmen have instead resorted to all sorts of subterfuge to remove as much of their capital from the country as possible.

Many have used their still-considerable control over the economy to sabotage production, or to get large loans from the nationalized banks and then refuse to invest or plant crops.

Bush calls for uprising

U.S. Vice-president George Bush has taken the lead in Washington's offensive against the revolution. During a tour of Latin American capitals in mid-October, Bush repeatedly attacked the Sandinista government in the sharpest terms. "The West will not allow Nicaragua to follow the tortuous path of Cuba," Bush told a gathering of Latin American newspaper owners in Brazil.

In the Dominican Republic, Bush told the country's legislature that "the people of Nicaragua still have the chance to throw off the chains that 5,000 Cuban advisers are slowly wrapping around them. But they must act quickly. . . ." This was a scarcely veiled call for an armed uprising against the Nicaraguan government.

An especially ominous provocation was mounted during Bush's tour. The U.S. embassy in Managua claimed that the big anti-imperialist demonstrations there protesting the Pentagon's military maneuvers in Honduras posed a direct threat to U.S. diplomats. The embassy requested protection from the Nicaraguan government and leaked word to the international news media that U.S. personnel had burned files and made other preparations to evacuate. "Will the United States respond in some way if its embassy is taken by force?" Bush rhetorically asked reporters in Brazil — "I think you can count on it."

Honduran staging area

The maneuvers in Honduras, conducted under the title "Falcon's Eye," were only the latest and most ominous installment in Washington's plans to use that country as the staging area for rolling back the Nicaraguan revolution.

The Honduran military dictatorship now receives the third-largest allocation of U.S. military aid to Latin America (behind El Salvador and Colombia). There are already at least forty U.S. military advisers stationed in Honduras. U.S. officers have visited the country and pledged Washington's aid in the event of a war with Nicaragua.

Bands of Somozaist ex-National Guardsmen and other Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries operate with impunity from camps in southern Honduras. Other military training camps of this kind have been established in southern Florida, in open violation of the Neutrality Act and other U.S. laws.

Raids from Honduras by counterrevolutionary terrorists have taken the lives of more than 100 Nicaraguans in the past year. Such attacks have recently been stepped up. In the first three weeks of October alone, at least sixteen clashes with armed bands were reported in northern Nicaragua.

Cubans murdered

Because of the armed peasant militias and the militia reserve battalions and regular army units stationed in the north, most of the recent encounters ended badly for the attackers. On October 22, however, a terrorist band murdered two Cuban teachers and two Nicaraguan peasants near the remote mining town of Siuna in the Atlantic Coast region.

Nicaragua Revolution under



Reagan's UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick (inset) says U.S. would have preferred dictatorial government. Nicaraguan people, seen here toppling statue of Somoza during July 1979

This cold-blooded crime has generated an angry response in Nicaragua. There have been protest marches in a number of cities, along with expressions of gratitude and support at the homes of Cuban teachers and doctors.

The fact that Nicaraguans so warmly welcome Cuban assistance is one of the things about the revolution that most upsets Washington. The theme of "Cuban intervention" has been especially prominent in the growing press attacks on Nicaragua.

The most outrageous instance of this was an October 19 column in the *Washington Post* by Rowland Evan and Robert Novak. They claimed that 500 to 600 elite Cuban troops had been flown

secretly to Managua in September, spirited off to the northern jungles, and then infiltrated into El Salvador, where they supposedly destroyed the key Puente de Oro bridge on October 15. (The bridge was blown up, by Salvadoran guerrillas.)

Arturo Cruz, Nicaragua's ambassador to the United States, responded October 21 in a letter to the editor of the *Washington Post*: "The government of Nicaragua is indignant at the allegation and is very concerned about the repercussions such a malicious accusation could have on the development of a positive and harmonious relationship between the government of Nicaragua and the United States. . . ."

A State Department spokesman re-

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a siege



Anastasio Somoza to present revolution-surrender, don't agree.

torted that Cruz was describing U.S.-Nicaraguan relations "as we wish they were, rather than as they actually are." He refused to confirm or deny the lie about the Cuban troops.

What's behind attacks?

Why have the enemies of the Nicaraguan revolution — starting with the one in the White House — stepped up their political, economic, and military attacks?

Because the Sandinista revolution has continued to move forward, as the power of the workers and peasants has been strengthened within the country and as the FSLN-led government has played an increasingly active role in world politics.

Most galling for Reagan has been the leading role Nicaragua has played in building support for the revolution in El Salvador. Daniel Ortega's proposals for peace in El Salvador, presented to the United Nations on October 7, make it harder than ever to try to portray the Sandinistas as the source of violence in Central America.

The "Falcon's Eye" military maneuvers in Honduras were organized to try to intimidate Nicaraguans. But their effect was exactly the opposite. In every village, workplace and barrio, from one end of the country to the other, Nicaraguans by the thousands and by the tens of thousands turned out to demonstrate against the U.S. threats and in support of the FSLN. In Managua alone there were marches every day for more than a week, culminating in a huge demonstration in the Plaza de la Revolución October 13.

In spite of the extremely difficult economic conditions, the revolutionary government continues its efforts on behalf of the workers and peasants. Implementation of the second phase of the agrarian reform began in mid-October. Four thousand campesinos attended a ceremony in the village of Wiwili on October 16, at which land titles were handed over to peasant cooperatives.

This is not the kind of government the Nicaraguan capitalists want. More and more they are coming to agree with U.S. Ambassador to the UN Jeane Kirkpatrick, who when asked by the Peruvian magazine *Caretas* if she "would prefer that Somoza were in power instead of the Sandinistas," replied: "Yes, I would prefer that. It would be better for Nicaragua and for the hemisphere." (*Caretas*, Lima, August 17.)

Declaration of war

The October 19 statement by the COSEP was a signal to tighten the screws on the revolution still further. It was designed to pave the way for more hostile acts and even intervention by foreign governments and particularly by the United States.

The COSEP blamed all of Nicaragua's economic problems squarely on the FSLN. It accused the government of "confiscating businesses illegally," "antagonizing other Central American leaders by calling them 'gorillas,'" and suppressing democratic rights.

The COSEP condemned "internationalism," terming it "the doctrine of a radical and fanatic minority." It chimed in with Washington's anti-Cuban line, complaining of an invasion "by a constant stream of foreigners, many of whom bring in ideas that are alien to our national consciousness." Such statements, FSLN leaders have declared,

make their authors accomplices of the murderers of the Cuban teachers.

In sum, the COSEP has declared political war on the revolution and the FSLN. "We are on the brink of the destruction of Nicaragua," the capitalists threaten. "We are coming to the point of no return."

The COSEP leaders are in jail because they represent a social class that is more and more the sworn enemy of the Nicaraguan revolution. This class sees its survival — that is, its ability to continue enriching itself at the expense of the workers and peasants — as being dependent on the overthrow of the Sandinista government.

When Daniel Ortega announced the arrest of the COSEP leaders on October 22, he made it known that leaders of the Communist Party of Nicaragua (PCN)* and the PCN-controlled Confederation of Trade-Union Action and Unification (CAUS) had been detained as well.

The latter arrests involve quite different considerations than those of the capitalist leaders, however. It is true that the PCN and the CAUS have adopted an ultraleft, confrontationist approach toward the leadership of the revolution. Nevertheless, they remain part of the workers movement.

While only about 5 percent of organized workers belong to CAUS-affiliated unions, these are concentrated in some important industrial plants in the capital. The 1,000-strong union at the nationalized textile mill, Fabritex, for example, is a CAUS stronghold.

In recent weeks the PCN and CAUS have sharply attacked the September 9 economic-emergency measures and have threatened to call strikes in all the workplaces where they have influence. They claim the measures represent a sellout to U.S. imperialism.

The September 9 decrees were the FSLN's response to the economic pressures bearing down from the world capitalist market and from Washington's financial squeeze. They included cuts in government spending, a campaign for efficiency and austerity in state ministries and institutions, controls on the parallel currency market, steep new taxes on luxury imports, and new blows against hoarding and speculation.

*The PCN arose out of a 1967 split in the pro-Moscow Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN). While the PCN's outlook remains Stalinist, and while it has always made a special point of its loyalty to Moscow, the Kremlin has never returned the favor. For further information on the history of the PCN and the CAUS and their role since the revolution, see *Intercontinental Press*, July 7, 1980, p. 710.

The emergency measures also included a ban on strikes, workplace takeovers, and land occupations. The latter step, along with the arrests of the PCN and CAUS leaders, were taken from a position of weakness.

This weakness is partially the result of the Sandinistas' own shortage of experienced cadres. It also stems from the severe economic difficulties. These lead some of the least politically conscious workers to look to the PCN and CAUS who oppose the FSLN's necessary call for efficiency, discipline, and sacrifice.

In this situation, even though the Sandinistas continue to enjoy the support of the vast majority of the workers and peasants, they have resorted to administrative measures against a sector of the workers whom they have not yet been able to win politically.

A general ban on strikes and the arrest of opponents within the workers movement clearly involve dangers for the revolution. The FSLN leadership has proven by its record that it is aware of these dangers.

Conflicts have arisen between the Sandinistas and opponents like the PCN and CAUS on several occasions in the past. Then as now, the FSLN has accused the ultralefts of linking up with the capitalist counterrevolution. But on each occasion, despite verbally equating the "extreme right" and "extreme left," the Sandinistas have proceeded to treat the two quite differently in practice. Blows have been dealt to the exploiters, strengthening the workers and peasants government, while the occasional tensions with the ultralefts have given way to periods of collaboration.

The current prohibition of strikes and other forms of direct action by the toilers puts an even greater responsibility on the revolutionary government to play a decisive role in defending the interests of the workers and peasants. But the dangers involved in the present situation must be seen in light of the proven record of the FSLN leadership and the trajectory of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Redouble solidarity

The international movement in solidarity with Nicaragua also has greater responsibilities, now that immense pressures are bearing down from U.S. imperialism and its local capitalist allies.

The Sandinistas and the Nicaraguan toilers have shown time and again that they are prepared to stand up to whatever threats Washington makes. Supporters of the revolution abroad can do no less. Now is the time to redouble our efforts to demand, "U.S. hands off Nicaragua!"

From Intercontinental Press

...Cancún conference

Continued from page 20

charges that the imperialist countries are responsible for the poverty of the underdeveloped countries and that they must therefore provide the funds to solve the pressing problems.

Who is responsible?

In his speech to the Congress of Third World Economists, Castro noted that in the so-called North-South talks, "for us, 'the North' is fully identified with the former colonizing countries that, generally speaking, are now neocolonizing and imperialist and still dominate the economies of many states in Africa, Asia and Latin America — the symbolic South, of course."

The Cuban leader added that "the socialist countries do not have transnational enterprises, nor do they own mines, oil deposits or factories beyond their borders. Not one single socialist country exploits a worker or a peasant in another country."

Reagan acknowledged this charge in his October 15 speech. "There is a propaganda campaign in wide circulation," he stated, "that would have the world believe that the capitalist U.S. is the cause of world hunger and poverty."

Taking exception to that characteri-

zation, Reagan argued that capitalism is not the problem, but is rather the solution. Reagan called on the underdeveloped countries to improve "the climate for private investment," to cut taxes and public spending, to develop new energy sources "through greater private investment," to improve "the climate for private capital flows, particularly private investment," and to "foster private sector debt and equity financing of investments in the developing countries."

Reagan maintains that since private loans and private investment provide "almost 70 percent of total financial flows to developing countries," it is therefore "impractical, not to mention foolish, to attack these flows for ideological reasons."

Record of exploitation

But far from fostering economic growth in the underdeveloped countries, private investment actually ends up restricting growth. Between 1970 and 1978, imperialist corporations invested \$42.2 billion in semicolonial countries. But during the same period, those corporations took out \$100.2 billion in profits, meaning that for every new dollar invested, approximately \$2.40 was sent home as repatriated profits.

The record of U.S. corporations is even worse. For every new dollar they invested in underdeveloped countries in that period, U.S. corporations took out \$4.50 in profits.

In an attempt to counter the growing influence of Cuba in the Nonaligned Movement, Jeane Kirkpatrick, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, wrote letters to representatives of forty governments in mid-October demanding that they explain to her satisfaction why they endorsed a September 28 communiqué by the Nonaligned Movement that criticized U.S. foreign policy.

There have also been threats in the U.S. Congress to deny economic aid to any country that signed the communiqué.

Despite the Reagan administration's attempts to counter Cuban positions, however, the pressure for a change in the international economic system continues to grow.

Although in Cancún Reagan was able to prevent the meeting from taking any positions favoring the interests of the oppressed nations, the battle is certain to continue, fueled by the desperate economic straits and staggering debt burden of the underdeveloped world.

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Vote for more jails pushed in N.Y.

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — Mayor Koch and Governor Carey are pressing for voter approval of a November 3 ballot proposition to float a half-billion-dollar bond for further expansion of the state prison system.

The referendum was put on the ballot by vote of the state legislature.

If approved, the measure would fund facilities for 4,000 more prisoners, in addition to the record 24,800 now incarcerated in state prisons.

Proponents of the measure argue it would relieve overcrowding and serve as a "deterrent" to crime. They have not explained why this latest expansion of the prison system would be more effective in this respect than the previous ones. In the past decade, state prison facilities have been expanded from seventeen to thirty-two. Prison staffs have grown from 6,500 to 11,000.

One thing is for certain — the bond will provide one more lucrative take for the bankers.

A spokesperson for the Citizens Union — which favors a "no" vote on the issue — estimated that the ultimate cost would be \$1 billion not \$500 million. Interest on the bond, he explained, would run about a billion dollars over the customary thirty-year period.

Despite considerable effort, which has included TV commercials, Koch and Carey have not been able to stir up much enthusiasm for the proposition. But it did win the endorsement of the New York state AFL-CIO and the New York City Central Labor Council.

Arguing against endorsement of the bond issue was Ray Markey, a delegate from the librarians' local affiliated to District 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Markey is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for at-large member of the city council.

He pointed to the mounting anti-labor drive and declared that unionists would be among those marked for the

expanded prison facilities. He cited the shackling by police of an air traffic control striker as a portent of things to come.

Among the opponents of the measure is a coalition, "Voters Against the Prison Construction Bond." Sponsors include the New York State Council of Churches, the Fortune Society (a prisoners' rights group), and others.

According to Robert Gangi, director of the coalition, others favoring a "no" vote include the New York state NAACP, the ACLU, and the Citizens Party.

Gangi said that when the state legislature voted to put the question on the ballot, most members of the Black and Puerto Rican caucuses voted against it.

Some cogent reasons for opposing the bond were made in a fund appeal for the antibond coalition by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

He pointed out, "in light of the recent developments in Washington, the state's bond initiative takes on a dramatic national significance."

The Attorney General's Task Force on Violent Crime, he wrote, has recommended a series of moves, "including preventive detention, the use in court of illegally gathered evidence, the elimination of parole . . . and sizable federal subsidies to states to build more prisons. . . ."

"On the national level," Clark continued, "all available money and some diversions from human services are going to the military budget; on the local level more funds are urged for prisons."

Clark warned: "Coupled with the huge federal cutbacks in important public services, the Administration's plan to fight crime becomes part of a government assault that will produce new restrictions on individual freedom [and] added hardship for poor, working and middle income people. . . ."

A "no" vote has been strongly urged by Wells Todd, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor.



Wells Todd, N.Y. mayoral nominee, urges 'no' vote on prison bond issue.

Todd declared that "there is a lot of 'crime' in New York. But not the kind that Koch and Carey are talking about, not the kind that more jails deals with."

"Isn't it a crime," Todd asked, "that the official unemployment rate among New York youth is 29 percent?"

"Isn't it an outrageous crime that with such terrible unemployment, the federal and city governments are eliminating CETA jobs, and the few other pitiful employment opportunities available? Isn't it an outrageous crime that Mayor Koch is now attacking busing and affirmative action — two things so urgently needed in the fight for decent education and jobs?"

Finally, Todd declared, all the "anti-crime" propaganda — of which the prison bond proposition is a part — is one more device for escalating the war against the rights of working people in general, and oppressed nationalities in particular. "That," he declared, "is the crime we have to come to grips with."

Barbaro ducks bond issue

NEW YORK, October 29 — As of this writing, Frank Barbaro, Unity Party candidate for mayor, has not taken a public stand on the prison bond issue.

A Democratic member of the state assembly, Barbaro decided to run under the Unity designation after winning a third of the vote against incumbent Mayor Koch in the Democratic primary.

Initially, it was a likely assumption that Barbaro would favor the more-jails bond, since he's been campaigning in favor of adding 7,000 police to the New York force. And what's the point in having more cops busting more people, with no place to put them?

But inquiries on this to Barbaro's campaign office evoked no response, except that someone would call back

— which so far no one has.

Barbaro's reluctance to take a public stand on the bond issue is even more curious since he was among the state legislators who voted to put the proposal on the ballot.

His present shyness seems to stem from a division in the ranks. Many of Barbaro's most active campaigners are members of the Citizens Party. Many of them are opposed to the prison bond.

Also, the Black United Front, which endorsed Barbaro's candidacy, is vigorously opposed to the bond issue.

That may be sufficient reason for Barbaro to duck the issue. But apparently the pressure hasn't been strong enough to bring him to oppose this reactionary measure.

Koch tells Democrats to press racist attacks

By Harry Ring

The twin parties of capitalism.

When socialists describe the Democrats and Republicans that way, those who disagree should take a look at New York's Mayor Ed Koch. He seems determined to prove it's true.

Like the way he swaps compliments with the Reagan administration. Recently he hailed the president as a man with "the courage to bring a fresh approach to government."

A White House aide responded that Koch was "in many ways trying to accommodate the same aims as this administration."

Yes indeed. For four years, Koch has been doing to New York City what Reagan's now doing to the country.

Services have gone down the tube. Social welfare budgets slashed. City workers and their unions victimized. Blacks and Latinos targeted for special attack.

In the New York primary elections, Koch bid for and won both the Republican and Democratic nominations.

Some people said that proved he's now really a Republican.

But Koch is still a Democrat. His principal argument with his co-Democrats seems to be that he feels the party should be more up front about taking unabashed right-wing positions.

That was the meaning of his statement to the Democratic strategy meeting (see box this page).

True, Koch lied like hell about the previous record of the Democrats. Like the bunk that the Democrats benignly

"avoided the issue" of welfare "abuse."

Certainly there has been a massive abuse of welfare. But not by its recipients.

In New York City, a family of four receives a basic welfare grant of \$258 a month. That's been the amount since 1974. Seven years of steady inflation has cut the worth of that shameful

"allowance" in half.

Koch has said he favors legislation to increase that pittance. But somehow he — and the Democratic majority in the state legislature — have "avoided" getting it changed.

Did the Democrats really ensure "the civil liberties of the criminal"? Bow to "special interests" like labor, the han-

dicated, environmental groups?

For openers, tell that story to New York transit workers who have been fighting the union-busting of Koch's Democratic administration since he came in. Or the countless victims of New York police brutality.

Perhaps the most nakedly reactionary part of Koch's statement was the attack on Black rights.

The Democrats "remained locked into busing"? From the day the fight for busing — which is aimed at helping to achieve school equality — began, the biggest obstacle has been the Democratic and Republican politicians who did everything they could to prevent or sabotage it.

Now, like all the other racists, Koch demagogically argues busing should be scrapped because it allegedly is not the solution to segregation.

If busing was really so ineffective, the racists would be for it. Koch simply affirms what Black people mean when they say, "It's not the bus, it's us."

The same with affirmative action. Blacks, Latinos, women, have had to fight for quotas because experience has proven that affirmative-action programs mean little unless they have the teeth of quotas included.

In the present time of social crisis, Koch told the Democratic strategists, such things as busing, affirmative action, and the rights of labor have been rejected by "America."

That almost comes close to the truth. That is, Koch would have been telling the truth if he had substituted the word "capitalism" for "America."

'America' rejects progress?

The following are excerpts from a statement by New York's Mayor Ed Koch to the Democratic National Strategy Council, October 16.

"When some pointed to the abuse of welfare, Medicaid and food



KOCH

stamps, we avoided the issue.

"When job training programs did not work, we put more money in. . . ."

"When it came to crime, though we talked tough, we consistently sided with the need to protect the civil liberties of the criminal, not the victim. . . ."

"We conferred on special interests . . . like labor, environmental groups, organizations for the handicapped — the right to set our legislative agenda. . . ."

"We remained locked into busing as the way to correct the inadequacies of ghetto schools. . . ."

"We supported racial quotas to end discrimination, even after it became clear that quotas were pitting race against race. . . ."

"Understandably, America — beset with inflation, high interest rates, an uncertain position in the world and a declining quality of life — rejected what we were offering. . . ."

Winston-Salem ballot fight wins

By Steve Craine

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. — An important step toward more democratic election laws was made in North Carolina on October 23. A federal court ordered the name of Betsy Soares, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Winston-Salem, placed on the November 3 ballot.

The ruling came as part of a challenge by Soares and her supporters to the constitutionality of North Carolina election laws. The state law requires candidates for municipal office who run independent of the Democrats and Republicans to gather signatures of 15 percent of the city's registered voters to be placed on the ballot.

In Winston-Salem, this amounted to 9,752 signatures, effectively prohibiting all but the Democratic and

Republican parties from running.

The judge's order quoted a letter from the State Board of Elections stating that "the percentage requirements about which the plaintiffs complain are unduly burdensome and should, therefore, not be imposed upon the plaintiff, Soares."

The judge went on to point out that the U.S. Supreme Court has never approved a signature requirement higher than 5 percent.

At a news conference, Soares called the decision "a big victory, not only for my campaign, but for all working people."

"Obviously, I'm very pleased with the ruling today. I will be doing everything I can in the next two weeks to get out in the streets and let working people in Winston-Salem know that there is a choice in this election. That they can vote for a candidate and a program that re-

present them, not the bosses."

Soares also pointed out that the court order in her case sets a precedent for others who may challenge the Democrats and Republicans in the future.

"The majority in this country — workers, Blacks, women — have nothing to gain from the policies of the Democrats and Republicans. This was shown on September 19, when half a million people demonstrated in Washington, D.C., against the government. Today's court order will make it easier to translate their militant mood into independent action by the labor movement."

A hearing on the constitutionality of the law itself will be scheduled later. Socialists in North Carolina also plan to challenge other restrictive aspects of the state's election law.



BETSY SOARES

Militant/Kelly Lawrence

By Betsy Soares

"Right-to-work."

Sounds good, doesn't it?

But the "right-to-work" (RTW) laws on the books in North Carolina and in nineteen other states have nothing to do with guaranteeing everyone a job, as thousands of unemployed textile mill workers can tell you.

RTW laws really mean the right to work — for less.

They mean the jobs we do have are among the worst — lower wages, longer hours, and worse working conditions.

North Carolina's RTW law begins: "The right to live includes the right to work. The right of persons to work shall not be abridged on account of . . ."

On account of what? Sex, creed, or color?

No.

On account of depression? Inflation? Recessions? Company stockpiling, cut-throat corporate competition, the profit motive, or other forces unleashed by the anarchy of the bosses' lust for profits?

No.

Instead, the law concludes that the right to work shall not be denied or abridged on account of "membership in any labor organization or association!"

Unionists need not apply

The purpose of RTW laws is to destroy the gains generations of workers have won through their long and bitter struggles to organize into unions.

From the labor movement's earliest days, workers sought to organize collectively against the bosses, because they knew that in unity there was strength.

As you might imagine, the employers were none too pleased with this idea.

But the exploitation by the bosses forced millions of workers to organize into unions nonetheless. Auto, steel, rubber, tobacco, textile, and other industrial workers took on the anti-union attacks of the bosses in the strike battles of the 1930s. They established the first industrial unions, which gave working people tremendous potential power. The establishment of these unions raised the quality of life of all working people, and put a roadblock on the bosses' path of unfettered greed.

Taft-Hartley Act

But the employers never reconciled themselves to the existence and expansion of unions. In 1947, in the atmosphere of the developing cold war, the Democrats and Republicans joined in passing the Taft-Hartley Act.

Through a web of regulations, this law fastened serious restrictions on the unions.

One section of Taft-Hartley — the notorious section 14B — gives states the green light to pass laws banning the

Why bosses like 'right to work'



Loom tender in a South Carolina textile plant.

union shop. Such laws make it illegal for a union to obtain a contract requiring that all workers hired become union members.

Right to work — for less

Does RTW encourage economic development and create new jobs, as its proponents claim?

There is a greater rate of industrialization in southern RTW states. Much of this is like the apparel industry in North Carolina, that has run away from unions in the north. Apparel is the fastest-growing industry in this state, and it also pays the lowest wages.

North Carolina, the state with the lowest percentage of unionized workers, also pays the lowest wages in the United States. As investments in industry increase, our per capital income continues to fall behind the rest of the country.

A 1976 *Business Week* survey of about 2000 company executives showed that the existence of a state RTW law is the single most appealing thing a company looks for in deciding where to go to make profits.

Wages for all RTW states average 14 percent lower than other states. And only slightly over half of the RTW states have minimum wage laws.

But it's cheaper to live in the south, right?

Wrong. In 1976, the average hourly wage for ten southern states was 28 percent lower than for eight northeastern states. Yet the average cost of living for the major cities in the northeast (including New York City) was only 14 percent greater than for the south.

Cheaper in Dayton

A Labor Department survey of living costs for 1978 showed an urban family of four needs more to live in Durham, North Carolina, than in Dayton, Ohio.

The weakness of the unions in North Carolina also means that the social welfare programs in our state lag behind the national averages. The bosses' unrestrained greed does not stop at the workplace.

A fact sheet put out by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, based on 1975 statistics, is revealing.

- 20.3 percent of the population in this state lives below the government-defined low income level, compared to 13.7 percent of the entire country.

- Infant mortality was 15 percent higher than the U.S. average.

- The illiteracy rate is 50 percent higher than the rest of the country and housing is 24 percent more crowded.

Women's rights don't get far in RTW

states either. The fact that of the fifteen states that refuse to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, twelve are also RTW shows that women and unions have the same enemies.

Extending the RTW laws north, east, and west from their stronghold in the south is part of the bosses' plan today to cripple the entire union movement.

RTW loses in Missouri

In 1978, the National Right to Work Committee targeted Missouri as the first victim of their campaign to put RTW referenda on the ballot in states that had no such laws.

An amendment to the state constitution was placed on the ballot, which would outlaw the union shop in Missouri.

But in the state's biggest voter turnout in a non-presidential election in forty-four years, RTW was defeated two-to-three.

It took a campaign by the unions of publicity, debates, a Labor Day march, and door-to-door discussions.

And, it took solidarity — from the farmers, the Black community, and the women's movement.

To organize the unorganized

RTW laws are part of the web of legal machinery, red tape, and court rulings that are obstacles to workers exercising their power in defense of their rights. And as the government attacks on PATCO show, the bosses are stepping up their anti-union drive with a vengeance.

But the half-million working people who marched in Washington on September 19, Solidarity Day, showed that many workers were angry and want to fight back.

The big obstacle to organizing the unorganized is that the employers own the entire government and both major parties — the Democrats and the Republicans. They own the courts and the cops.

I am running for Mayor of Winston-Salem on the Socialist Workers Party ticket to raise the idea of the unions forming our own party — a labor party that we would own and control.

A solidarity party that would champion the struggles of working people, women, and Blacks against the bosses and their government.

A party that could lead a fight that would inspire workers in the south to organize industrial unions.

A party that could take power out of the hands of the greedy tobacco companies, textile bosses, and other big businessmen and give working people control over what we produce.

I urge everyone who agrees with, and is inspired by, this perspective to support my campaign and join the Young Socialist Alliance or the Socialist Workers Party.

Is Washington state bond issue 'antinuke'?

By Dennis Richter

SEATTLE — The Socialist Workers Party is urging a 'no' vote on Initiative 394, which will be on the Washington State ballot on November 3.

This measure, would instruct the energy companies to obtain a vote by the public each time they wanted to issue bonds to finance any major energy projects.

Right now, that means the five nuclear power plants that are under construction by the Washington Public Power Supply System (WPPSS).

All five plants face gigantic cost overruns, which have led to a recent suspension of construction on two of them.

Their estimated price has mushroomed to almost \$24 billion, up \$6.5 billion from six months ago, making them the most expensive nukes in the country. WPPSS now needs to issue more bonds to meet these huge construction costs.

The Don't Bankrupt Washington (DBW) Committee is the group that organized to put the initiative on the ballot. The committee is endorsed by several union locals, the Citizens Party, and the Washington State Democratic

Party.

Many antinuclear activists are campaigning for a 'yes' vote in the hopes that this will be a step toward preventing the construction of these plants.

But this initiative is a fake, designed precisely to divert anger at the nukes that threaten lives and safety, and at spiraling utility rates, into a discussion on bond issues.

Maggie King of the DBW committee argued the case for a 'yes' vote in the October 25 *Seattle Times*.

"A 'yes' vote on Initiative 394 means that the public will regain a voice in how a public agency like WPPSS spends our money. I-394 would require WPPSS to submit a realistic construction budget to complete each of the five nuclear power plants now under construction to a one-time vote of the people. Once that budget is approved, WPPSS could issue bonds at any time and any amount necessary as long as they do not exceed the amount approved by the voters."

This argument assumes that nuclear power plants are all right and that the only question is how they should be financed.

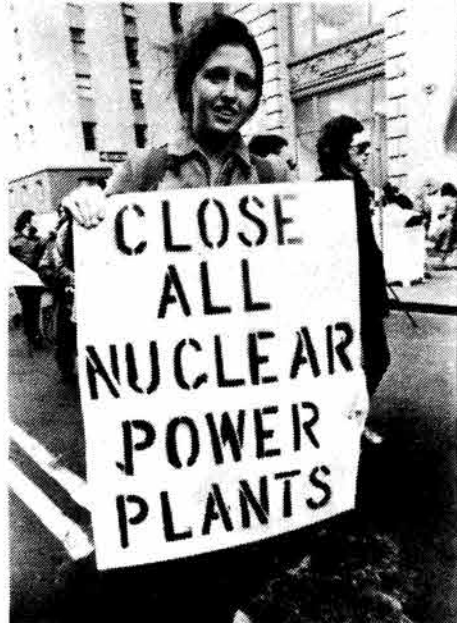
A statement issue by the SWP disagrees:

"We think all nuclear construction should be halted now. We don't think workers should have to pay any of the costs incurred for nuclear construction. 'But we are paying — with our taxes."

"And under present laws, we will continue to pay and pay with higher electrical rates to cover the interest on bonds already issued."

According to an article in the October 26 *New York Times*, electrical power rates are expected to rise by 6 percent in the areas served by the utilities that are part of WPPSS.

The SWP statement further states, "Even if the public was able to vote against bond sales for this or that project, it would simply force the utilities to resort to other methods of funding, such as raising utility rates, federal loans, or shifting the bond sales to an out-of-state member of the WPPSS."



Militant/Lou Howort

N.J.'s deadly toxic waste

By John Rubinstein

EGG HARBOR, N.J. — Water that turns clothes blue or yellow and that stings when you take a shower.

A man whose body broke out in hives and welts when he started using water from a well he dug.

These are some of the problems found by supporters of James Harris, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New Jersey, when we visited this small Black community a few miles north of Atlantic City.

Water contamination from Price's Pit, a toxic waste dumpsite here, is termed "the most serious environmental problem in the United States" by the federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

Test wells in the area reveal some twenty deadly chemicals. Benzene, which causes cancer, is found in amounts 11,000 times above levels considered safe.

According to present EPA calculations, the steady advance of these poisons into underground water will make 90 percent of Atlantic City's water supply unusable by the end of next year.

But if disaster threatens Atlantic City, it has long overtaken this impoverished Black community a mere stone's throw from Price's Pit.

"The water has been bad for about four or five years," Joyce Gardin told us.

"All they talk about in the papers is Atlantic City. But what about us? We've been living here for years with this mess."

Now water trucks have been stationed in the neighborhood. Residents

have to carry water to their homes in pails. Last winter the tanks froze over.

There is talk of piping water in from a new well out of the line of advance of the poisonous chemicals. But most people here could not afford to install extension pipes to their homes.

Some people are still drinking the water because no one has officially told them it was unsafe.

While Price's Pit and other toxic waste timebombs peril the lives of New Jerseyans, both James Florio, Democratic candidate for governor, and Thomas Kean, the Republican, are campaigning for a \$100 million bond issue for cleanups.

Gubernatorial candidate Harris, an auto worker calls for voting no on the bond issue. Harris says the corporations that have profited from dumping toxic wastes should be taxed to pay for emergency cleanup measures and to provide immediate compensation for the victims.



Militant/Omari Musa

JAMES HARRIS

"Furthermore, we oppose the sale of profit-making bonds to the capitalists by public utilities. We are paying the bills, and large banks and Wall Street investors are making a pretty penny off them."

"Interest on the bonds should be eliminated so the banks can foot the bill."

"Passage of I-394 will not give the public control over WPPSS. WPPSS is a privately owned company that runs for the profit of these stock and bond holders."

The SWP calls for shutting down all nuclear power plants.

"Control of energy should be taken away from corporate profiteers, and the energy trusts should be nationalized. They should be run by publicly elected boards that represent the interests of the consumers, and not a handful of owners."

"Passage of I-394 would not be a step in this direction."

"And that's why antinuke activists, unionists, and other working people should vote 'no.'"

Blasts Pittsburgh mayor

By Elizabeth O'Farrell

PITTSBURGH — DeAnn Rathbun, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate for mayor, is making an impact here. The twenty-eight-year-old coal miner is effectively demonstrating the links of both major parties to big business.

One high point of her campaign was the debate between all four mayoral candidates at an October 19 meeting sponsored by the League of Women Voters.

Rathbun told the audience that incumbent mayor Richard Caliguiri, a liberal Democrat, went along with Reagan on every key point.

His program, she charged, was to give every kind of tax break to the big corporations while boosting the taxes on working people. In addition, contract benefits are being taken back from city workers and wage increases held back.



Militant/Walter Lippmann

DEANNE RATHBUN

In the next four years, she said, the Reagan administration will be spending a trillion dollars on military weapons. "In the meantime," she added, "the average Pittsburgh family of four will pay \$19,000 directly to the Pentagon."

Miners to the north and south of Pittsburgh reported seeing Rathbun on the late night news.

Rathbun's supporters have taken the campaign door-to-door in Black and other working-class communities, and to the picket lines in support of striking PATCO workers and Mesta Machine workers.

Weekly campaign organizing meetings have drawn new supporters.

A successful rally was held October 18 at which over \$1,000 was raised for the campaign.

Daisy Niehaus, a miner from Bethlehem Steel's Ellsworth mine, spoke in support of Rathbun.

She spoke of Reagan's get-off-of-business' back philosophy and of how business has maimed, crippled, poisoned and murdered working people.

"I think a wonderful way to solve the problem," Niehaus said, "is to stop manufacturing weapons to destroy the world and put that money to use to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, heal the sick, and house the people."

The meeting also heard John Thompson, currently on layoff from U.S. Steel's Edgar Thompson Works and the newest member of the Pittsburgh Young Socialist Alliance.

He explained how he had begun reading the *Militant* and liked the way it spotlighted the racist killings throughout the country, the fight against nukes, and support to the miners' strike.

"The more I read and the more I talked with an SWP member on the job," Thompson said, "the more I felt the need to participate politically."

Petition for Ohio ballot

By Scott Breen

CINCINNATI — "These people are against Reagan's budget cuts? Sure, I'll sign."

This was a common response to members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) who are petitioning to put SWP candidates on the 1982 Ohio ballot.

Collecting 20,000 signatures is the goal of this statewide drive which began on October 17. This is to comply with the undemocratic election laws that require each candidate to collect the signatures of 5,000 registered voters in order to be on the ballot.

The response so far has been encouraging.

Here in Cincinnati, fifteen volunteers gathered over 1,400 signatures just at shopping centers. Signatures are also being gathered in Toledo, Cleveland, Columbus, and Chillicothe. Plans are being made to field teams to Dayton, Portsmouth, Akron, and other cities.

The candidates are:

• Alicia Merel, a Cleveland aluminum worker, who is running for U.S.

Senate against the Democratic incumbent Howard Metzenbaum.

• Kurt Landefeld, who is twenty-seven years old and a member of the International Association of Machinists, is the gubernatorial candidate. Landefeld is also a member of the Toledo Young Socialist Alliance, and the Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

• Rachel Knapik, a Cincinnati machinist, is the candidate for Lieutenant Governor. She is a member of the United Steelworkers of America and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

There is a bill presently before the Ohio state legislature that would triple the number of signatures required by independent candidates to get on the ballot.

HB 392, sponsored by Rep. McLin (D), has already passed the Ohio House of Representatives. Letters of opposition to the bill should be sent to the Senate Committee on Elections, Financial Institutions, and Insurance, State House, Columbus, Ohio 43215.

Copies should be sent to the Committee to Defend Ballot Access, 2368 Wheeler St., Cincinnati, Ohio 45219.

Socialists gain new ground in Phoenix race

By Josefina Otero

PHOENIX — The campaign headquarters of Ellie García, the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, is a busy place.

The local TV stations are often there setting up their equipment to interview García or to get a statement from her on issues in the mayoral race.

Many people are finding that the socialist campaign offers meaningful answers to the problems of working people and the youth of this city. Attendance at campaign committee meetings is increasing. Like the high school woman from Alhambra who heard a campaign speaker at school. Or the Black man who heard what we have to say and volunteered his skill as a professional photographer. Or the Chicano pipefitter who is accompanying García to speaking engagements as well as attending campaign discussions. Plus his friend, a young Puerto Rican worker.

Several Latinos have offered to help the campaign by translating campaign material into Spanish, as well as helping with the Spanish-language media.

Discussions in Spanish on socialism are now being conducted, and campaign gatherings invariably have need for translation into Spanish.

García's principal opponent is incumbent Mayor Margaret Hance. She claims to represent "everyone," but sits on the board of directors of the Valley National Bank. Which tells a lot more about who she really represents.

Ellie García is the total opposite. A native of Phoenix, she has been a

fighter for social change since her high school days. She was a founder of MUJER, a Chicana feminist organization. She was an organizer for the United Farm Workers. She is a steelworker, now laid off.

García has taken her campaign to high schools, college campuses, and plant gates. One highlight was Alhambra high school, where students wanted straight answers on how to fight the draft. Young women were concerned about the "Moral Majority," and were glad to learn that at least one mayoral candidate — García — supports women's right to choose abortion and use contraceptives.

Working people and unionists have responded with special interest. Several local union presidents and rank-and-file unionists have had subscriptions to the *Militant* sent to their union hall so other workers could read about and discuss the idea of a labor party. They also want news on the PATCO strike and the Solidarity movement in Poland.

García was well received at a meeting of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. Members were particularly responsive to her remarks about the need for a labor party.

Since that meeting, one AFSCME member checked out the socialist campaign headquarters, and while there subscribed to the *Militant*.

Campaigners have found it worthwhile to visit the unemployment lines, where there are lots of people and lots of political discussions.

We ran into one campaign supporter there who we had first met while selling *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions door-to-door. A Mexican, he listens to Fidel Castro on short-wave. During our visit, his wife had bought a subscription to *Perspec-*



Militant/Rob Roper

ELLIE GARCÍA

tiva Mundial.

A successful campaign rally was held October 24. Sixty people attended, which is good for the socialist movement here.

In addition to García, the meeting heard Mel Mason, the socialist member of the city council in Seaside, California.

The audience included several construction workers and other unionists. There were a number of feminist activists, Chicana and Anglo.

Earlier in the week, García and seven campaign supporters went to the Western Electric plant. They had received agreement to talk to the workers in the cafeteria during the lunch and dinner breaks. They estimated they talked to as many as 500 workers, giving them all campaign literature. A table was set up from which they sold

eleven copies of the *Young Socialist* and one *Militant*.

Many of the workers were interested in García's advocacy of a labor party. The consensus seemed to be, "It makes sense."

On October 25, García spoke to members of International Typographical Union Local 352. It was a fairly small meeting, perhaps twenty-five, but the discussion was excellent. It focused mainly around the labor party idea. Much of the discussion was not around whether a new party was needed, but what kind of a party and how to get it.

One worker argued it should be a taxpayers party. Another, the only woman member of the local, argued it should be a clearly defined labor party.

When the meeting ended, García was given a standing ovation.

Democratic soirée ponders path to progress

It all began when Pamela Harriman's transcript went astray.

Dinner gatherings are held at her home for informal political discussion. She couldn't attend one, so she had it taped. Someone gave a copy of the transcript to the *Wall Street Journal*.

The *Journal* did a special feature on it October 8 based on the transcript. The *Washington Post* and *New York Times* picked up on it.

The dinner group is called "Democrats for the 80s." Pamela Harriman and her spouse, W. Averell, are its guiding lights. The goal is to "revitalize the Democratic Party and promote alternatives to right-wing Republican rule."

The *Journal*, *Post* and *Times* saw a certain irony in this, but were not unimpressed. All noted the

mance in New York, he's been much in demand to help other cities cut social services.

Mr. Rohatyn is also seeking an alternative to "right-wing" Republican rule.

The evening at the Harrimans didn't seem to come up with much.

According to the *Journal* account, Sen. Bumpers sees the situation in the country as an "unmitigated disaster," but feels the party should keep a low profile "and wait for the economic crisis that is sure to come within the next eighteen months."

Likewise Sen. Cranston, the Democratic Senate whip, felt there wasn't much to be done "until things deteriorate. . . . Then our opportunity will come."

Ex-diplomat Sol Linowitz asked, if the situation is that critical, shouldn't they say something?

Bumpers agreed that was a real question.

He tried to be more concrete. The Democrats, he said, would have to decide if they favored balanced budgets, and, if so, to decide "whose hide you are going to balance it with."

The *Journal* added that Bumpers "argues that the Democrats should tell labor and management the country can't tolerate strikes any more."

Telling that to management as well as labor surely confirms the balanced approach of liberal Democrats.

Rohatyn, the *Journal* reports, is afraid things

will come apart and the right-wing will provide the alternative, which, he says, will be "very harsh."

Rohatyn felt there will be a greater class polarization, with the rich getting richer and the poor poorer.

He thought that maybe low-interest loans to the cities would help. Also, the *Journal* added, "the unions, he says, will have to back down on some things."

Rohatyn described his suggestions as "rational liberalism."

Other than the general thought that the unions would have to "back down," he didn't seem to go into too much detail. Maybe he knows how much people appreciate brief after-dinner speeches.

What he might have done was give the guests copies of a 1980 speech he made which was published just before the elections in the liberal *New York Review of Books*.

There Rohatyn drew on the national lessons to be gleaned from Big Mac's surgery on New York — the wholesale layoffs of city workers, wage restraints, cutbacks of human services, etc.

All this is relevant, Rohatyn explains because America is a "padded" society that has to learn to live with austerity.

The basic problem, he said then, goes beyond Republicans and Democrats. "Whoever is elected," he said, "we are condemned . . . to stumble from inflation to recession and back, with each stumble worse than the one before."

To get rid of the padding, which he sees as essential in coping with the stumbles, Rohatyn suggested a national wage-price freeze until the means could be devised to ensure that wage increases were only granted to the extent they conformed to productivity increases.

Also, the investment banker advised, "We must have an adequate conscripted army with low pay, with no excuses from service except for health, and a highly professional, highly paid cadre of officers and noncoms."

There, good reader, you have the liberal Democratic, "rational" alternative to Reaganism.

Socialism, anyone?

—Harry Ring

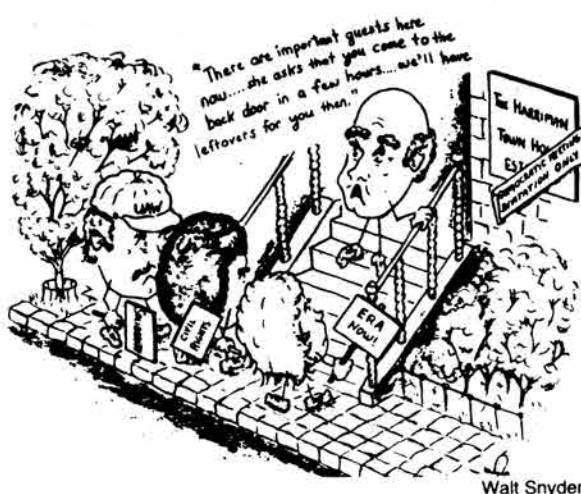
As I see it

setting. "Oriental rugs . . . impressionist paintings and other trappings of immense wealth . . ." are features of the Harrimans' D.C. home, reported the *Times*. (The clan started with railroads and then decided banks were better.)

But Averell and Pamela are Democrats. An ex-governor of New York, he's regarded as a leading figure in the party's liberal wing.

Participants in the taped gathering included such liberal Democratic luminaries as Senator Alan Cranston of California, Sen. Dale Bumpers of Arkansas and former defense secretary, Clark Clifford. Plus a number of industrialists and business people whose names apparently weren't worth mentioning.

The featured guest of the evening was Felix Rohatyn. He's the investment banker who became a public figure as chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation — Big Mac — the strategy group which helped guide New York City through its municipal crisis. Big Mac showed the city fathers how to slash the budget to ensure uninterrupted loan repayments to the banks. Since his perfor-



In Review

Pioneers of Canadian communism

Canadian Bolsheviks: The Early Years of the Communist Party, By Ian Angus, Vanguard Publications, Montreal, 404 pp., \$8.95

Canadian Bolsheviks traces the first dozen years of Canadian communism. Ian Angus uses internal party documents, contemporary articles, and interviews with participants gathered from seven years of research to paint a vivid picture of the birth, development, and degeneration of the Canadian Communist Party.

With the exception of a few chapters which were serialized last year in *Socialist Voice*, a Canadian sister publication of the *Militant*, much of this account has never previously been printed in any form.

The Canadian Communist Party was formed in 1921 in a period of tremendous social upheaval and revolutionary ferment. The victory of the Bolshevik-

One of the best chapters is entitled, "From Leftism to Leninism: To the Masses!" It describes some of the young Communist Party's experiences in promoting independent labor political action, its support of labor party developments which proved to be early, localized suggestions of the labor party the Canadian union movement as a whole was to form forty years later, the New Democratic Party. This chapter also outlines the CPC's attitude to the One Big Union movement (OBU) that came out of the secession of the western labor movement from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada in 1919.

The example of the coal miners of the coal-rich Cape Breton area of Nova Scotia provides an inspiring illustration of the role of the party in one of the most militant sections of the working class.

In 1921 the Nova Scotia miners, like most of their union brothers of the day and the majority of industrial unionists in Canada today, belonged to a union which spanned the U.S.-Canadian border. Through bitter struggle with the coal bosses, the government, and the cops, they succeeded in organizing the mines solidly into District 26 of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW).

In 1922 the Communists recruited a broad layer of the leadership of these miners. With the aid of this "new kind of party" they led some heroic struggles and scored significant victories.

Their militant tactics brought them into conflict with UMW President John L. Lewis, who twice threatened to revoke the district's charter. While these miners are perhaps best known for their move to affiliate the district to the Communist International's Red International of Labor Unions — a decision they pulled back from, on the recommendation of the Communists, in the interests of unity — it was actually their solidarity strike with striking steelworkers that

caused Lewis to disband the district.

One year later when the district was readmitted to the UMW the effective leadership of the Communists paid off — the locals had been kept intact and were ready to resume battle with the companies.

In following chapters Angus contrasts this "intelligent militant leadership" of the young CPC with the bankrupt Stalinized leadership of the party in the late 1920s and '30s as it led miners in a suicidal zig-zag course, first out of the UMW into rival "red unions" and then back. These moves were not dictated by the needs of the workers themselves, but by the twists and turns of the policies of the privileged bureaucratic caste that had gained a stranglehold on the revolution in the Soviet Union.

The central theme of *Canadian Bolsheviks* is the ongoing struggle to build a working class revolutionary party in Canada. The experiences of these pioneers in the first years of the CPC hold many lessons for workers today. And many of these same leaders continued to struggle to build a Leninist party, even after the degeneration of the Communist Party. In 1934 Maurice Spector and Jack MacDonald established the Workers Party of Canada which affiliated to the Fourth International when it was founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. Max Armstrong and Malcolm Bruce joined the Trotskyist movement after World War II.

Only one of the party's initial leaders, Tim Buck, remained with the Communist Party as it degenerated from a sizable revolutionary party to a bureaucratically run Stalinist sect.

American workers will find many insights to their own history as well as a wealth of information about the struggles of their co-workers across the 49th parallel in *Canadian Bolsheviks*.

— Jacquie Shilman

Books

led revolution in Russia in 1917 was an inspiration to workers around the world, including in Canada. Malcolm Bruce, a socialist union militant who became a founding member of the party said of the revolution's impact on Canadian workers:

"It was like a bolt out of the blue . . . there was a great uplift amongst the working class. At least they saw that the working class rose in their might and took over the power of a powerful nation and they wondered if it couldn't be done here."

Labor papers and left journals printed articles by Bolshevik leaders Lenin and Trotsky, as well as accounts by immigrants from Russia, popularizing the revolution. A widespread debate took place in the labor movement on the meaning of the Russian revolution for Canadian workers.

In 1919 the growing labor movement tested its strength. In May, the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council called a general strike in support of metal and building trades workers. This began a wave that swept across the country. Angus lists thirteen other cities that had general strikes as well as several major strikes in other centers.

In Winnipeg, the Strike Committee ran the city and for more than forty days nothing moved unless it was "by permission of the Strike Committee."

The ruling class moved to crush the strike. They mobilized the Royal North West Mounted Police, army, and local police, and even passed a special government law permitting the deportation without trial of naturalized citizens "suspected of sedition."

Out of these experiences the most farsighted participants founded the Communist Party of Canada (CPC).

It soon became the largest party on the Canadian left. With the help of the Communist International, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, they fought against the sectarianism that had plagued the left up until that time. They developed strong roots in several industrial unions and widespread influence in the labor movement across the country.

Nova Scotia miners win

Sixty years later the militant traditions of the Cape Breton Nova Scotia miners are as strong as ever. On October 8, 1981 the 3,500 miners of District 26 of the UMW voted 85 percent in favor of a two year contract that will give them an \$11 per-day pay increase. The miners, who struck July 17 against the publicly-owned Cape Breton Development Corporation, had rejected three previous contract offers, holding out for a shorter contract and a living wage.

During their strike they mobilized support from other unionists and won support from the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party. On Labor Day more than 3,000 people rallied in Glace Bay Nova Scotia to the call of the United Miners Wives Association. The Miners Wives Association was very active in winning the strike. On September 9 wives and miners confronted visiting members of Prime Minister Trudeau's cabinet. The September 21 issue of *Socialist Voice* reprints an account of the confrontation that took place at the Keltic

Lodge in Ingonish, N.S., by John Gray of the *Toronto Globe and Mail*.

"For Energy Minister Marc Lalonde, it was an unexpected introduction to the harsh realities of mining life in Cape Breton. . . .

"And while the other senior ministers sheltered in a comfortable meeting room within the lodge, Mr. Lalonde stood in the drizzle and faced a stern lecture from a very angry Nancy Thomas, head of the United Miners Wives. . . .

"Mr. Lalonde . . . tried several times to offer the management's explanation of contract negotiations. He advised Mrs. Thomas to check the company's offer again because, he said, some of its terms had not been properly explained to the strikers. The crowd jeered at the federal minister. . . .

"And they cheered when Mrs. Thomas interrupted Mr. Lalonde at one point with the angry retort: 'We're not dumb Cape Bretoners. We're strong Cape Bretoners.'"

—J.S.

Racist campaign forces Black judge to step down

By Bob Schwarz

MIAMI — South Florida's only Black federal district judge has been forced to step aside, under a barrage of publicity, while FBI bribery charges are investigated.

Alcee Hastings, an attorney and civil rights activist from central Florida, has been a federal judge since 1978. He has been criticized in the past for "leniency" in handing down sentences.

Judge Hastings is hearing an important suit against the Immigration and Naturalization Service's deportation of Haitian refugees. He has already issued rulings staying some deportations until the case is presented. He had earlier reported receiving hate mail because of his role in this case.

The bribery accusation stems from a 1980 case in which Judge Hastings sentenced

enced the Romano brothers, two well-known gangsters, to three years in jail and seized \$1.2 million in cash and other property. Later an appeals court ruled he should return the cash, which he did, saying however, that he disagreed with the higher court.

Now the FBI claims it has proof he was bribed by the Romanos, through Washington, D.C. attorney and friend William Borders, to release the Romanos' assets and set them free. An FBI agent posing as Frank Romano gave Borders \$150,000 which the FBI says Borders was going to give to Hastings. But Borders was arrested before the alleged transaction could take place. They also claim Hastings received an earlier bribe through Borders of \$100,000 from another gangster soon to be tried by Hastings. But they have no witnesses to this.

The information for these accusations is supposed to come from William Dredge, a local antique dealer and drug smuggler, recently arrested as ring-leader in a Baltimore-Miami quaalude distribution ring.

But after a week of sensational headlines even the *Miami Herald* has had to admit the evidence is less than conclusive. The FBI says they arrested Borders with \$150,000. They say Borders and Hastings talked before and after the alleged bribe proposal, although not directly about a bribe. They say the agreed-upon signal from Hastings was to be his appearance at a certain time at the Fountainebleau Hilton Hotel. At the specified time he was there.

These details have been repeated endlessly by the capitalist media. But a few

nagging questions have received little space and no answers. Why, if the payoff was made, are the Romano's still in jail and part of their property still seized? If the order to release part of the property originated in the appeals court, why isn't the FBI investigating them? And if Judge Hastings double-crossed two big-time gangsters, why is it only the FBI he's having problems with?

Judge Hastings is cooperating with a grand jury investigation. The *Miami Times*, Dade County's leading Black newspaper, has cautioned against trying him in the newspapers. But considering the past few years, in which a number of prominent Black officials have been forced out of office by a barrage of publicity about allegations of wrongdoing, it seems unlikely Judge Hastings will get fair treatment from Miami's racist media.

Claims drafting women will aid equal rights fight



Blacks have fought in all U.S. wars. The oppression of Blacks today shows the fallacy of arguing that women can win equal rights through involvement in the armed forces.

Printed below are excerpts from the second half of an 'amicus curiae' (friend-of-the-court) brief filed by the National Organization for Women (NOW) in the recent draft registration case that was decided by the Supreme Court.

In 1971, several draft-age men filed a lawsuit asking that the draft be declared unconstitutional because it only included men. Subsequently, as a result of massive opposition to the draft and the Vietnam War, conscription was abolished in 1973.

In February 1980, President James Carter moved to reinstitute draft registration and proposed — in the name of women's equality — that women be included.

This was an attempt to win support for the capitalist government's draft and its military forces by giving them a 'progressive' veneer.

It was also an attempt to shift the axis of public debate from whether there should be any draft at all, to whether women should be drafted.

It was in this context that the 1971 lawsuit was revived, and the government used it to advance its preparation for war. On June 25, 1981, the Supreme Court ruled that registration and the draft for men was constitutional.

This decision was opposed by the NOW leadership, not because it was a step toward reinstituting the draft, which is a vital part of increasing the capitalist government's military capacities, but because it "discriminates" against women.

At NOW's recent national conference, there was a lot of discussion and debate over NOW's position on the draft and its broader implications for the fight for women's rights.

In an article handed out at the conference, the NOW leadership claimed that its position is against registration and the draft, but if

men are to be registered and drafted, women should go too.

The fact is that the 'amicus' brief argues, "Compulsory universal military service is central to the concept of citizenship in a democracy."

The brief contains not one word of opposition to the draft. It argues that drafting women would strengthen the U.S. military and would advance the fight for women's rights, without ever taking up the central question — is there any reason that the majority of women — or men — should want to strengthen the capacities of U.S. imperialism.

The brief paints the military as just another job, instead of explaining the class interests it is designed to defend. Its purpose is to defend the profits of big business around the world, and to beat back the struggles of the oppressed and exploited.

The brief thus assumes that the interests of women and those of the Pentagon, Wall Street, and Washington are one and the same.

At the conference, NOW President Eleanor Smeal explained that she was one of the authors of the brief and that it was "one of the best briefs ever written by the organization."

The discussion on the relationship of the women's liberation movement to the draft, the military, and the war drive is key to the future of the fight for women's rights.

That's why the 'Militant' is printing excerpts from the brief.

Last week, we printed the part that basically argues how drafting women would help the military.

This week, we're reprinting excerpts that argue that women's exclusion from the draft and registration deepens sex discrimination, and hurts the fight for women's rights.

ARGUMENT

II. The Exclusion of Women From the MSSA Reinforces Deeply-Held Stereotypes that Injure Women and Society as a Whole.

The most obvious effect on our society of the exclusion of women from the requirements of the MSSA [Military Selective Service Act] is that a male-only draft dramatically narrows the pool of eligibles for military service and excludes many who would otherwise qualify. However, there is another, more invidious harm caused by the male-only draft: the governmentally sanctioned perpetuation of sex-role stereotypes and the endorsement of behavior consistent with them.

Laws such as the MSSA that coerce or preclude women as a class from performing tasks or jobs of which they are capable impermissibly limit the right of individuals to shape their own destiny.

The exclusion of women from the military both repeats and magnifies broad stereotypes and generalizations about men and women. Defense of the society and the power that accompanies that role are there-

fore entrusted solely to men. Women are disrespected for their "non-male" characteristics and resented for what is perceived as their "easy time."

Indeed, the view of women as weak and unfit for service contributes to tangible harm to women for two related reasons. Men perceive women as weak and vulnerable and are therefore more likely to attack them than to take on another man. Second, women internalize the view of themselves as weak and incapable of self-defense, which renders them unprepared and passive in the face of attack.

The continued exclusion of women from eligibility for compulsory military service delivers a clear message to both women and men that women are incapable of defending themselves or their nation.

III. The Exclusion of Women From the Pool of Registrants Consigns Them to Second-Class Citizenship.

Compulsory universal military service is central to the concept of citizenship in a democracy. Indeed, the responsibility to bear arms in a time of national peril is "the ultimate duty of American citizenship."

Being called to serve one's country on the same basis as other citizens has significant psychological and political impact. It is a statement about the value of the contribution that the community expects the individual to be able to make. Society is willing to entrust its well-being and survival to those called; any group not called is tacitly told that its members cannot be trusted to act in the common interest.¹

The obligation to serve has often been cited as a rite of passage to adulthood because it brings large political concerns to bear on the individual in a very intense way. As Senator [Nancy] Kassebaum observed:

Perhaps even more important, is the fact that women should not be excluded from participating in a process which represents commitment to our Nation and its principles. Whether or not registration effectively enhances our military mobilization capability, this concept of commitment is crucial. Registration instills a sense of responsibility and awakens young people to the necessity for active involvement in the political process.

Depriving a group of these politically maturing experiences (which are provided to others in the society) inevitably hinders the political growth of the members of the excluded group.

Performance of military service engenders a feeling of "entitlement" to direct the life of the community whose survival one has contributed. As Chief Justice Field of the Massachusetts Supreme Court observed, "From the earliest times most nations have conferred honors and offices upon those who have rendered distinguished service to the state, particularly in war." As members of the class required to serve under the MSSA, all men feel "entitled" whether or not they serve personally, simply because they are "at risk" by virtue of their sex. Conversely, because all women are ineligible and are therefore not "at risk" solely by virtue of their sex, many feel that women as a class are not "entitled" to equal rights and to a leadership role. The pitifully small number of women in positions of political power bears out this fact.

While the correlation between femaleness and political officeholding is low, the correlation between military service and political officeholding is extremely high. After most of the wars in our history we have elected a military leader President, and military heroism is seen as high qualification for public office. At least 65 percent of the Congressmen serving in the 96th Congress had served in the armed forces.

In sum, the exclusion of women as a class from eligibility for compulsory military service has devastating long term psychological and political repercussions. It excludes women from the compulsory involvement in the community's survival that is perceived as entitling people to lead it and to derive from it the full rights and privileges of citizenship. It consigns them to a second-class status wholly at odds with our basic democratic commitment to equality for all.

IV. Permitting Women to Serve as Volunteers Neither Alleviate the Harmful Effects of Excluding Them From Registration Nor Justifies that Policy.

In order to change old patterns, the armed services must see women as permanent members of the force, whose capability and potential must be developed for maximum benefit to our military forces and to women.

The limitations imposed upon the number of women in the military reinforces segregation in significant numbers of civilian occupations. The military is our largest vocational and professional training institution.

The limited number of women veterans also has detrimental consequences for women's position in the civilian economy. This Court is familiar with the extensive network of veteran's preference laws.

The significant employment preferences which veterans receive often give them a lifelong advantage in the workforce.² The equitable way to remedy the disparate impact that these programs have on women is to register and induct young people into military service based on ability, not sex.

CONCLUSION

The exclusion of women from registration must end because it does not serve the goal of an effective military and because it powerfully reinforces stereotyped beliefs about women and their role in our society.

¹Black civil rights leaders have shown a keen awareness of the value of military service in attaining full participation in the community. Similarly, the recognition that young people were subject to compulsory registration and induction was an important factor in ratification of the twenty-sixth amendment giving eighteen-year olds the right to vote.

²Veterans, as well as members of the services, also receive substantial educational, insurance, medical, housing and retirement benefits.



Ketchup, anyone? — "Off camera or on, he projects the quintessential nice guy. . . . The quality is intrinsic to the man and the president; he has an extraordinary faith in the goodness of people to solve national problems." — From a piece on Reagan, allegedly written by an AP reporter, and published by the *New York Times*.

It's the sentiment that counts — In a moving expression of concern, New York's Mayor Koch proclaimed the week of October 4 Employ the Handicapped Week. The proclamation was issued October 14.

Not to worry — A truck carrying sixty barrels of radioactive material for reactor fuel rods overturned on a highway exit ramp near a Virginia shopping mall. Officials said no radiation escaped.

Bon appetit! — Officials opened the New York duck-hunting season by warning that the birds were contaminated with PCB. Hunters were advised not to eat more than two a month and to first remove skin and fat. If stuffing is used to flavor the flesh it should be thrown out after cooking. It absorbs the contaminated fats.

And dishwasher safe — Critics should know that the new \$208,000 set of White House dishes includes a cereal bowl that can double as a dessert bowl and the buffet platters were made deeper than average to better accommodate such melting desserts as baked Alaska.

P.S. — Those new dishes are only used for formal occasions. The Reagans brought the family dishes with them, but some have gotten chipped. They've bought a new twenty-four place set, with their own money. Copies are available to the public for only \$60 a set.

It may come to that — "People who come in here who haven't been shopping for cars for three or four years really are shocked when they look at the sticker. But that's because they don't do it very often. They'd be pretty shocked if they only bought groceries every four years." — A Skokie car dealer.

Brain enhancer — It was a White House economics aide who came up with the term "revenue enhancement" for a tax increase. "There's no better way to sell economic theory," he opines, "than by the euphemistic route."

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

VIETNAM TODAY. Speakers: Prof. Ed Cooperman, chair of U.S. Committee for Scientific Cooperation with Vietnam. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

OAKLAND

'TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.' Film about the Russian Revolution with discussion to follow. Fri., Nov. 6, 8 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

CLASS SERIES ON 'COMMUNIST MANIFESTO': THE RELEVANCE AND IMPORTANCE OF THIS HISTORIC DOCUMENT TODAY. Speaker: Young Socialist Alliance member. Mon., Nov. 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, 7 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

SAN FRANCISCO

'SELLING OF THE PENTAGON.' A film showing. Fri., Nov. 6, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

SAN JOSE

CUBA: AN INSIDE LOOK. Speaker: Robert Matson, recently returned from tour of Cuba. Sat., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. (near the Alameda). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

WHAT'S GOING ON IN IRAN. Speaker: Janice Lynn, former staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. (near the Alameda). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

SOLIDARNOSC: EYEWITNESS REPORT FROM FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE INDEPENDENT, SELF-GOVERNING UNION. Speaker: Gary Fields, member, United Steelworkers Local 5271 and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 7, 7 p.m. 434 S. Wabash. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 929-0737.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

TOWARD BLACK AND LATINO POLITICAL POWER: DISTRICT REPRESENTATION REFERENDUM. Speakers: Jean McGuire, candidate for school committee; Felix Arroyo, candidate for school committee; David Walsh, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school committee. Sun., Nov. 1, 7 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

REAGAN'S WAR ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS: WHAT STRATEGY TO FIGHT BACK? Speakers: Cynthia Medeiros, president, Boston National Organization for Women; Jane Roland, member, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 8, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT TODAY: HOW WE CAN MOVE FORWARD. Speaker: Toby Emmrich, member: National Organization for Women; Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Local 7-346; and Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 8, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA VIRGINIA

ISRAEL, SADAT, AND THE MIDEAST. Speaker: Eli-

zabeth Kilanowski, member, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 13, 7 p.m. 1012 Second Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR. Speaker: Young Socialist Alliance member. Sun., Nov. 8, 8 p.m. 4715-A Troost Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

'CAMBODIA YEAR ONE.' Film showing. Speaker to be announced. Sun., Nov. 15, 8 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

ST. LOUIS

GRENADA: BIG REVOLUTION IN A LITTLE COUNTRY. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Nov. 8, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA LINCOLN

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE IDEAS OF MARXISM. A class series. Sat., Nov. 7-Dec. 12, 1 p.m. UNL East Campus Union. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (402) 483-6236.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

INDOCHINA TODAY — U.S. INVOLVEMENT CONTINUES. Speakers: Chan Bun Han, Kampuchean national, will show slides from recent trip to Kampuchea; Abe Weisburd, Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos; member of Committee of Vietnamese Patriots in the U.S. Sat., Nov. 14, 8 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK MANHATTAN

ELECTION NIGHT PARTY. Celebrate the Socialist Workers Party campaign with Wells Todd. Tues., Nov. 3, 6 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN PUERTO RICO: THE CASE FOR INDEPENDENCE. Speakers: Nelson Blackstock, reporter for the *Militant*, recently returned from Puerto Rico; representative, Andrés Figueroa Cordero Foundation; others. Sat., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

IRELAND — AFTER THE HUNGER STRIKE. Speakers: Maureen Meehan, New York H-Block/Armagh Committee; Gerry Foley, journalist and activist recently returned from nine months in Ireland. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

ALBANY

RAILROADS — THE END OF THE LINE? LABOR SPEAKOUT AGAINST REAGAN'S CUTS. Speakers: representatives from United Transportation Union, Railroad Yard Masters of America, Professional Air Traffic Controllers, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. Quality Inn, Everett Rd., Albany. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Rail Unions to Save Jobs and Services. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

NORTH CAROLINA WINSTON-SALEM

AFTER THE ELECTIONS: THE FIGHT AGAINST REAGANISM. Speaker: Betsy Soares, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Winston-Salem. Sat., Nov. 7, 8 p.m. 216 E. 6th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

TEXAS HOUSTON

APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speaker: Dr. John Indakwa, University of Houston, African Studies Department; Film, *Last Grave at Dimbaza*, will be shown. Fri., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 6333 Gulf Freeway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Friday Night Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 924-4056.

SAN ANTONIO

'CAMBODIA: YEAR ZERO.' A videotape presentation. Fri., Nov. 6, 8 p.m. 337 W. Josephine. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

RALLY FOR SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN. Speakers: Andrea González, SWP candidate for school board, at-large; Toba Singer and Tony Grillo, candidates for delegate to constitutional convention from Ward 1; Miesha Patterson, candidate for Virginia governor. Sun., Nov. 1, 6 p.m. buffet, 7 p.m. rally. St. Stephens Church, 16th and Newton, N.W. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1981 Campaign Committee. (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

'TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD' Sergei Eisenstein's film on the Russian Revolution. Fri., Nov. 5, 7:30 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

POLAND Workers in Revolt

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DeAnn Rathbun,
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DEMAND AN END TO U.S. INTERVENTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

NEW YORK CITY
Demonstration: Saturday, November 28, 12:00 noon, Broadway and 34th St. The United Nations has declared Nov. 29 to be International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. Demands: Support for the Palestine Liberation Organization; Condemnation of Zionism; Demand that U.S. military aid to Israel be stopped. Ausp: Nov. 29 Coalition. For more information call (212) 625-9858.

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From our readers behind bars



Several weeks ago, we ran an editorial on the prison system in this country and the interest in the 'Militant' among prisoners. We made a special appeal for funds to pay for sending subscriptions to our readers behind bars.

We received \$143 from 4 readers within the past 2 weeks. However, we are still very much in need of donations to defray the costs of subscriptions to prisoners. So please send what you can to our business office.

We have received many letters from prisoners since our editorial, thanking the 'Militant' and asking for support.

We are printing some of these letters below, in order to increase the awareness of conditions in the prisons and to build support for the victims of this system.

Hunger strike in Ohio

I am writing to you because I believe that you can be of some help to four of us at Southern Ohio Correctional Facility.

We are on a death hunger strike, because of racial prejudice and humanitarian reasons.

We are fighting because of

the way inmates are being treated and being beaten. We would appreciate it if you could give us some support.

A prisoner
Lucasville, Ohio

Black party

I am presently confined as an inmate in one of Ohio's prisons. I am also a subscriber to your paper, the *Militant*, thanks to the existence of your special prisoners fund. Once again I would like to say thank you for making it possible. The *Militant* has indeed been instrumental in imparting knowledge, informing, and of course, educating.

The primary theme of this letter, however, is to hopefully enlist your help in obtaining some information for me that pertains to the newly established National Black Independent Political Party.

I would like to ascertain more information about the party. So, consequently, I would like to have an address to the closest chapter, or better yet, the main chapter.

A prisoner
Marion, Ohio

(In reply: For local information write to Dean Lovelace, 1502 Tampa Ave., Dayton, Ohio 45408.)

Thanks

I got your subscription renewal notice and I noticed there is no longer a place provided for free subscriptions for convicts. I am sorry that finances have come to such a state.

I would love to continue to receive the *Militant* because it is the only paper that gives the truth about what is going on. I and quite a few others enjoy it immensely and hoped to be able in the near future to give it our financial support as well as our heartfelt thanks that there is such a paper being printed in these not-so-United States.

John Alexander
Ypsilanti, Michigan

Censors

Just wanted you to know that some of your back issues just caught up to me here at Comstock, and hopefully, that I'll be able to continue to receive the publication here.

I'd also like to thank the *Militant* readers who have made it possible for me to receive the publication free of charge for the past two years. Not only has the paper served as an education and eye-opener as to the system I've been sucked into, but has warmed me and many others as one in here would be warmed by a visit from a friend or loved one.

I'd also like to inform you that several of your past issues have been lost to the censor at the infamous Attica caging system. I've made up on the lost copies from those that some of the newer guards left laying around. Now that's what I call real progress.

A prisoner
Comstock, New York

Frame-up fails

For six-and-a-half years, Clifford Lumumba Futch was locked in twenty-three-and-a-half-hour-a-day solitary confinement in the hole for allegedly killing the head prisoner-Klansman at Western Penitentiary in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Finally, on October 10, 1981, in a retrial, justice prevailed

and a jury found Lumumba not guilty of the stabbing homicide.

The eyewitness identifications of two guards, the only evidence against Futch, were torn up by defense attorneys Paul Gettleman and Lenny Sharon in the culmination of a year-long legal and political struggle against the Allegheny County Prosecutor's practice of striking all Blacks from juries judging Black defendants with white victims. This effort forced the D.A. to allow two Black women to sit in judgement of Futch, along with nonracist whites.

The state voraciously pursued the death penalty for Futch, a known activist for prisoners' rights. Victory is ours.

Prisoners Union Support
Committee
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Hunger strike in Indiana

Several weeks ago, the prisoners of I.D.U., one of the detention units at Indiana State Prison, complained "that the conditions of this unit are inimical to our health and thus pose a potential fatality to our lives."

Subsequently, we moved by petition to manifest the conditions and to air our grievances with hopes that immediate action would be taken to alleviate them.

Among the most crucial

demands of the petition were: That immediate action be taken to assure better medical treatment of I.D.U. prisoners; to repair all broken windows and heaters; to provide hot and sufficient meals; and to assure laundry for prisoners committed to I.D.U.

Copies of the petition were sent to Jack Duckworth, Warden of the Indiana State Prison; Governor Orr, Governor of the State of Indiana; Clold Shuler, Director of the Department of Corrections.

It has become quite clear that the prison administration will continue to be intransigent and unresponsive.

Hence, a significant number of I.D.U. prisoners have gone on a hunger strike. The length of the strike will be dependent on the actions of the administration. We urge all concerned individuals to write brief letters to the following persons, urging that something be done to alleviate the inhumane and potentially fatal situation of I.D.U. prisoners:

Jack Duckworth (Warden), Indiana State Prison, P.O. Box 41, Michigan City, Indiana 46360; Governor Orr, 804 State Office Building, 100 N. Senate Ave., Indianapolis, Indiana 46204; and Clold Shuler, Department of Corrections, 804 State Office Building, 100 N. Senate Ave., Indianapolis, Indiana 46204.

A prisoner
Michigan City, Indiana

Attack on transit workers

The New York *Daily News* began a four-part series attacking transit workers on Sunday, October 3. The New York *Post* is on a daily campaign to slander both the workers and their union, the Transport Workers Union.

These periodicals complain about our job quota — we do certain tasks within certain time limits — our productivity, and chronic shortages of parts. They ignore the job dangers, industrial peril, and the obvious fact that we have nothing to do with the purchase and flow of parts or allocation of the workforce.

Job quotas were developed

to protect workers. They are fought for and maintained by the union because of management's constant threat to discipline or fire workers who might make a mistake on the job.

We are coming up for contract renewal in April. They are asking already for a "give back contract" that is similar to the give back in rail. The articles in the *Daily News* and *Post* are part of management's campaign. In light of this attack we have to get the truth out about life and death in the transit system.

J.A.
New York City

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

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

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

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

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

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, c/o Bill Petersen, 1118 NW 3rd Ave. Zip: 32601. Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 1301 W. Green, Room 284. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA: Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP,

YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613. **KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

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

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

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01004. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA. Tel: (313) 663-7068. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

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NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave.

Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

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New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. **New York, Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. **New York:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

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OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorris St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. **Harrisburg:** SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 3255. Zip: 17105. **Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. **State College:** YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. **Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711.

Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. **San Antonio:** SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. **Baltimore-Washington District:** 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. **Seattle:** SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, Box 3761. Zip: 25337. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

NAACP condemns Reagan

'Racist policy' leaves 33 Haitians dead

By Karyn Swan

MIAMI — The bodies of thirty-three Haitian refugees were washed ashore on a rich condominium-lined beach north of here October 26.

They drowned when the boat carrying them collapsed only sixty yards from the beach. They were near the end of a two month journey from the tiny northern Haiti village of Acul-du-Nord. Thirty-four others managed to swim to shore.

Blame for this tragic incident has been put directly on the Reagan administration. At a news conference the next day Rev. Gerard Jean-Juste of the Haitian Refugee Center, Inc., said, "What occurred was not merely an act of God, but directly a result of Reagan's policy of interdiction."

On October 11 Reagan ordered the Coast Guard to begin picking up refugees at sea and to ship them back to Haiti. There they face torture or death at the hands of the Duvalier regime.

In New York City the NAACP denounced Reagan's "racist policy" toward the Black Haitians, calling it "a pure case of cold, calculated discrimination" and a "barbaric assault on human freedom."

Rev. Charles Smith, deputy executive director of the NAACP, called for an immediate end to Reagan's "interdiction order and a reinterpretation of the status of Haitian refugees so that they are recognized as political refugees." The Reagan administration holds that the Haitians are merely "economic refugees" and, therefore are not qualified for asylum in the U.S.

Smith called for a Congressional inquiry and said the NAACP will bring the matter before the United Nations. The NAACP will try to determine "if there are violations of international law taking place, as we believe there must be when human rights of people are so brazenly ignored," Smith said.

A team of NAACP officials will make a fact-finding trip to Miami and will visit Haitian refugee camps throughout the country.

Rev. Jean-Juste said that more than



Haitians such as these are driven by repression of U.S.-backed Duvalier dictatorship and dire poverty to risk lives by escaping in flimsy boats.

100 people, at what he termed a "concentration camp" here, are considering suicide. The camp, which now holds over 1,300, is supposed to house no more than 800.

Joining Jean-Juste at the news conference were representatives of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the NAACP, Concerned Democrats, and other groups. They called for Reagan to stop sending money to prop up the Duvalier dictatorship,

which is responsible for the unbearable conditions forcing Haitians to flee.

Activist Andree Lafortune raised the possibility that U.S. and Haitian officials planned the drownings. "I'm wondering if they didn't do it on purpose to stop" the refugee flow, she said.

Rev. Jean-Juste announced plans for a mass memorial to be held on October 31. Black radio stations are giving the event wide publicity. Afro-Americans have shown growing solidarity with the

Haitians in face of what they see as the government's "double standard" toward the Black refugees.

A Southeast Regional Conference on Immigration has been set for December 3, 4, and 5 at Miami/Dade Community College, North Campus. Sponsors include the Haitian Refugee Center, Inc., SCLC, the Miami American Civil Liberties Union, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Socialist Workers Party.

Castro's challenge looms at Cancún meeting



By Will Reissner

After two days of deliberations in Cancún, Mexico, the twenty-two nation summit meeting on world economic problems ended October 23 without reaching concrete agreement on a single subject. The most that delegates could agree on was to hold further talks sometime in the future, with time, place, and format left in limbo.

Mexican President José López Portillo, who hosted the gathering, tried to portray the meeting in the best possible light, arguing that it had been "a forum for creating awareness and expressing

political good will and not for reaching concrete agreements."

The Reagan administration had opposed the Mexican initiative of convening the conference, preferring not to discuss the dire problems facing the underdeveloped countries. Reagan himself initially refused to attend, and finally agreed to come only on the condition that Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro be barred from the meeting.

While in Mexico, the U.S. president twice insulted his hosts and showed his contempt for the peoples of the poorer countries, first by remarking that being late was a custom in Latin America, and then by himself arriving late to the conference's first formal session.

An ongoing debate

Reagan's refusal to attend the conference if Fidel Castro was present showed that the meeting in Cancún was another skirmish in the ongoing political debate over how to solve the staggering economic problems of the underdeveloped and semicolonial world.

The urgency of this question is underscored by a study prepared by the World Bank. In 1950, according to the bank, per-capita income in the industrialized capitalist countries was ten times higher than in the underdeveloped countries. By 1965 that ratio had risen

to fifteen to one, and the World Bank projects that it will rise to thirty to one by the end of the century.

Since Castro became chairman of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries in 1979, he has become the most forceful and articulate representative of the demands of the oppressed nations in world forums. Castro has repeatedly presented their case for restructuring international economic relations — for example, in his speech to the sixth summit of the Nonaligned Movement in Havana in September 1979, his October 1979 speech to the United Nations, his April 1981 address to the second congress of the Association of Third World Economists, and most recently on September 15 at the opening session of the sixty-eighth conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

Castro's proposals

Castro has proposed the establishment of a \$300 billion fund to finance investments in the underdeveloped countries, with the fund to be raised through annual donations of \$25 billion from the advanced capitalist countries.

He also called for measures to end the unequal terms of trade between the oppressed nations and the advanced capitalist states, wherein prices for the exports of the poorer countries rise much

more slowly than the prices of the manufactured goods they must import from the imperialist countries.

He called for measures to erase the crushing debt burden that is suffocating the economies of the semicolonial world, and advocated the reorganization of international financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in order to give the poorer countries more weight in decision-making. At present those institutions are totally dominated by the imperialist countries.

Despite the Reagan administration's reluctance to deal face-to-face with Castro's proposals, the U.S. government now feels it must present its own position more forcefully. This has been done recently by U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig in his address to the United Nations on September 21, where he declared that "a massive increase in the transfer of resources from the developed to the developing countries is simply unrealistic."

Reagan also spoke on this theme at last month's meeting of the International Monetary Fund, and again in an October 15 speech to the World Affairs Council.

In these speeches the U.S. administration has had to try to counter Castro's

Continued on page 11